Language Learning in Anglophone Countries

Challenges, Practices, Ways Forward

Edited by
Ursula Lanvers · Amy S. Thompson
Martin East

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Introduction: Is Language Learning in Anglophone Countries in Crisis?

Ursula Lanvers, Amy S. Thompson, and Martin East

Introduction

The term *monolingualism* is widely pejoratively denoted in scholarly circles, associated with linguistic myopia (Ellis 2008a) or reductionism (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996), thus describing a blinkered view of the de facto

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linguistic diversities we find in nearly all corners of the world. Paradoxically, the more monolingualism is normalised, the less we might hear about it: one does not tend to remark on that which is taken as the norm (Ellis 2008b). The normalisation of monolingualism (assuming that all share one language, and that one language only), and subsequent monolingual mindsets, is a relatively recent phenomenon, associated with modernity, as well as with the creation of nation-states in the Western world (Ellis 2008b; Crystal 1987), where they dominate to this day. The phenomenal success of English as a global lingua franca has undoubtedly contributed to spreading monolingual mindsets (Ellis 2008b; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1996), and has changed the global landscape of language learning, with English being by far the most popular language to learn. Many learners of English aim to cement whatever economic, social, and cultural advantages knowledge of this language might bestow on them (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015).

Much less has been said about how the success of English has impacted on the (already existing) monolingual mindsets of those who speak it as their first or one of their first languages. The erasure of linguistic diversities (Gogolin 2010), and subsequent disadvantaging of speakers of less prestigious varieties and languages, is common to many countries and educational settings. However, Anglophone countries—defined here as those countries where the majority of the population is English monolingual (Jenkins 2015)—are especially prone to English monolingualism, for all those working and living in Anglophone contexts (Liu 2016). The global value of English, made up of the sum total of the value of its speakers (Bourdieu 1977), affords 'linguistic myopia' to English monolinguals more than to any other first language speakers. It may, thus, be of little surprise that language learning in Anglophone countries lags behind that in other countries. Academics have now started to turn their attention to the specific problems for language learners with English as their first language, and learners of *languages other than English* (LOTE) more generally (see the special issue of the *Modern Language Journal,* 101[3], 2017, for a series of articles on this topic). To date, however, this problem has not been investigated in a systematic manner. This edited volume proposes to provide an overview of problems concerning and solutions for the widespread monolingualism found in Anglophone contexts.

Is language learning in Anglophone countries in crisis? Today, the term 'crisis' can be found frequently in many Anglophone countries, such as

the UK (Lanvers and Coleman 2017; Lanvers 2017) and the US (AAUP 2011). In the UK, for instance, lack of language skills costs the UK economy about 3.5% of its GDP (Foreman-Peck and Wang 2014), and language learning decline in the US over the last two decades has resulted in acute language skill shortages in military and intelligence, leaving many 'language-designed' positions vacant (Babbel 2018). Public media, journalistic publications, and even politicians frequently adopt the 'crisis' label to describe the state of language learning in their country (British Council 2019; The Atlantic 2015; University of New England 2020). A recent UK Higher Education report (HEPI 2019) concurs that the term 'crisis' is appropriate, and the term 'recovery' in the recent National Recovery Programme for Languages (APPG 2019) denotes some form of necessary response. Discussing the parlous state of second language learning in New Zealand's schools, East (2012) also draws on the word 'crisis'. Reflecting on the evidence available back in 2012, East argues that this word was appropriate because the situation had been "precipitated by a pervasive worldview that English is the only essentially important language, and that knowledge of English is all people need if they are to succeed in communicating with others across the globe" (p. 130). The word continues to be apposite in the Australasian region. Despite occasional criticism of the term (see Brown et al. 2019, for Australia), East makes reference to the situation in neighbouring Australia, as documented, for example, by the Group of Eight Universities (2007) and, more recently, by Piller (2016). In the context of the US, *crisis* is not generally used to reference language learning specifically, perhaps because of an overall lack of the perceived importance of language learning in this context by many of the stakeholders. However, *crisis* is frequently used in academic-based opinion pieces describing the current situation of humanities in general (i.e. Siskin and Warner 2019).

What, then, has created this language learning crisis, and what has spurred the editors of this volume to tackle it in a global and comprehensive manner? A first motivator stemmed from the self-evident observation that, if the same problems occur in different geographical locations, the crisis is best tackled in a systematic and pan-global, rather than national or localised, manner. We could apply the same principle to other global crises, such as the COVID-19 outbreak or global warming. Hitherto, academics in the above-mentioned countries have succinctly,

and often urgently, described the language learning crisis 'at home', aptly describing the lack of appetite for language learning among students, or the general population, and lack of coherent policy initiatives to tackle these.

To date, the specific learning and teaching issues relating to learners of LOTE generally, and in particular to learners with English as first language (L1) (Lanvers 2016; Thompson 2017; Thompson and Vásquez 2015), have received much less attention than learners of English as second or additional language (L2).

The sheer volume of publications on the topic of motivation in learners of English—as opposed to learners of any other language—exemplifies this well (Al-Hoorie 2018). Redressing this imbalance, the contributions in this edition share their focus on the very particular challenges, and possible ways forward, for language learners with English as (part of) their first language(s), brought about in particular by the context of Global English. Unlike learners of English, acquiring the globally most desirable language, uncontested as the only hypercentral global language (de Swaan 2001), English L1 language learners face challenges at all levels, which mirror the advantages of learners of English as L2. Figure 1 (see also Lanvers 2016) compares the socio-cultural advantages of learners of English with an Anglophone learner learning another language (LOTE), at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels. For the learner of English, the hypercentrality of English contributes to the structural facilitation of the learning process, at the level of the individual (high return of investment, high motivation), the meso-level (opportunities to practice), and macro-level (strong education policy and support for learning). Conversely, the English L1 learner of LOTE faces predicaments at each level: at the micro-level, many learners in Anglophone contexts are surrounded by a culture of an English monolingual mindset ('English is enough'), and thus often struggle to develop intrinsic motivation to counter this mindset. At the meso-level, learners are routinely confronted with the problem of 'slipping back into English' whenever they want to practise their LOTE, with foreign interlocutors often more able, and willing, to converse in English, rather than conversing less fluently in whatever LOTE the Anglophone learner is studying. At the macro-level, we observe the low priority language education tends to receive in
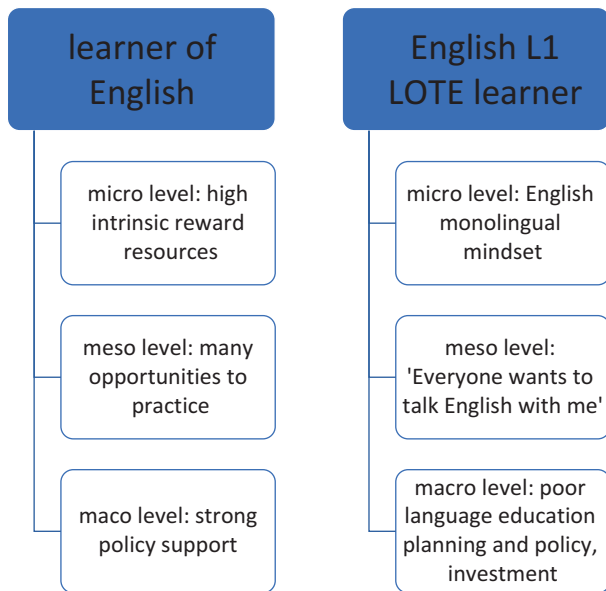
Fig. 1 Comparing learning conditions: Learner of English versus Anglophone language learner

Anglophone countries, alongside poor investment into language planning and delivering.

As a result of the pressures on the English L1 speaker when learning a LOTE, this group is most in danger of remaining monolingual, which, if not challenged, for instance, in educational experiences, can persist throughout English speakers' lifetimes.

This volume tackles language learning for English L1 learners from a sociolinguistic and sociopolitical perspective (rather than, e.g. a cognitive perspective, focusing on psycholinguistic L1–L2 interactions—see, e.g. DeKeyser 2007, for such approaches). In a world where English, in its ever-increasing diversity, serves for international communications across all domains of life, and all educational sectors, English L1 speakers may—all too easily—develop linguistic myopia, culminating in the misconception that 'English is enough', especially if their education system, societal practices and values around them either tacitly permit or explicitly reinforce this misconception. In this respect, it is particularly incongruous to

observe that many Anglophone countries susceptible to the 'English is enough' fallacy are in fact very multilingual (for the UK, e.g. Office for National Statistics 2011; for the US, US Census Bureau, for NZ, 2018 census data). We recall that the erasure of the linguistic diversity in any given society, in education systems and beyond, is by no means a phenomenon of Anglophone countries alone (Gogolin 2010), but that the global success of English has made Anglophone countries especially vulnerable to these attitudes—beliefs which can be traced at the level of the individual, folk language beliefs, and at the level of language education policies. Different chapters in this volume tackle such negative attitudes to language learning, at these different levels. The resulting lack of language skills detrimentally affects the economy, as well as social and political developments, in all Anglophone countries represented in this volume. Thus, in more than one sense, the term 'crisis' is justified.

A sociolinguistic understanding of the language crises in various Anglophone countries also means that, despite some similarities, and beyond the shared Global English context, all countries, nations, and education levels described in this volume have their unique problems related to the specific contexts. In the UK, for instance, the—sometimes gradual, sometimes steep, but always continual—decline of language learning in secondary and tertiary education over the last 30 years has arisen as a complex result of increasing liberalisation and decentralisation of education policies, marketisation of Higher Education, and, in some Anglophone countries such as the UK, a mentality of insularity. Here, we observe that the agendas of marketisation of Higher Education, and of liberalisation of education in general, are likely contributing factors to the language crisis in other Anglophone countries. The issue of a mentality of insularity, however—eminently exemplified by the Brexit agenda— seems especially pertinent to the UK. In the context of the US, actions of the outgoing president, Donald Trump, frequently exhibits xenophobic attitudes, from the "build the wall" theme in the 2016 presidential campaign to statements about keeping the "bad hombres" from Mexico out of the United States, to the more recent statement of the "Chinese virus" (Somvichian-Clausen 2020) and tweeted threats to close US borders "to protect the jobs of our GREAT (*sic*) American Citizens" (Rogers et al. 2020). In Australia and New Zealand, and despite strong validation of

indigenous languages, a 'monolingual mindset' persists. Mindful of the variety of contexts represented in the Anglophone world, care must be taken not to assume that the many good examples proposing 'ways forward' out of the crisis this volume presents will be of equal validity across Anglophone countries, regions, nations, or educational sectors. Rationalisations for studying any languages at all are increasingly pushed towards neoliberal agendas in education: economic needs, return on investment, focus on standards and testing, and devolution of responsibility for delivering these to individual institutions (Cruickshank et al. 2020: 14). This edited volume demonstrates how language learning in Anglophone countries in particular arises disadvantaged by this neoliberal agenda.

The current timeliness to describe the decline of language learning from the perspective of Anglophone countries, and in the context of the ever-increasing popularity of English as the global lingua franca, has arisen from a combination of several deleterious factors. They will be presented as the 'four misconceptions', or myopias, common in English L1 learner contexts:

1. Essentialising L1 English language learners as incapable, inherently weak language learners or similar (Lanvers and Coleman 2017; Lanvers et al. 2018; c.f. Thompson and Vásquez 2015) especially in lay public discourses.
2. Individualising the problems for English L1 learners, laying the challenge to increase language learning at the door of the individual learner, or individual schools (Lanvers 2017).
3. Ignoring the specific Global English context of English L1 learners (Lanvers 2017; c.f. Thompson 2017).
4. Ignoring and undervaluing existing community and individual language competencies (Thompson 2016), and thus not capitalising on the societal, economic, personal and educational benefits these languages might offer (MEITS n.d., US Census Bureau). In a global context where the English language is increasingly associated with social and economic capital, to the detriment of other languages, Anglophone countries are particularly vulnerable to this linguistic myopia.

These misconceptions may manifest themselves in tandem in various combinations at different levels. In England, for instance, policy initiatives aiming to address the crisis are characterised by the *individualisation* misconception (attributing responsibility for tackling the crisis to individual schools), attempts to understand the crisis are plagued by the *essentialisation* misconception (learners blamed as poor linguists), while curriculum and pedagogy innovations tend to ignore the context of *Global English* (not tackling the challenges of English L1 language learners, Lanvers 2017). As a result of a combination of these, English L1 learners are not presented with opportunities to change 'English is enough' beliefs, or understand the value of language learning, and policies and practices remain ineffective in their attempts to tackle the crisis. In their ineffectiveness, policies often condone—inadvertently—the hegemony of English. By the same token, the many positive examples tackling the crisis that this volume presents all oppose, in one way or another, the above-listed misconceptions: some "ways forward" chapters focus on tackling essentialist beliefs, some offer coherent (e.g. national rather than school only) policy solutions, some exemplify how the problem of demotivation in the hegemony of English can be overcome, and others still rely on community and/or world languages to tackle linguistic myopia.

Convinced of the need to both describe and address the language learning problems in Anglophone countries in a holistic and universal manner, the editors of this volume have sought contributions which, in one form or the other, address these misconceptions, but also offer solutions and examples of positive, forward-thinking practice. The first two sections (Parts I and II) are of the 'taking stock' kind, describing and analysing language learning trends, language skills deficits, language ideologies, and policies in a variety of manners, and at all educational levels. The authors of these chapters refrain from essentialising or blaming individual learners, or individual educational institutions. Instead, the reader of Parts I and II might be struck by underlying structural similarities in language learning trends, and difficulties in implementing well-intended policies, across all three large geographical areas represented in this volume: Northern Europe, the Americas, and Australasia.

Part I offers conceptual descriptors of ingrained monolingualism, honing in on the thorny issue of language tuition delivery at school level, across seven countries, three continents, and all school sectors. Sterzug and Shin describe the perhaps surprising monolingual mindset of many of those in the Canadian context. With a focus on the policies of Saskatchewan, they outline the "historical normative educational practice in Canada" and give examples of how to support a more plurilingual pedagogy. In the US context, Hancock and Davin describe a relatively new initiative, the Seal of Biliteracy, which is an award indicated on high school transcripts for those who have achieved biliteracy in two or more languages. This award validates the L1 of linguistically diverse students and motivates Anglophones to achieve proficiency in a LOTE.

Bruen and East describe the treacherous trajectories of language education policies in Ireland and New Zealand, respectively. In Ireland (Bruen), we observe that political directives and policy announcements seem to promise a real change towards increasing language outcomes via schooling, but—as is so often the case—the devil in the detail appears in the form of a mismatch between ambitious goals and support for schools to implement them. Similarly, East describes the paradoxical situation in New Zealand, of, on the one hand, a continual decline in de facto language uptake at secondary school level, and, on the other, a language learning agenda that, at face value at least, advocates for language learning, but falls at the hurdle of implementation. Taking a different demarche, Lanvers and Martin ask what parents and secondary school students themselves think about pursuing language study beyond the compulsory phase in England, with somewhat surprising results. Parents and students show a breadth and depth of the value of language learning, somewhat flying in the face of the common prejudice that 'the English don't care about language learning'. However, this may not translate into increasing uptake, as many systemic hurdles are put in the way of students pursuing language study at higher levels; moreover, attitudes fall sharply along socio-economic divides, whereby parents from advantaged backgrounds pass on beliefs about the value of languages, thereby reproducing socio-economic divides in the uptake of language learning in the UK. Collen reports on the one British nation where foreign languages are not commonly taught in the Primary sector, Northern Ireland. The

generally complicated and volatile 'Irish problem' creeps into language policy here, as the teaching of the two community languages associated with segregation, English and Irish, somewhat overshadows any progress to be made in the delivery of other LOTE, despite some political will to do so. Mason and Hajek describe the mismatch in Australia between (on occasion, ambitious) policy aims and existing status quos where only a small percentage of students chooses to continue with language study beyond any compulsory period—a trend which, they say, has continued for decades unchanged.

Part II describes the state of Higher Education (HE) learning in Anglophone countries. Liddicoat, reporting on the UK, provides an in-depth analysis of language tuition provision as advertised on universities' websites, demonstrating high variability of language provision, and a lack of 'joined up' institutional policy, linking for example, internationalisation agendas to language development, or meeting the UK's national needs for language skills. In the US context, Thompson describes the trends of LOTE study at the university level, using course enrolments in seven states as examples, and also highlights some of the many benefits of learning a LOTE, as well as student motivations and opportunities to learn LOTEs in the US context. In the New Zealand context, Minagawa and Nesbitt move beyond the challenges of promoting the learning of Japanese to L1 speakers of English to the possibilities for those of an Asian L1 background to achieve success in ways that they may not find in other subjects. All three contributions thus highlight opportunities and prospects for development in this sector as well.

Parts III, IV and V offer examples of good practice, and hope. Here, all contributions are underpinned by language learning concepts and pedagogies that counter at least one (and often more) of the above described four misconceptions and myopias.

Part III offers encouraging examples, some from lifelong learners who remain engaged and motivated, often in otherwise nefarious contexts. Mitchell and Tracy-Ventura present two case studies to exemplify how effective personal resilience, and purposefully chosen strategies, combatting English hegemony in university students' daily life, can be. Bower presents evidence of successful Content and Language Integrated (CLIL) pedagogy to overcome problems of student motivation and uninspiring

language learner experiences. Buckingham provides a unique and interesting focus on heritage and community language maintenance in the New Zealand context, examining the potential for this maintenance in the face of an English-dominant society. Barbosa gives an example of a type of progressive pedagogy that overcomes an otherwise pervasive monolingual bias, and successfully integrates existing community language skills into their language practice. In her chapter, Barbosa describes a service-learning (SL) programme *Learn from the Experts,* a partnership between a Hispanic-serving university in South Texas and a public high school in the same community. The Anglophones learning Spanish and the Spanish speakers learning English were able to learn from each other; together they demystified ideologies of Spanish as inferior to English via carefully chosen themes for the project.

No discussion of innovative and pioneering language learning policies and practices would be complete without highlighting the contribution of online learning. Contributions in Part IV show effectively how the target language, community and culture can all be brought into the classroom via both synchronous and asynchronous online activities. Innes and Huang illustrate how virtual interactions with young Scottish and French language learners increase intrinsic language learning motivation, particularly in terms of enjoyment and autonomy. This study is unique with regards to the age group, primary school students, which is an understudied age group in Applied Linguistics research. Also using virtual interactions, in this case between university students in New Zealand and Germany, Feick and Knorr used a linguistic landscape project to raise the students' awareness of multilingual communities in both contexts. Tolosa, East and Barbour present a small-scale study into an initiative to enhance Asian language learning at the primary level in New Zealand, through online distance learning opportunities, bringing out both the possibilities and the challenges of the initiative. Walker-Morrison, Brussino and Gilmour focus on the tertiary level in New Zealand, and describe recently developed blended-learning courses for French, Italian and Spanish at two different universities, demonstrating how online learning can be combined effectively with traditional formats.

Contributions in Part V all exemplify what, to date, remains the most promising avenue out of the Anglophone language crisis: multilingual

practices in the FL classroom that validate existing community and heritage languages, improve social cohesion, increase motivation for minority languages, and increase metalinguistic awareness. Reporting on Ireland, Little and Kirwan present a multilingual project in an Irish primary school. Here, the whole school multilingual approach exemplifies how much can be achieved if monolingual myopia is not only fought in language lessons but also supported by the whole school. Diaz, Cordella and Ramos admit to the struggles for language learning to achieve adequate recognition and stability in schools, despite Australia's increasing linguistic and cultural diversity. They go on to present a study that demonstrates that the 'monolingual mindset' can be challenged at the school level, and successful language programmes can emerge, but teachers need to be prepared to adopt them carefully with confidence and efficacy. In a university writing class in the US context, Britton describes how she disrupted the global dominance of English, as she helped her students facilitate critical L1 and L2 awareness. Also using the practitioner lense, Zhang-Wu describes three activities that may be used to foster linguistically responsive instruction. Gordon et al. highlight the importance of incorporating discussions of language and race in a university methods course for pre-service teachers. The authors illustrate the discomfort that many people have with discussions of racism in such courses, using the lens of white fragility as a framework. Reflecting critically on the interconnectivity of race and language, targeting discussions on this topic will cultivate development of the course instructors and the pre-service teachers alike.

Thus, our *Ways Forward* (Parts III, IV and V) contributions present positive pedagogical examples, from all continents represented in this volume, of how to overcome the language learning crisis. They have in common a shared personal and/or professional dedication to, and enthusiasm for, language learning and plurilingualism. The personal resilience, and professional commitment, of the individuals carrying such initiatives forward offer commendable and inspiring role models for many a future language pedagogue or Anglophone language learner. The concern, however, remains that an over-reliance on individual commitment cannot

provide sufficiently robust answers to the—by now, systemic—crises of language learning in Anglophone countries: we shall return to this in our concluding remarks.

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Part I

Challenges to Language Learning in Anglophone Countries: Observations from School Education

Language Learning in New Zealand's Schools: Enticing Opportunities and Enduring Constraints

Martin East

Introduction

In the New Zealand school system, the learning of international languages additional to the language of instruction (hereafter L2s) has, in theory at least, achieved considerably greater prominence than was the case as recently as ten years ago.[1] That is, up to just over a decade ago, a document known as the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (NZCF) (Ministry of Education 1993), which governed decisions about what would be taught in schools, subsumed the learning of L2s within a broad

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[1] In New Zealand, the language of instruction in schools is predominantly English and, in some cases, te reo Māori, the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand. Furthermore, additional languages can include English and te reo, and a range of Pasifika languages (e.g., Samoan). This chapter is limited to a discussion of the five principal international L2s (Chinese, French, German, Japanese and Spanish) in contrast to English as L1.

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curriculum area, *Language and Languages*, that included English as first language (L1). In an Anglophone country where, as I elaborate below, deep-rooted monolingual and Anglocentric (English-only) attitudes arguably provide consistent constraints on the successful introduction of meaningful L2 courses in schools, schools and students could make English as L1 their language of choice to fulfil curriculum expectations. However, as a replacement to the original NZCF, a revised *New Zealand Curriculum* (NZC), published at the end of 2007 and mandated from the start of the school year 2010 (Ministry of Education 2007), introduced a new learning area which for the first time created dedicated space for L2 learning—*Learning Languages.* Learning a language *other* than English seemed to have become a necessary component in satisfying the requirements of the curriculum.

The seeming necessity to offer an L2 as part of the curriculum, which suggests the realisation of greater prominence for language learning in the revised school curriculum, is undermined in practice, not least because, despite a stronger position in the curriculum, language learning remains optional for all students at all levels. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the enticing opportunities that appear to have been offered for L2 learning in New Zealand through a new curriculum area and dedicated space for language learning. It also explores the constraints that have limited L2 learning in New Zealand's schools since the publication of the *Curriculum Framework* back in 1993, and continue into the present to hold New Zealand back from enabling L2s to be vibrant and central components of learning programmes in schools.

Situated within the broader context of the dire state of language learning in Anglophone countries across the globe (see Foreword to this volume in which we use the word 'crisis'), this chapter draws on the arguments of locally published articles alongside both the international literature and recent New Zealand media reports to bring the story of L2 learning in New Zealand up to date, and to present an overview for an international audience.

The New Zealand Case

The 'crisis' debate around language learning in Anglophone countries begs important questions about why such a calamitous situation has endured for so long, and what, if anything, can be done about it. The case of New Zealand provides a useful window through which to view the problems of language learning in an Anglophone context. To get a sense of the crisis as it has played itself out in New Zealand, this chapter provides an overview of what has happened in New Zealand over the past thirty years, that is, from around the time of the launch of the original curriculum framework for schools.

In 1990, Phil Goff, Minister of Education in a Labour-led administration, declared the intention of the government to develop and fund a national policy for languages (Goff 1990). Goff was building on a 1987 curriculum review that had recommended the development of a national policy to address issues regarding English, te reo Māori, Pasifika languages and international languages in both L1 and L2 contexts (Watts 1997). This would thus be a broad-based policy, but it had important implications for the compulsory schooling sector. Goff acknowledged that issues pertaining to language learning in New Zealand's schools had thus far not been dealt with in any kind of systematic way. Making reference to how schools in jurisdictions elsewhere appeared to be handing the situation, Goff suggested that a languages policy could become the catalyst for recommendations, starting with primary schools, about the development of more effective languages programmes, that is, programmes oriented to helping New Zealand to position itself better in global terms.

Goff's intentions, as outlined in 1990, were short-lived. As is the way with governments in democratic nations, later in that year elections took place, and a new National (Conservative) government came to power. However, Don McKinnon, who took up the roles of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade in the new government, became another significant voice in the debates to develop a national languages policy. For example, in a speech entitled 'English Is Not Enough', McKinnon (1992) is reported to have uttered the unequivocal declaration "[w]e really must learn to speak other languages". He

went on to argue that programmes available both at schools and universities "must equip young people with language and cultural skills". He continued, "New Zealand's ability to earn a living – our very future in fact – depends on young New Zealanders acquiring international language skills" (p. 1).

The enticing opportunities presented in the cross-party rhetoric around a national languages policy came up against the realities of enduring constraints. For example, Robert Kaplan, a US-based globally recognised expert on language planning who had been invited to New Zealand in 1991 to advise on language policy development, asserted that the government actually demonstrated "profound disinterest" in a society that was subject to "some hostility to language issues" (Kaplan 1993, p. 5). Stephen May, a New Zealand academic and international authority on language rights, language policy, bilingualism and bilingual education, similarly noted that, in the early 1990s, New Zealand was in fact "one of the most linguistically homogenous nation-states in the world" (May 2005, para. 4), a country where English dominates as the de facto 'official' language and a perception persists that 'surely everyone speaks English' (East 2000). For May, a "clear reflection of the English monolingual bias" was a "palpable lack of interest in language issues, among *both* policy makers *and* the wider public" in New Zealand (para. 9, my emphases).

New Zealand's ambitious languages policy project of the 1990s, which did lead to the publication of a document designed to provide impetus for discussion (Waite 1992), was effectively abandoned by the government in 1993 (East et al. 2007). Nevertheless, the utilitarian discourse around language learning that was finding clear expression in government rhetoric—that is, that students should be encouraged to learn L2s "because they needed to *use* them in an ever-shrinking world" (Benson and Voller 1997, p. 11)—did influence how languages were promoted in the 1993 curriculum document. That document stated not only that "[a]ll students benefit from learning another language from the earliest practicable age", but also that students "will be able to choose from a range of Pacific, Asian and European languages, all of which are important to New Zealand's regional and international interests" (Ministry of Education 1993, p. 10).

The curriculum document itself was framed, in part, by the argument that New Zealand needs "a work-force … which has an international and

multicultural perspective" (Ministry of Education 1993, p. 1) in a context where "[m]ore trade is occurring with the non-English speaking world" (p. 28). Thus, a global and outward-looking focus was presented on both the opening and the closing pages of the document. Problematic within the document, however, was the subsuming of L2s within a broader curriculum area (*Language and Languages*) that included English as L1. Along with the optional status of L2s within the curriculum, this led in practice to frequent marginalisation of L2 learning. Despite rhetoric around internationalisation and trade, there was effectively limited impetus, at the level of the curriculum, for students to take up an additional language because schools and students could fulfil the requirements of the learning area through the study of English as L1. This did not mean a complete absence of successful languages programmes, particularly in the secondary school sector (Years 9–13, ages 13+ to 17+) where a good number of schools had established programmes for language learning; nevertheless, in a policy context where schools are free to interpret the requirements of the curriculum according to their local priorities and conditions,[2] it did mean that access to language learning in New Zealand's schools was far from universal.

The publication of a revised national curriculum (Ministry of Education 2007), and the introduction of *Learning Languages* as a separate learning area within it (thereby separating English as L1 from the learning of an L2), signalled, as East (2008) put it, "a more positive and proactive approach to addressing the low take-up of languages" (p. 120). The utilitarian message around L2 learning was enhanced by the expectation that *Learning Languages* "puts students' ability to communicate at the centre" (Ministry of Education 2007, p. 24). Achievement outcomes, benchmarked against the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001), suggest that, by the end of schooling (Year 13, 17+ years of age), students should be able to reach the intermediate level B1, with more able students approaching B2.

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[2] That is, under the auspices of a document called *Tomorrow's Schools* (Lange 1988), schools became (and continue to be) autonomous entities. Although they are subject to the requirements of a national curriculum, individual schools (managed by boards of trustees) are responsible for deciding how to enact the curriculum at the local level.

The revised curriculum now provides an entitlement for all students in Years 7–10 (11+ to 14+ years of age) to have access to some kind of L2 programme. That is, schools are required to offer all students in Years 7–10 the opportunity to learn an additional language. This is, again, an enticing opportunity. However, although all students (at least in these specified school years) must be *offered* a programme in an L2, there is no *requirement* for students to take up that offer (language learning is not compulsory). Furthermore, the wording of the curriculum document states that schools must be "working towards" providing this entitlement (Ministry of Education 2007, p. 44). This provides a let-out clause for schools to argue that, in their current circumstances, they have not yet been able to fulfil the expectation. To date, lack of compulsion and the wriggle room published in the original 2007 document remain in force, and represent enduring constraints in practice.

Thus, early positive rhetoric around the development of a national languages policy (for all sectors of New Zealand society) did not lead, in practice, to the materialisation of such a policy. In the compulsory schooling sector, the revised NZC has theoretically enhanced the entitlement for students to learn a language additional to the language of instruction. However, in practice languages remain optional, and schools can claim, if challenged about not enacting the entitlement, that they are currently not able to introduce a language programme (e.g., if they claim not to have staff available). In what follows, I document the state of play in the schools sector over the last several decades, and speculate on what this means for language learning in schools.

The State of Play

Statistics released each year through New Zealand's *Education Counts* website enable an analysis of trends for L2 take-up in schools in comparison with the numbers of students in any given year group (data are collected annually every July 1). East et al. (2007) presented secondary school data for the period 1991–2003. East (2008) updated these data for the period 2001–2007. Tables 1, 2, and 3 presented here provide a further update, this time for the period 2000–2018, and this time

Table 1 Percentages of students taking an L2, primary Years 1–6 (5+ to 10+ years of age)

Language	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
Chinese	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.9	1.9	2.9	8.4
French	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.1	1.5	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.2
German	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.3
Japanese	1.3	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8
Spanish	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.2	0.9
% of school population	2.9	2.9	3.6	3.8	4.4	5.2	6.2	6.5	11.7

Table 2 Percentages of students taking an L2, intermediate Years 7–8 (11+ to 12+ years of age)

Language	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
Chinese	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.4	2.4	4.1	5.1	10.9	19.1
French	9.1	11.9	15.8	17.9	19.9	20.7	20.4	17.7	17.9
German	4.9	6.0	7.4	6.9	7.3	7.7	6.2	5.1	4.2
Japanese	14.8	13.8	15.1	12.6	13.6	14.2	13.5	13.7	11.5
Spanish	8.3	8.4	10.1	11.0	14.9	17.0	14.7	16.5	14.7
% of school population	38.2	41.0	49.5	49.8	58.0	63.7	60.0	63.8	67.4

Table 3 Percentage of students taking an L2, secondary Years 9–13+ (13+ to 17+ years of age)

Language	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
Chinese	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.5	1.7	2.0
French	9.3	9.3	9.3	9.9	10.1	8.3	7.9	7.2	6.1	5.4
German	2.9	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.1
Japanese	8.3	7.5	7.6	6.7	6.5	5.0	4.4	4.2	3.8	4.0
Spanish	1.3	1.8	2.4	2.9	3.9	3.8	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.3
% of school population	22.3	21.8	22.1	22.5	23.4	19.8	18.9	18.5	16.8	16.8

including data for the primary/intermediate sectors. The data were generated by calculating the total numbers of students recorded as taking a language in a given year group as percentages of the total numbers of students recorded as enrolled in the year group.[3]

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[3] The published statistics present raw numbers only, and percentages recorded here have been calculated from information recorded in independent data sets that serve different purposes. A comparison of the data presented here with those recorded, for example, by East (2008) indicates

Tables 1 and 2 record the percentages of students taking an L2 considered every second year during the period 2000 to 2016, first for Years 1–6 (Primary) and then for Years 7 and 8 (Intermediate). (Data beyond 2017 are not available.) The data focus on the five international languages that are most commonly taught in New Zealand's schools.

In the primary/intermediate sector, the story with regard to L2 learning appears to be one of success. At the primary level (Years 1–6), by 2016 four times as many students were accessing a language at the time of data collection than was the case in 2000 (although this was still only just over one in ten students in 2016). At the intermediate level (Years 7 and 8), numbers between 2000 and 2016 almost doubled, and by 2016 over two-thirds of students were accessing some kind of language course at the time of data collection. In both sectors, the most noticeable growth has been in the take-up of Chinese. This is particularly visible at the intermediate level, where numbers taking Chinese grew from 1% (2000) to 19% (2016). It is also observable that overall growth has been steady. It is, therefore, hard to make the claim that growth is attributable to the expectations of the revised curriculum for schools. (The entitlement within the revised curriculum might well have enabled growth to continue, but this growth was taking place beforehand.)

The secondary statistics tell a different story (Table 3; Fig. 1).

With regard to the secondary sector, a comparison with the data going as far back as 1991 (East et al. 2007) reveals that the number of students taking an L2 remained fairly constant for many years at around one in four overall. This is observable for the years 2000–2008 (Table 3; Fig. 1). It would appear, however, that from 2010 numbers have been trending downwards, reaching around one in six students overall in 2018. It is concerning that this downwards trend coincides with the implementation of the revised curriculum (from 2010). Thus, the hoped-for enhanced take-up of L2 study as a consequence of *Learning Languages* is not apparent. We do see growth in Chinese and Spanish, but this is off-set by larger declines in French, German and Japanese. It would appear not only that

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marginal differences in percentages across languages (average difference = 0.3%). This is partially accounted for by the inclusion of the small number of students who continue beyond Year 13. Taking these minor variances into account, the figures should serve as a *guide only* to the emerging trends.
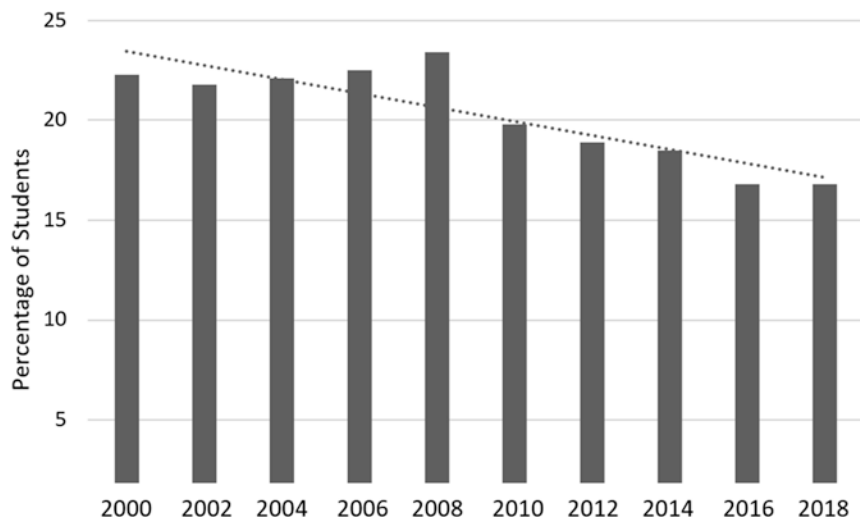
Fig. 1   Percentage of students taking an L2, secondary Years 9–13+

schools are switching their allegiance from some languages to others, but also that numbers have declined considerably in the more 'established' languages.

In further interpreting Tables 1, 2, and 3, East's (2008) caveats are apposite. The numbers represent a snapshot at one point in time (July 1 every year). On the one hand, it is possible that several students may have been studying more than one language at the time of data collection, and are therefore counted more than once. Conversely, the data do not capture the reality that many students in the junior years do not follow year-long courses but, rather, access L2 programmes as short-term (one or two term) "taster options". Indeed, the numbers do not tell us anything about length of exposure to a language course. In this regard, the figures may under-represent the total number of students who access a language programme (albeit for a brief period of time) at some point during the school year.

Following East (2008), secondary school data have been further extrapolated to show take-up in each individual language across each year group. Table 4 presents the data for 2018, considered in percentage terms

Table 4   Percentages of students taking an L2 in 2018 (Years 9–13+)

	School year				
Language	9	10	11	12	13
Chinese	3.9	2.3	1.2	1	1.6
French	13	7.1	3	1.8	1.7
German	2.2	1.3	0.8	0.5	0.5
Japanese	8.2	5.1	2.8	1.7	1.5
Spanish	9.7	6.3	2.4	1.4	1.3
Average	7.4	4.4	2	1.3	1.3
Total	37	22.1	10.2	6.4	6.6
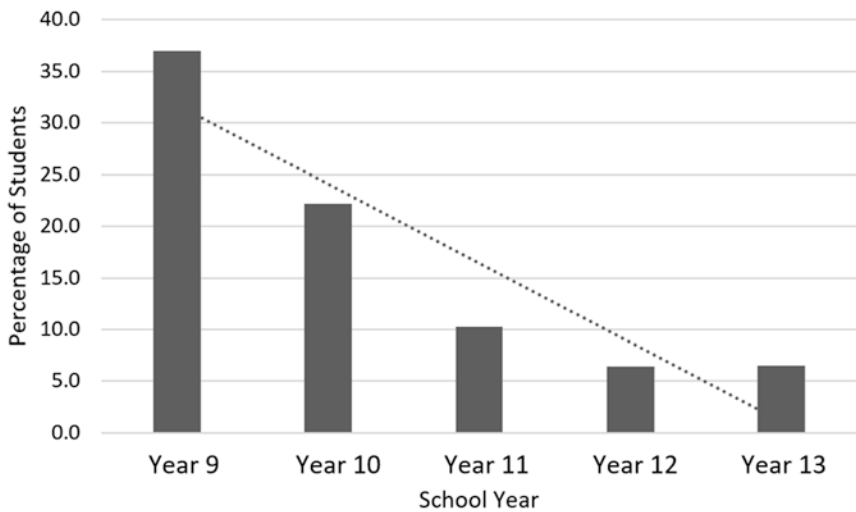
Fig. 2   Percentages of students taking an L2 in 2018 (Years 9–13+)

against the numbers of students recorded as enrolled in each year (Year 9–13+). Figure 2 illustrates the overall (downwards) trend that emerges.

It is apparent that, in Year 9, over a third of students was accessing some kind of language course at the time of data collection. By the time students reached Year 11 (final year of compulsory schooling), the overall figure had fallen to one in ten students, with an average per language of one in fifty. At the end of schooling (Year 13), by which time students' subject choices have become more specialised, numbers had dropped further to below one in twenty overall, with just over one in one hundred

taking a specific language (German demonstrates the lowest take-up at this most senior level).[4]

The most concerning aspect of the data presented in the above tables and figures is that, despite growing provision of introductory L2 courses at the primary/intermediate level, once students reach secondary level (and receive opportunities to undertake specialist courses with specialist teachers that would enable them to reach levels of proficiency beyond the most basic which, at best, would be approaching A1 on the CEFR), numbers dwindle and considerable attrition sets in. This attrition is comparable, for example, to the situation in the UK (see Foreword, and East 2008).

East et al. (2007) commented that the introduction of *Learning Languages* in the revised curriculum was "a positive move in the right direction" (p. 26). East (2008) argued, however, "it remains to be seen how successful the new curriculum area will be in promoting second-language learning and enhancing the linguistic capability of New Zealand's young people" (p. 130). The enrolment data presented here suggest that the revised curriculum has done little to enhance language learning in New Zealand, at least at the secondary level. That is, clearly growth in the secondary sector is not occurring; rather, the reverse seems to be the case. The crisis metaphor continues to be apposite.

Exploring Influencing Factors in the Secondary School Sector

A study published by Ward and East (2016) sheds some light on factors that may be influencing the situation in secondary schools. Ward and East argued that, theoretically, the establishment of *Learning Languages* heralded a 'brave new world' that would promote L2 learning. They went on to make the following assertion:

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[4] A Year 13 figure higher than Year 12 indicates that a comparatively higher percentage of students was studying an L2 in Year 12 in the preceding year (2017), and therefore, comparatively, a higher percentage went into Year 13 in 2018.

Ten years on from the publication of the NZC, however, teacher rhetoric suggests a decrease in student numbers, students converged into multi-level classes, and the closure of L2 programmes in schools. In online fora they blame a lack of leadership support from principals as well as the structure of NCEA assessments.[5] As teachers blame leadership, leaders point to a need for quality teaching, and the promise of entitlement to languages that appeared to be heralded by the revised NZC has seemingly faded away. (p. 45)

To investigate the reality behind the rhetoric that learning an additional language is seen as an important school goal, the study reported by Ward and East (2016) drew on interviews with principals and leaders of languages in four schools (n = 7) alongside responses to an online survey of secondary L2 teachers to gain a snapshot of their perceptions (n = 112). Ward and East identified four impacting factors (p. 46):

1. The quality and capability of teaching staff
2. Timetabling and curriculum choices in schools
3. The lack of status for languages, compounded by an entrenched monolingualism
4. The lack of a languages policy or compulsion in the curriculum

With regard to teaching quality and capability, Lightbown and Spada (2013) argued that motivation can be positively enhanced through classroom environments for students where "the content is interesting and relevant to their age and level of ability, the learning goals are challenging yet manageable and clear, and the atmosphere is supportive" (p. 88). Nevertheless, as East (2012) asserted with regard to New Zealand classrooms, "despite having real-world communication as a goal, courses have frequently been delivered in a teacher-fronted, step-by-step, hierarchical way", whereby "attention to grammatical rules" has taken precedence over developing interactional competence (p. 132). It has been argued that such an approach is demotivating for students (Long 2000). Ward and East (2016) concluded that, given the optional status of languages,

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[5] The National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) is New Zealand's high-stakes school assessment system.

effective pedagogy is crucial, and teachers are an influential factor in student enrolment, success and continuation. Teachers needed to be willing to 'embrace change', and on-going professional learning opportunities were needed to support them to accomplish this.

With regard to time-tabling and curriculum choices, Ward and East (2016) observed that schools face pressure to cover all the learning areas presented in the revised curriculum. An increasing range of subject choices, particularly at the junior secondary levels, Years 9 and 10, has led to the issue of a 'crowded' curriculum in which not all subjects can be dealt with equitably. In this context, Shearn (2003) cited the appeal of other curriculum options, even in cases where students actually enjoyed language learning. As Jones (2014) put it, sometimes "school curricular policies load the dice insurmountably" against learners choosing an L2 (p. 5). Ward and East concluded that schools with successful L2 programmes had principals who viewed languages as important. This helped to overcome the limitation of 'working towards'. The whole school ethos needed to be supportive of L2 learning as one of a whole range of learning opportunities.

With regard to lack of status for languages and an entrenched monolingualism, East (2008) argued that "Anglocentric [English-only] attitudes arguably work against the successful introduction of meaningful courses in foreign languages in schools" (p. 129). As a consequence, many New Zealanders do not perceive any value in learning an additional language. In this regard, McGee et al. (2013) referred to "an attitude prevalent amongst principals, careers advisers, and parents that the study of a language is 'a nice optional extra'" (p. iii) whereby "choosing to learn a foreign language is seen as a difficult and unpopular option" (p. 26). (See, e.g., Cuff 2017, in this regard.)

With regard to lack of a languages policy or compulsion in the curriculum, Ward and East (2016) found that making an L2 compulsory, at least in the junior Years 9 and 10, was perceived as an important strategy that would send a positive signal about value. Furthermore, it has been suggested that a national languages policy might strengthen the position of L2 learning in schools (e.g., Tan 2015, April 27). Up to now, however, languages remain optional and a policy has not emanated.

Where to from Here? Back to the Political Debates

In late 2017, and as part of its campaign in the lead-up to a general election, New Zealand's incumbent National Party announced a policy initiative to strengthen L2 learning in the primary/intermediate sector through additional government funding for professional development, language specialists, and online resources. In late 2018, and having subsequently lost the election to Labour, Nikki Kaye (as former Minister for Education and then Shadow Education Spokesperson) introduced to parliament a bill that, if made law, would fulfil this initiative (New Zealand Parliament 2018). As a published aim, the bill would include "access to language learning through additional resources provided by the Government to fund professional development, language specialists, and online resources" (para. 1). In particular, schools would be required to select a "priority language" from a list of ten (including te reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language as New Zealand's two official languages), and ensure that all students were given opportunities to learn it.

At the time of the bill's introduction, Kaye is reported to have said, "[w]e need to legislate for this, it's not an optional thing to provide that access to languages". She conceded, nevertheless, that this would be "a big shift as a country" (Collins 2018, para. 5). However, immediately after the launch of the bill, one media report (Bracewell-Worrall 2018) poured cold water on the initiative. It was noted that the bill "won't pass into law unless Ms Kaye can get backing from the Government or one of its support parties". However, despite Kaye's apparent optimism that support could be forthcoming, "the Government's saying it won't [support it]" (para. 3). The reported response at the time from Labour's Minister of Education, Chris Hipkins, was that there are insufficient teachers, and "[a]t the moment the Government is focused on ensuring we have enough teachers for the subjects we offer now" (para. 5).

Indeed, a week after the policy initiative was first announced, East (2017) applauded the National Party for placing the proposal on the election agenda, but went on to critique it as "woefully inadequate to enable students of any language to progress very far beyond the most basic of

interactions" (para. 3). He argued, "[w]here are we going to find the teachers who are sufficiently qualified in appropriate language teaching methodology and sufficiently proficient in the target language to deliver National's bold ambition?" (para. 4). This mirrored East's earlier argument (2008) that "perhaps the biggest practical problem to be solved" for L2 teaching in schools was "lack of availability of suitably qualified teachers" (p. 126). East (2017) concluded, "[w]e need to revive the arguments about compulsory language learning and a national languages policy" (para. 6). That is, even if the Bill did become law, it remains to be seen how the opportunities it purports to offer would differ from the current 'entitlement' that, as I explained earlier, does not make a language compulsory and provides wriggle room for schools to argue that they cannot yet meet the requirement. This becomes a circular problem: to expand L2 provision we need teachers, and only an expanded school provision will deliver the future L2 teacher numbers needed.

In 2018, Don McKinnon, now well retired from politics but maintaining a role as Chairman of the New Zealand China Council, asserted that the statistics around L2 learning in the schools sector demonstrated failure in the New Zealand education system. He opened his argument with the assertion that "[a] smaller proportion of secondary school students is learning languages now than at any other time in the past 100 years" (para. 1). His proposed solution was "a coherent national languages policy … fit for the 21st century" (para. 4). McKinnon went on to reflect that, stretching back over several decades, successive governments of different political persuasions have been confronted with the issue, but have lacked sufficient political will to address it.

At the time of the introduction of the new learning area *Learning Languages*, East (2008) suggested that the new curriculum entitlement was a "significant development" that, at least in theory, would give L2 learning "a higher profile and a greater status than it has thus far enjoyed in schools" (p. 113). He asserted nevertheless that the situation in New Zealand with regard to student take-up of additional languages "has not been a positive one", with teachers of additional languages "frequently facing demotivated students, low enrolments and considerable attrition" (East 2012, p. 128). Ward and East (2016) concluded that the success of L2 programmes, at least at secondary level, appears to be contingent on

several factors—"positive and supportive senior management, buy in from other colleagues, and a proficient teaching staff" alongside "effectively challenging a 'monolingual' mindset and promoting the importance of multilingualism in today's world, thereby raising the status of L2 learning" (p. 60). McKinnon's (2018) concluding words provide a useful summation of the current reality:

> Back in 1992, when I was in government, I said learning English was not enough. Every young New Zealander should be given the opportunity to learn a second language. Not just because it's good for the economy, but because it's good for them as global citizens. Let's not wait another 100 years to get this right. (para. 9)

The changes to the curriculum heralded by *Learning Languages* are now sufficiently established to enable an evaluation of their effectiveness. What is arguably needed moving forward is, at the very least, a strengthening of the 'entitlement' wording in New Zealand's curriculum document (NZC) so that schools cannot put up arguments enabling them to opt out. Additionally, New Zealand needs to consider seriously some level of compulsion to learn a language for at least some years in school (whether at intermediate or junior secondary levels). However, for that to happen, the issue of adequately and suitably qualified teachers needs to be addressed, with government funding enabling an increase in quality pre-service and in-teacher education opportunities. The rhetoric may be positive (at least at times). The reality is less so. The challenges are big. Fundamentally, "[t]here is a very real sense in which New Zealand's attitude to teaching and learning languages requires a genuine cultural change. The extent of the change required should not be underestimated" (East 2008, p. 130).

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The Place of Foreign Languages in the Irish Education System: Towards a More Strategic Approach

Jennifer Bruen

Introduction and Overview

This chapter critically assesses recent policy developments in relation to the teaching of foreign languages in Ireland, and evaluates the extent to which they already have, and/or are likely to result in future increases in foreign language capacities, to the benefit of Irish society and the Irish economy. The chapter begins with a brief description of the place of languages other than English and Irish in the Irish education system, including recent policy developments marked by the publication of *Languages Connect: Ireland's Strategy for Foreign Languages in Education 2017–2026* (Department of Education and Skills [DES] 2017a). *Languages Connect* is Ireland's first official government strategy for foreign languages in education and represents an attempt to increase the quantity and quality of foreign language teaching and learning in Ireland. This chapter critiques

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this policy, particularly the extent to which it is likely to result in an increase in foreign language capacity that is in line with Ireland's needs.

Foreign Languages in the Irish Education System

The Republic of Ireland has two official languages, English and Irish (spoken as a first language by 3% of the population), and a long history of varying degrees of bilingualism as a result (Coady and Ó'Laoire 2002). In addition, as a result of inward migration, Ireland's linguistic profile has become increasingly diverse in recent years. Approximately 13% of the population in Ireland now regularly speak a language other than English or Irish at home, with the most commonly spoken languages being Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, Portuguese and Chinese (Central Statistics Office 2017). Furthermore, 70% of students study a foreign language in Irish secondary schools. However, despite these facts, and in common with other countries where English is a widely spoken official language, foreign language capacity in Ireland remains below, for example, the EU average (Eurostat 2018). Only approximately 30% of those aged between 25 and 64 in Ireland report knowledge of an additional foreign language compared with an EU average of 35% (and a UK figure of 20%). While this figure of 30% represents an increase of 9.1% on the 2011 figures, a series of recent reports continues to highlight the negative impact of Ireland's lower than average foreign language capacity on its cultural, economic and social development (DES 2016; Forfás 2012).

Both English and Irish are mandatory subjects in Irish primary and secondary schools.[1] Therefore, pupils are taught both English and Irish from the ages of four or five. This means that they are familiar with the concept of speaking and learning more than one language from a young age. However, there is currently no mainstream provision in primary schools for the teaching of foreign languages. A relatively short-lived (from 1998 to 2012) *Modern Languages in Primary Schools Initiative* was discontinued or 'paused due to the current economic climate' (DES

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[1] Exemptions from the study of Irish are granted in very limited circumstances including where a student has lived abroad and/or does not speak English. Students with significant learning difficulties and students in special schools may also be exempted.

2012, p. 3) in December 2012, despite its initial successes in the 550 schools that participated. Some consideration was given to reinstating this programme in 2017. While these plans have not yet come to fruition (Bray 2017), the government is currently considering a reintroduction of foreign languages into primary schools in 2024–25 (O'Brien 2020). It is not yet clear what shape such a reintroduction may take, although current proposals by the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment refer to a reduction in the time devoted to faith formation and a move to 'curriculum areas' rather than subjects, one of which is 'languages' including foreign languages.

In Irish secondary schools (attended by pupils aged 13–18), foreign languages are optional. However, individual secondary schools can decide to make them compulsory in terms of the choices they offer to students. For example, school pupils might be asked to choose one of French, German or Spanish when making their initial subject choices on entering secondary school for the first time. Approximately 90% of students study a language in their first three years of secondary school (Junior Cycle, for students generally aged between 13 and 15) and 70% study a language during the final two years (Senior Cycle, for students aged generally between 16 and 18).[2] The range of languages on offer in secondary schools is relatively limited. More than 50% of pupils study French. The other languages offered are Spanish, German and Italian and, in a smaller number of schools, non-European and an increasing variety of lesser taught/heritage languages also. Private secondary schools,[3] which supplement their state-paid teaching hours with the extra income obtained from student fees, tend to provide a wider range of foreign languages (Donnelly 2020).

The number of students studying foreign languages falls dramatically in Ireland between the end of secondary school and entry to higher education. Four percent, or approximately 9000 students, are engaged in the study of a foreign language in some capacity in Irish Higher Education

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[2] The difference between school uptake and language competencies reported in the adult population (29.9%) may arise from relatively low proficiency at school exit point, combined with the lack of exposure, in adults, to languages other than English after leaving secondary school at the age of 17 or 18.

[3] Private schools make up approximately 7% of secondary schools in Ireland.

Institutions (HEIs) (compared with a UK figure of 3.5% studying languages, literature and related subjects [UCAS 2017] and 7.5% in the United States [Stein-Smith 2019]). The Irish figure includes those studying foreign languages as part of a specialist language degree, those studying a foreign language combined with another discipline such as law or business, and those registered for a foreign language as a minor but accredited element of another programme (DES 2017a, p. 31). Approximately 6000 of these students are in one of the eight Irish universities and 3000 in one of the 14 Institutes of Technology (IoTs). While the reasons behind students not continuing with languages after secondary school remain unclear, they may be associated with a perception among secondary school pupils that languages are more difficult than other subjects (DES 2017a, p. 7) and a subsequent decision not to continue with them in higher education. The fall-off may also be associated with the well-documented perception in many Anglophone countries (Lanvers 2011), including Ireland (O'Brien 2019), that 'English is enough' and that there is neither need for nor value in investing time and effort in the study of an additional language.

Towards a Strategic Approach to Foreign Languages in Education in Ireland

In 2014, the Irish government tasked the DES with the design and publication of Ireland's first official government strategy for foreign languages in education. This took place within the broader context of the publication of Ireland's *National Strategy for Higher Education to 2030* (Hunt 2011) and built upon previous collaborative efforts by the Council of Europe in tandem with the DES (Department of Education and Science/ Council of Europe 2008) and subsequently by the Royal Irish Academy (2011). The DES began the process by reviewing the relevant policies, which had been published up to that point, and engaging in widespread public consultation. The purpose of the consultation was to inform the design of a new ten-year strategy for foreign languages in education. The core mission of the resulting strategy, *Languages Connect: Ireland's strategy for foreign languages in education 2017–26,* is formulated as follows:

that Ireland's education system will promote a society where the ability to learn and use at least one foreign language is taken for granted, because of its inherent value for individuals, society and the economy. (DES 2017a, p. 7)

Languages Connect goes on to identify four key objectives which underpin the strategy (DES 2017a, p. 8). These are to:

1. Improve language proficiency by creating a more engaging language learning environment
2. Diversify and increase the uptake of languages learned and cultivate the languages of the new Irish
3. Increase awareness of the importance of language learning to encourage the wider use of foreign languages
4. Enhance employer engagement in the development and use of trade languages

These objectives concern all stages of education from primary to higher education in Ireland and aim to increase societal awareness of the value of language learning. The objectives were operationalised into ten specific goals (DES 2017a, p. 1111), to be achieved by 2026, as follows:

1. Increase the uptake in key languages from their present Leaving Certificate examination uptakes: German (13%), Spanish (11%), Italian (0.9%), Russian (0.6%), Japanese (0.6%), Arabic (0.2%), Mandarin Chinese (N/A), Portuguese (0.2%—non-curricular).
2. Introduce a curricular specification for new learners of Mandarin Chinese for Leaving Certificate and curricular specifications for heritage speakers for Polish, Lithuanian and Portuguese.
3. Increase in the number of secondary schools offering two or more foreign languages and increase the number of students sitting two languages for state examinations by 25% (from a baseline of approximately 2.65% of an approximate total of 40,000 students annually).
4. Increase the proportion of the higher education cohort studying a foreign language, in any capacity, as part of their course to 20%.
5. Increase the number of participants in Erasmus+ by at least 50%.

6. Double the number of teachers participating in teacher mobility programmes.
7. Double the number of Foreign Language Assistants.
8. Improvement in learners' attitude to foreign language learning.
9. Improvement in the quality of foreign language teaching at all levels.
10. Adoption of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001) in education and by employers and increase the proportion of graduates leaving higher education who reach the "Independent User" standard.

In order to address the erroneous perception, alluded to at the end of the previous section, that English is enough, *Languages Connect* also acknowledges the need for a change in attitude or 'a significant change of mindset' (DES 2017a, p. 12) in relation to foreign language learning in Ireland. The DES acknowledges the time and resource implications if the above outcomes are to be achieved.

To address the well-known difficulties associated with bridging the gap between language education policy and practice (Hornberger and Johnson 2007), the DES produced a detailed Implementation Plan (DES 2017b) to accompany *Languages Connect*. It also established a Foreign Languages Advisory Group (FLAG)[4] whose responsibility is to oversee the implementation of measures intended to achieve the goals of *Languages Connect*. Specifically, FLAG is responsible for the achievement of the following targets (Table 1).

FLAG contains representatives from the DES, the Department of Business, Enterprise and Innovation, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Post-Primary Languages Initiative,[5] language experts, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, the Irish Business and Employers' Confederation, the Higher Education Authority, Léargas,[6] the National Association of Principals and Deputy Principals, Language Teacher Professional Networks and the National Parents Council. FLAG

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[4] https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Information/Curriculum-and-Syllabus/Foreign-Languages-Strategy/foreign-languages-advisory-group-flag-.html

[5] https://ppli.ie/

[6] The National Agency for the European exchange programme Erasmus+ in Adult Education, School Education, Vocational Education and Training and Youth https://www.leargas.ie/

Table 1 Languages Connect: targets

Measure	Baseline (2016)	Mid-term target (2022)	End target (2026)
Percentage of candidates presenting for a foreign language for junior certificate/cycle examination	87%	92%	100%
Percentage of junior certificate/cycle candidates sitting German, Spanish and Italian as a proportion of total curricular foreign language sits	40%	45%	50%
Percentage of schools offering two or more foreign languages as part of transition year	53%	75%	100%
Percentage of candidates presenting for a foreign language for leaving certificate examination	69%	74%	79%
Percentage of leaving certificate candidates sitting German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Japanese and Arabic as a proportion of total curricular foreign language sits	38%	41%	45%
Percentage of students studying courses with a language component in higher education	4 (12/13)	10	20
Learner attitudes towards foreign language learning	To be established[a]		
Participation in Erasmus+ in higher education and other study and work placements abroad	3135	4400	5400
improvement in CEFR levels of returning Erasmus+ students	63% at B2 or above	68% at B2 or above	75% at B2 or above
Number of foreign language assistants coming to Ireland	110	160	220
Percentage of employers reporting use of the CEFR	To be established		
Percentage of employers reporting use of language management strategies (LMSs)	To be established		

Table 1 (continued)

Measure	Baseline (2016)	Mid-term target (2022)	End target (2026)
Number of education and training providers incorporating LMSs into MBA and other executive education programmes	To be established		

[a]No baseline information currently exists in relation to items 7, 11, 12, 13, hence the use of 'to be established' in the policy document, Languages Connect

is answerable to the DES and is required to produce an Annual Report to the Minister for Education and Skills.

In addition, the government presented the *Languages Connect* strategy as part of a *Higher Education Authority Systems Performance Framework 2018–2020*. This means that the achievement or otherwise of *Languages Connect* targets by Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) may have an impact on the amount of funding they receive from the Higher Education Authority (HEA), the statutory body responsible for the allocation of exchequer funds to HEIs, thereby incentivising them to reach these targets. This represents an innovation in Ireland in terms of language policy making and may help to ensure that *Languages Connect* has a greater impact than previous strategies.

The following section considers the progress that has been made to date, evaluates some of the initiatives designed to implement *Languages Connect*, and reviews the remaining challenges.

Ireland's Foreign Languages-in-Education Policy: A Critique

Languages Connect calls for the coherent, planned provision of foreign languages across the different areas or stages of education, that is, from primary to secondary, and in relation to further, higher and lifelong education. The goals and targets identified are characterised by a complex interdependency. For example, a lack of foreign language graduates has

resulted in a shortage of candidates for positions as teachers of foreign languages in Irish secondary schools. Furthermore, increased numbers studying a greater range of languages in secondary schools and in the higher education sector are only achievable if a shift in attitude towards the value of language learning among the wider public occurs.

In order to achieve such attitudinal change, away from the view that 'English is enough', Post-primary Languages Ireland (PPLI)[7]have been tasked by the DES with developing an awareness raising campaign, also known as Languages Connect (same name as the whole policy initiative).[8] The PPLI is a dedicated unit linked to the DES with responsibility for supporting foreign language learning in Ireland, primarily in secondary schools. To date, the awareness-raising campaign has been mainly active on social media platforms, for example, Twitter. The campaign team, which includes Education Officers, Language Advisors, a team of associates, a marketing team and a large number of foreign language teachers,[9] is engaged in the organisation of a series of high-profile events. These events are designed to convince students and the wider public of the value of learning foreign languages. One such event, for example, targeted secondary school students and was attended by representatives of HEIs, the European Commission and the France-Ireland Chamber of Commerce.[10] High-profile figures from the business domain are participating in the campaign, such as Julie Sinnamon, chief executive of Enterprise Ireland, the body responsible for supporting Irish Small- and Medium-Sized Enterprises in growth and internationalisation. Sinnamon recently emphasised in the context of an event organised by *Languages Connect* that:

> In the context of Brexit, we have set an ambitious target in Enterprise Ireland to grow exports outside of the UK by 50 per cent by 2020 and if you want to be taken seriously in foreign countries, you really need to be able to speak the language. (O'Brien 2019)

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[7] http://www.ppli.ie/

[8] http://www.languagesconnect.ie/

[9] http://www.languagesconnect.ie/about

[10] https://www.franceireland.ie/

The PPLI's Languages Connect awareness-raising campaign will be central to addressing the lack of appreciation of the social and economic value of foreign language learning common to Anglophone countries. Its degree of success will also be important in determining whether many of the target outcomes articulated in Languages Connect are achieved or not. This is due to the fact that the numbers choosing to continue the study of foreign languages beyond secondary school is hindered less by a lack of availability of places on modern foreign language degrees in higher education than by a low level of demand for these places. This is to not to say that the scope does not exist for an increase in the number of language degrees and the range of languages on offer in higher education in Ireland. As in secondary schools, there is a need for a greater variety of languages to be taught in universities and IoTs.

However, an online campaign alone is unlikely to achieve the desired increases in foreign language capacity in Ireland unless it is supported by top-down changes in language education policy. For example, a particular issue in relation to Ireland's foreign language capacity is the dominance of French in schools and as a result in higher education. Therefore, alongside a change in attitudes towards the value of the study of language, a diversification in the languages offered in secondary schools is also required if the objectives of Languages Connect are to be achieved. A first step has been taken on this issue with the completion of a curricular outline for Mandarin Chinese and its addition in 2019 to the list of languages available to students as official School Leaving Certificate options. Curricula for Polish, Lithuanian and Portuguese for heritage speakers are currently in development (Donnelly 2020).

Initiatives such as increased funding for secondary school exchanges and for the hiring of language assistants (Target 10, Table 1) (DES 2018) also undoubtedly represent progress towards achieving the targets of Languages Connect. However, the fact that individual schools are required to engage in competitive applications for limited funding rather than its being made available to schools as part of an overarching policy decision acts as a barrier to more widespread progress. Overall responsibility for the achievement of the goals of Languages Connect in primary and secondary schools lies with the DES. Thus, it is within the remit of

the DES to ensure that the progress made to date can be cascaded more widely, and not limited to small-scale initiatives.

An important difference in accountability between the school and the higher education sector lies in the autonomous nature of HEIs. However, as their achievements in relation to Languages Connect are associated with the amount of funding they receive, HEIs are incentivised to achieve the targets set. To date, the precise impact of this association is not yet clear, however, nor is the nature of any potential sanctions or penalties, if any, should HEIs not reach specific targets. This tension exemplifies the dilemma that, on the one hand, the body regulating HEIs, the Higher Education Authority, is required to have 'due regard to institutional autonomy and academic freedom', but on the other hand, is also responsible for ensuring that 'institutional strategies are aligned with national strategic objectives'.[11]

There is evidence that some HEIs are recognising the need, for example, to educate more language teachers. For instance, a new degree programme for future language teachers at Dublin City University had its first intake in September 2019 while more are in the planning stages (Bruen 2019a, b). While welcome, these degree programmes continue to focus on the large European languages traditionally offered, that is, French, German and Spanish. The addition of other world languages is also required to meet the needs of secondary schools, Irish society and the Irish economy. Such languages include Polish, Lithuanian, Arabic, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese and Russian. In addition, the design of new routes into teaching is called for. One such initiative would be to facilitate accelerated teacher training for native speakers of a modern foreign language as language teachers without the requirement to complete an undergraduate language degree followed by a teaching qualification programme, known in Ireland as a Professional Masters in Education. This is an area in which there is the potential to make rapid progress in the training of language teachers.

Within the higher education sector, the IoTs appear to face particular challenges. Recent studies (Berthaud et al. 2018; Carthy 2019a) and reports (Higher Education Authority 2015) indicate that very few

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[11] https://hea.ie/about-us/overview/

students are studying foreign languages in these institutions. There is increasingly limited provision of foreign languages as well as low levels of institutional support for the reversal of this trend, with some academics being encouraged to retrain in disciplines other than languages (Carthy 2019a, b). Thus, in IoTs, Languages Connect does not appear to have had an impact, either on planning for language provision, or practice of language teaching delivery, resulting in a gap between institutional policy and practices on the one hand, and the national priorities called out in Languages Connect, on the other. This points to a differential among HEIs in the delivery of foreign languages, whereby some more vocationally orientated HEIs de-prioritise languages, a phenomenon that has also been observed in the UK (Lanvers 2011; Liddicoat, this volume).

Concluding Remarks

The Republic of Ireland has some advantages when it comes to foreign languages in education. Inward migration has resulted in a pupil population which is increasingly linguistically diverse (Little and Kirwan 2019, and this volume). This means that many children are exposed to diverse languages and cultures with primary schools in particular finding creative ways to harness this diversity (Kirwan 2015). Furthermore, the compulsory bilingual offering of English and Irish in primary and secondary education means that pupils develop at least a basic understanding and appreciation of the processes involved in language learning (Beaver 2017; Dunmore 2015). It also means that school pupils possess a repertoire of at least two languages from a young age to which they can continue to add over the course of their lives. The study of two languages (English and Irish) does, however, require time within the school curriculum. To date, too little consideration has been given to the requirement that Irish remain compulsory in the final two years of secondary school, the senior cycle. At this point, pupils are likely to benefit from freedom of choice in relation to the nature of their own linguistic repertoire.

In secondary schools, there is a strong uptake from ages 13 to 18 of a limited range of foreign languages with an emphasis on French although curricula have recently been designed for additional languages. At

present, progress in diversifying target languages is slow and limited to a small number of schools. Schools aiming to diversify their languages face challenges in relation to resourcing and teacher supply. One promising initiative, in terms of potentially breaking the cycle of low levels of provision of languages not traditionally taught in Ireland and a resulting small pool of language teachers to teach these languages, is the introduction of an accelerated route to teaching qualifications in languages by native speakers. The success and uptake of such an initiative remains to be seen. Other governmental measures, such as the incentivisation of school exchanges and the increased use of Language Assistants,[12] are equally welcome. These initiatives would have a greater impact if they were mainstreamed and schools were not required to apply for limited funding.

The objectives of Languages Connect have not yet permeated the IoT sector. More effective government oversight, for instance, by the Higher Education Authority, is required to ensure the necessary alignment of policy and practice with national objectives. Currently there is little indication as to how this will be achieved.

A particular challenge in Ireland and in all countries where English is an official language remains the perceived global dominance of English and a related lack of awareness and appreciation of the social, cultural and economic value of learning foreign languages (Introduction, this volume). The language awareness campaign described in this chapter represents a welcome development and constitutes a crucial aspect of the Languages Connect strategy. However, without government oversight of its implementation in practice, it faces an uphill battle. Experiences elsewhere suggest that merely aiming to 'convince' relevant stakeholders and the wider public, via online campaigns and learned arguments, of the social, cultural and economic value of foreign language learning, will yield little result (Lanvers 2011). To conclude, the future of foreign language learning in Ireland will depend ultimately on the success of policy makers in reducing, by any combination of 'carrot and stick' approaches necessary, the discrepancy between policy announcements, on the one hand, and the practical and financial support of teaching institutions in implementing these, on the other.

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[12] Students studying for an English language degree in another country and spending their year abroad working as language teaching assistants in Irish schools.

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English Monolingualism in Canada: A Critical Analysis of Language Ideologies

Andrea Sterzuk and Hyunjung Shin

Introduction

A monolingual mindset, or the perception that monolingualism is the social norm (Clyne 2004; Hajek and Slaughter 2014), is pervasive amongst Canadian Anglophones. Canada presents an interesting case because, at first glance, it might not appear to fit the English monolingual mould. After all, Canada has been an officially bilingual country (English and French) since 1969. There are also notable levels of multilingualism in urban centres, and more and more Canadians are reporting a mother tongue or language spoken at home other than English or French (Statistics Canada 2017). Yet, currently, 56% of Canadians are English

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monolinguals, and most officially bilingual Canadians who have French as their mother tongue live in the province of Quebec (Statistics Canada 2017). The current "lack of interest" in language learning amongst Canadian Anglophones is the result of considerable state efforts to flatten linguistic heterogeneity through public education (Mackey 2010). The promotion of English monolingualism was deliberate, enacted through policies and curricula and used to create a homogenous nation out of a heterogeneous settler population (Pitsula 2013; Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995; Thobani 2007). The somewhat recent "interest" in French language learning emerged out of state efforts to ensure national unity (Haque 2012) but has not taken significant hold amongst Canadian Anglophones outside Quebec because of the normativity of English monolingualism in both societal as well as meta-educational discourses.

This chapter begins by examining the construction of English monolingualism as a historical normative educational practice in Canada with a particular focus on the policies and history of Saskatchewan, one province with particularly high levels of English monolingualism. Understanding the considerable state efforts towards producing Canada as a monolingual English country are useful for understanding the present-day monolingual mindsets of many Anglophone Canadians. Next, we explore how present-day Canadian official bilingualism policy is framed within ideologies of bilingualism as two parallel monolingualisms (Heller 2007; Heller and McElhinny 2017; Irvine and Gal 2000). Finally, drawing from contemporary examples in higher education policy and practices in Saskatchewan, we discuss examples of equitable educational initiatives to better support plurilingual competence of all language learners through educational policy, curriculum and practices.

Producing English Monolingualism Through Language-in-Education Policies

Indigenous peoples have lived in the territory currently known as Canada for thousands of years. The Canadian state we recognize today is a settler colonial society established by Europeans on Indigenous lands: "Its

origins lie in the dispossession and near extermination of Indigenous populations by conquering Europeans" (Razack 2002, p. 2). European settlement initially began as a series of French and British colonies in the 1600s. Eventually, four separate colonies came together as Canada in 1867, and others subsequently joined. Thus, the people who live in Canada are not connected by a common ethnicity, cultural background or language; this is the nature of settler societies around the world (Veracini 2010, 2015). In countries like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, homogeneity is something that has to be produced, often through educational institutions (Sterzuk 2011, 2015). In Canada, government efforts to promote English monolingualism through public education have included: language policy that forbids the use of any language other than English as the language of instruction; language policy that explicitly forbids the teaching of French; and provincial curricula, testing and school materials being made available only in English. Local and school efforts have included de facto hiring practices around English monolingual teachers (see also Zhang-Wu, this volume); encouraging parents not to speak to children in their home languages and corporal punishment for students caught using languages other than English (Denis 2006; Kouritzin 1999; Mackey 2010; Von Staden and Sterzuk 2017). Olson and Burns suggest that "schools function as an ideological as well as a pedagogical state apparatus, and in so doing they serve a *political* purpose" (1983, p. 1). Canadian educational institutions have historically served as homogenizing agents for a heterogeneous population (Sterzuk 2011).

British imperial intentions were for Canada to become an overseas extension and replica of British society (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995). Between 1900 and 1950, for example, "the teaching of French was abolished in the public schools of nearly all the provinces of English Canada" (Mackey 2010, p. 30). In 1913, Ontario passed a law (Regulation 17) making English the only language of instruction after the third grade. After 1967, an hour of French a day was allowed in school. This length of time was increased in 1974 (Mackey 2010). Turning to Alberta, we find that when Alberta entered Confederation in 1905, it officially maintained the bilingual tradition of the area. Mackey (2010) indicates that, in practice, however:

it became exclusively English-speaking. By 1915 it had outlawed all other languages for use in school. Even as late as 1988, under the Alberta Language Act, no official documents were allowed in a language other than English; the purpose was to pre-empt the imposition of a federally sponsored institutional bilingualism (p. 52).

Across the country, educational language planning and policy has been instrumental to ensuring Anglo-dominance and shaping monolingual mindsets of the future.

The patterns of planning for English monolingualism in Ontario and Alberta were also present in Saskatchewan. Prior to joining Canadian confederation in 1905, Saskatchewan, then part of the Northwest Territories, was characterized by notable levels of multilingualism. Indigenous peoples who lived here—Metis; Nēhiyawak (Cree); Anishinaabek (Saulteaux); Nakota; Lakota, Dakota and the Dené— learned and used multiple languages due to interrelated economies (Iseke 2013). Eleven Post-Confederation treaties between the British Crown and Indigenous peoples were signed between 1871 and 1921. The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885 and the Dominion Lands Act came into effect in 1872, a law aimed to encourage European settlement. The Canadian government used promises of 160 acres of free land to recruit immigrants to settle in the area. In Saskatchewan, these early settlers first came from eastern Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. Next, European settlement from other parts of the European continent was promoted and non-European settlement was prevented by a series of policies designed to control and produce the nation as politically obedient, European, and as close to British as possible. Historically, Canadian immigration law has been "explicitly racist in working and intent: non-white, non-European immigration was openly discouraged and/or prohibited" (Taylor 1991, p. 1).

In Saskatchewan, almost half of the early European settlers came from non-English-speaking European countries. Initially, there were schools that used English and students' home languages, and there was teacher training for bilingual teachers working in ethnic block settlements, a particular form of settler land distribution which planned for settlers of the same ethnicity to communities in the same area of the province. In 1917,

the Saskatchewan Department of Education terminated Regina's *Training School for Teachers in Foreign Speaking Communities* (Martynowych 1991; Petryshyn and Dzubak 1985). These schools, which trained bilingual teachers to teach through the medium of two languages, were no longer favourably viewed.

In this Canadian province and others, English monolingualism and family language shift to English were constructed and normalized through a number of interconnected practices including Indian residential schools, provincial language-in-education legislation, teacher education, school curricula, and pedagogical practices. The state push for family language shift was intense and created long-lasting effects and beliefs. "During the 1920s–30s, the Ku Klux Klan orchestrated much of the pressure for Anglo-conformity" (Denis 2006, p. 89). The Klan influenced provincial politics and contributed to the election of a conservative government in 1929 (Pitsula 2013). James Thomas Milton Anderson, a former teacher, school inspector and provincial director of Education, now became the premier of Saskatchewan. Creating a population as close to British as possible was a top priority (Pitsula 2013) and public education was an instrument for this project. Anderson's government cancelled the teaching certificates of any teachers recruited from the French-speaking province of Quebec; implemented rules which forced school board meetings to be conducted entirely in English and required school board trustees to be able to read and write in English to be eligible for election. Enforcement of English-only policies was extensive. "Teachers could be decertified and fined to a maximum of $250; the minister had the discretion to disqualify trustees and to deprive school districts of provincial grants" (Denis 2006, p. 89). It wasn't until 1974 that the School Act of Saskatchewan was amended to allow languages other than English to be taught or used as the language of instruction for a limited time of the school day.

Haque and Patrick (2015) explains that "language policies have been used in Canada as a way to address state concerns with national unity and control, producing forms of racial exclusion and maintaining a white-settler nation" (p. 27). Throughout the twentieth-century Canadian history, we see provincial efforts to exclude languages other than English from public schools.

Canadian schools were the site of both English language production and Canadian citizenship. Because a strong Canadian nation was equated with English monolingualism, other languages were not permitted in the official space of a school. In many cases, French was specifically named as the language that was not permitted in Canadian schools. In most cases, these acts remained in place until after the creation of the Official Languages Act of 1969. What this timing suggests is that anti-French sentiment and pro-English dominance didn't simply disappear or improve. Rather, the implementation of the Official Languages Act forced changes to provincial language-in-education policies. For the next two decades, the provincial government continued to exercise Anglo-hegemony by repeatedly rejecting requests for a province-wide Francophone board. In fact, it wasn't until 1993 that Saskatchewan "amended its Education Act to recognize the right of Francophones to establish linguistic school boards" (Denis 2006, p. 87).

Combined, these state efforts have had lasting effects in this province. The normativity of English monolingualism and subsequent silencing of other languages in meta-educational discourses have served to position English monolinguals at an advantage over speakers of other languages (Bourdieu 1991). This monolingual mindset can be difficult to disrupt. In educational systems, decisions influencing language programming continue to be influenced by "common-sense" beliefs about English monolingualism as the norm. Language loss is understood as inevitable, and multilingualism and unofficial bilingualism are at best ignored and at worst viewed with suspicion. In the following section, we now move to a discussion of why official bilingualism has failed to take significant hold amongst Canadian Anglophones.

The Persisting Dominance of English: Official Bilingualism as Parallel Monolingualisms

Having examined state investments in English monolingualism throughout the first one hundred years of Canadian confederation, we turn to a discussion of present-day Canadian official bilingualism policy in order

to explore how the normativity of English monolingualism and subsequent silencing of plurilingual competencies in meta-educational discourses serve to position English L1 speakers at an advantage over speakers of other languages (Bourdieu 1991). We argue that Canadian official bilingualism policy is framed within ideologies of bilingualism as two parallel monolingualisms (Heller 2007; Heller and McElhinny 2017; Irvine and Gal 2000). A tense relationship between English and French Canada and growing unrest among French Canadians is what lead to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism from 1963 to 1969. This commission was to:

> inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution. (RCBB 1967, p. 173)

The main outcome of the Royal Commission was the Official Languages Act of 1969 which made French and English Canada's official languages. That is, in Canada, each of the two official languages is spoken by the English Canadians and by the French Canadians respectively, or some bilingual Canadians may speak English language and French language as two separate languages within their linguistic repertoire. Such understanding of bilingualism as two parallel sets of monolingualism is inherently intertwined with the assumption of language as an abstract, bounded system developed from structural linguistics. In this view of language as an autonomous system, each language of the bilingualism is assumed to be an equally idealized, fixed system (Heller 1999). Yet the concept of the fixity of such linguistic is not supported by the actual bilingual/multilingual practices of language users in the social context which are inherently filled with complexities and messiness and obscure the boundaries (e.g., mixed codes). Therefore, despite the adoption of the official languages act, bilingualism has been constructed as an anomaly to

be explained or regulated in many policy and social practices in Canada (Heller 2007).

For example, ideologies of monolingualism persist as the best practice in second/foreign language teaching and bilingual/immersion education. Cummins (2007) illustrates common assumptions regarding monolingual ideologies as dominant classroom instructional strategies whereby immersion and bilingual programmes continue to uphold the belief that "the two languages should be kept rigidly separate" (p. 223) despite lack of support from research evidence. Subsequently, in the field of English as a second language (ESL) education, bilingual practices of language learners, or use of the learner's first language (L1) in the second or additional language (L2) learning contexts, are considered errors to be corrected, and considered to be detrimental to L2 acquisition (see, e.g., Cummins and Early 2015; Reagan 2004; also see Selinker's [1972] work on *interlanguage*).

In the field of French as a second language education, following the official language acts, the number of French immersion schools has increased to better promote French-English bilingualism among Canadians. While French immersion programmes significantly contributed to providing a high degree of proficiency in the French language for non-francophone Canadian children, French immersion schools at the same time serve as one of the most powerful state institutions to uphold the ideology of monolingualism through the adoption of monolingual instructional strategies. Therefore, parents who do not speak French or who do not have access to relevant resources often feel inadequate to provide necessary support for their children's learning and are reluctant to enrol their children for French immersion programmes (Davis et al. 2019).

Indeed, French immersion programmes reportedly have a higher percentage of students from a very high socio-economic status who have university-educated parents born in Canada (Sinay et al. 2018). The socio-economic status of the families also relates to their perspectives on the value of bilingualism and job prospects in that regard. As such, French immersion programmes or French-English bilingualism are in higher demand by (upper) middle-class Anglophone families in larger Metropolis or wealthier provinces such as Ontario to give their children a competitive edge related to jobs in the global industry or at the federal

government level, if not as status symbol (Bourdieu 1984), compared to smaller-size cities in Saskatchewan, where many students and their families are from farming communities and plan to stay within the province. For example, since her move to Saskatchewan for her faculty position, from Toronto and Vancouver where she had studied as an international student and had been surrounded with a much higher number of bilingual/multilingual speakers, Hyunjung was curious to learn why there aren't many French speakers in the province despite high demand for French immersion teachers. Furthermore, during her conversation with her students in class on this topic, she also learned that for some Indigenous students in Saskatchewan, French represents "another White, colonial language" and so they are reluctant to learn the language.

One important point in this regard is that the construction of Canada as a country of official bilingualism of English and French has long served to "erase" (Irvin and Gal 2000) the existence of Indigenous languages and Indigenous Peoples in the making of the nation. For example, Sterzuk and Nelson (2016) illustrates how English-speaking teachers in Saskatchewan were shocked to learn that their students situated in multilingual Hutterite colonies in the province didn't speak English while they were asked to deliver the Saskatchewan provincial curricula in English. In the higher education context, Shin and Sterzuk (2019) draw from their experiences as university professors in Saskatchewan and illustrate the mismatch between positive discourses about multilingualism in Canadian higher education and its practices and realities which are still dominated by settler colonialism and English monolingualism.

To better understand why English monolingualism persist in an officially bilingual country such as Canada, the ideology of bilingualism in Canada needs to be situated within the social, political, and economic context of contemporary colonialism and capitalism. Within this context, some linguistic and cultural differences are constantly constructed as deficit despite the widespread celebration of diversity at the discourse level in educational institutions (Shin 2006; Pennycook 1998). For example, Cummins and Early (2015) highlight the relationship between societal power relations and the chronic underachievement of linguistic and cultural minority groups in Canada, and argue "how negative stereotypes communicated overtly or inadvertently to students within the

school might undermine their academic engagement" (p. 29). In this context, the task of making space for multilingualism in education remains challenging but we offer some suggestions in the following section before we conclude.

Disrupting English Monolingualism as a Normative Educational Practice in Saskatchewan

Overview

Despite a history of multilingualism amongst indigenous peoples and early European settlers, today 82.4% of the population of Saskatchewan reports English as their mother tongue and 89% report English as the language most often spoken at home (Statistics Canada 2017). And despite considerable federal support for official bilingualism since the early 1970s, for all the reasons described in the previous section, only 4.4% of the Saskatchewan population is able to carry on a conversation in both official languages and only 1.6% of the population identifies as multilingual (Statistics Canada 2016). Ideologies of monolingualism also impact the vitality of Indigenous languages (Haque and Patrick 2015). In Saskatchewan, 11.7% of population are First Nation or Métis, and by 2036, this number is projected to rise to 20% (Statistics Canada 2017). The latest census, gathered in 2016, shows the number of people in Saskatchewan who identify an Indigenous language as their mother tongue dropped from 30,895 in 2011 to 28,340 in 2016.

A monolingual mindset amongst Saskatchewan Anglophones may be the norm, but shifting that perception of monolingualism to what we might call a plurilingual mindset is desirable, especially in light of the contemporary linguistic context in Saskatchewan. The 2016 census found 70 different languages spoken as mother tongues in Saskatchewan and 16 were new to the province. There are people, families, and communities in Saskatchewan using multiple languages for a range of communicative purposes. There are elementary schools with Indigenous

language immersion programmes in urban centres and Indigenous language-English bilingual schools in several indigenous communities. The Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages offers several heritage language programmes including Saturday morning language schools in multiple languages as well as an increasingly popular programme called the Mini-Language Lessons programme, which provides opportunities for volunteer heritage language speakers to teach in Saskatchewan school systems, allowing Saskatchewan students to experience a new heritage language and culture. The fact that these programmes exist is evidence of commitment to language learning against significant odds.

As language education professors working in faculties of education in two different Saskatchewan universities, we have a professional and academic responsibility to support language learning initiatives in Saskatchewan. We approach this professional responsibility in several ways, but one manner is in the form of partnerships with minority or Indigenous language communities or organizations. The University of Saskatchewan (where Hyunjung is a professor) has recently developed two programmes which can be understood as disrupting monolingual mindsets by supporting the work of Indigenous language reclamation. The *Certificate in Indigenous Languages* (ILC), offered by the Department of Curriculum Studies, College of Education, is a two-year programme which leads to full immersion in an Indigenous language and a strong understanding of Indigenous teaching methodologies. Another programme, the *Internationally Educated Teacher Program*, supports teachers from other countries to successfully certify as teachers in Saskatchewan. Because many of these teachers are speakers of other languages, they bring their plurilingual competencies into their classrooms with them. This can have the effect of disrupting common-sense perspectives of schools as English spaces. At the University of Regina where Andrea is a faculty member, a number of language programmes exist within the Faculty of Education and through partnerships with other communities. For example, the Faculty offers undergraduate and graduate programmes in Education through the medium of the French language. Graduates of these programmes work in Saskatchewan Francophone schools or in the many French immersion schools of the province. Next the Dené Teacher

Education Program (DTEP) is a four-year bachelor of education programme recently created and offered in a Dené nation with a Dené bilingual school in northern Saskatchewan (Jung et al. 2018). This programme is a partnership between Clearwater River Dene Nation, Northern Lights School Division, First Nations University of Canada and the Faculty of Education. Similarly, the Faculty of Education has also partnered with First Nations University of Canada to develop a new graduate programme called the Masters of Indigenous Language Education. All of these programmes are designed to support the continuance of minority languages in the face of considerable pressures to conform to English monolingualism. From our perspective, supporting teachers to work through the medium of other language provides evidence that English monolingualism is being challenged.

Example of Innovative Practices

In addition to the programmes and partnerships in support of language learning which we outlined above, we also engage in a variety of practices designed to shift pre-service teacher perspectives or dispositions towards multilingualism and language-learning. The first example we share comes from an L2 teaching methods course Hyunjung regularly teaches, which is, informed by critical pedagogies (Freire 2000) to disrupt the devaluation of language, culture, and identity of linguistically and culturally minority students prevalent in the wider society. Typically, Hyunjung's teacher education courses are comprised of white, English-monolingual speakers but her L2 teaching methods course often includes French-English bilingual students. For example, in 2019, out of the 18 students in the class, about equal numbers of English-monolingual and French-English bilingual white students were mixed with four 1.5-generation immigrant students from Asia. While Hyunjung doesn't speak French herself, she allows the students to conduct class assignments in French, and in any other languages of their professional interest. Most of the French-speaking teacher candidates chose to conduct group class discussions in French throughout the term. Of course, they still used English or code-switching to report back to the whole class after the group

discussion but some chose to produce their teaching activity examples in written French for the final class project. In one class, a group of students, for their group seminar presentation on Total Physical Response, asked the class to design a classroom activity to teach some basic phrases using this teaching method. Three out of the four groups chose an immigrant teacher candidate to lead the small-group activity in his/her heritage language. While Hyunjung was not aware of how her classroom language policy might have contributed to developing positive attitudes towards multilingualism among her students, she was pleasantly surprised to observe the comfort level and multiple instances where students voluntarily mobilized multilingualism as a resource to create multilingual learning space in the classroom. One Anglophone student remarked in the exit slip one day: "I enjoyed last class where we had students who spoke other language teach us some new words ... . This allows all the students to share their language and culture with the rest of the class".

In Andrea's context, she has worked in several ways to disrupt monolingual mindsets in future teachers. Modern language courses have been added as required courses in the teacher education programme where she works. She has also developed a required course about multilingualism in the same programme. Similar to Hyunjung's teacher education programme, the majority of students in the programme where Andrea works are white settlers, descended from European settlers who began to arrive in Canada in the early twentieth century. Most speak only English and most come from families that have experienced language shift in previous generations. The course content is designed to prepare these future teachers to develop critical multilingual language awareness (García 2017). As an instructor of this course, Andrea uses several approaches to building teacher awareness of colonial histories and a productive disposition towards multilingualism. Students participate in eight-week classroom practicums where they interact with multilingual language learners. She has also developed a series of pedagogical activities designed to destabilize their understandings of their families' language shift as well as the role of societal institutions in producing English monolingualism (Sterzuk forthcoming). One particular pedagogical activity is rooted in the assumption that Canada's colonial history is highly visible in the settler colonial linguistic landscape (Dagenais et al. 2008). Fixed and nonfixed

signs are overwhelmingly English; street names like Albert, Victoria, and Prince of Wales reflect Canada's colonial past and present and Indigenous languages are largely rendered invisible or are reinvented as English. Students take photos of their neighbourhoods and analyse them in writing. Next, they are asked to examine their pictures and respond to a series of questions which serve as prompts for their analysis:

> What do the languages present in these images reveal about this city or town? Based on your own experiences, what languages do you hear spoken in this place? Do the languages present in the photos represent your own linguistic identity? Why or why not? How does this alignment or lack thereof reinforce or undermine your own identity? You might also ask yourself about the relationship between the photographs you've taken, the people who live in these spaces, and the status of official languages; languages of First Nations and Métis peoples, and languages brought to this location through immigration. Which Indigenous languages were displaced from this zone? Who has the power to determine what languages appear in signs?

For many, these reflections on their familiar environment are the starting point for building an awareness of how settler colonialism interacts with multilingualism in their context. Students also engage in some self-study activities that ask them to examine their family's linguistic profiles. Often students are surprised to find extensive multilingualism as well as language loss. The reflective aspect of these assignments is necessary precisely because of the ways in which white settlers and English monolingualism continues to be produced as the educational and societal norm.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have used the particular context of Saskatchewan to explore the complexities of settler colonialism and the trend towards English monolingualism. Monolingual mindsets of Anglophone Canadians in Saskatchewan have not developed in a vacuum. Considerable state effort was used to produce this particular Canadian province as

English monolingual. This view of monolingualism as the social norm is both politically and historically produced and is the result of considerable economic and political investment in English monolingualism as a societal ideal. It will take similar efforts if any changes to rates of English monolingualism through language education are possible.

In Saskatchewan, immigration and a fast-growing Indigenous population contribute to the need for making space for multilingualism and for language learning. Our objectives as teacher educators are to help prepare future teachers to meet the challenges of contemporary classrooms which includes deconstructing the 'sameness' of language that continues to marginalize and alienate speakers of non-dominant languages and to erase plurilingualism in learning and teaching contexts. In this chapter, we have presented analysis of language-in-education policy; practices in teacher education and examples from Saskatchewan teacher education classrooms. These examples counter common sense views of bilingualism/multilingualism as an individual choice and highlight the significant role that educational systems play in determining access to language learning opportunities. We remain convinced in the value of equitable educational initiatives to better support plurilingual competence of all language learners through educational policy, curriculum, and practices.

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Shifting Ideologies: The Seal of Biliteracy in the United States

Charlotte R. Hancock and Kristin J. Davin

Introduction

A new policy called the Seal of Biliteracy is sweeping across the United States and has the potential to influence the prevalence of bilingual education across the country. Legislated in 40 states and the District of Columbia, the Seal of Biliteracy (SoBL) is an award given by a school, school district, county, or state to honor students who demonstrate proficiency in reading, writing, listening, and speaking in two or more languages (Seal of Biliteracy 2020). The award was designed to serve as a symbol to universities and employers of a graduate's bilingualism and biliteracy and to encourage linguistically diverse students to maintain their home language while learning English and English speakers to develop proficiency in additional languages. Two states legislate that public universities and colleges award credit to students for SoBL attainment, and many other universities do so voluntarily. Research suggests that the

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SoBL increases enrollment and retention in world language education (Davin et al. 2018), motivates students to develop biliteracy (Davin and Heineke 2018), and validates the home language of linguistically diverse students (Castro 2014; Hancock and Davin 2020). Okraski et al. (2020) found that administrators perceived the SoBL as a way to demonstrate that they value the languages that linguistically diverse students bring to the school setting. Further, research suggests that students value the SoBL for the boost in confidence that passing the required language proficiency test can provide and for its potential to strengthen their college and scholarship application process (Davin and Heineke 2018).

Particularly fascinating is the fact that the SoBL originated in California, the state where the first law restricting bilingual education also originated, and was then also adopted in Arizona and Massachusetts, the two other states that have, or had in the case of Massachusetts, restrictions on bilingual education. For this reason, we chose these three states as the foci of this chapter. Each one has an intriguing story behind the intricacies and complexities of the intersection of restrictive and promotive language policy. In both California and Arizona, voters passed the SoBL policy in the midst of still-existing laws restricting bilingual education. However, in Massachusetts, the SoBL was passed in the same bill that eliminated the restrictions placed on bilingual education.

In the following pages, we explore the complexity of language education policy in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. We used a two-phase qualitative research design (Creswell 2009) in which document analysis informed a subsequent interview with a SoBL representative from each state. Through analyses of these sources, we demonstrate how individuals who are dedicated to promoting awareness of the advantages of multilingualism can combat monolingual ideologies that appear to dominate the ways in which students can be instructed.

Background

Like other Anglophone countries, the United States has a growing number of linguistically diverse students in schools (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES] 2019a), yet monolingualism remains

prevalent (see also Britton, this volume). Only 20% of the US population is multilingual, and more than half of this percentage is attributed to immigrants, but by the third generation, fewer than one in ten immigrants still speak their home language (Commission on Language Learning 2017). Many schools are doing little to combat this monolingual trend. A federal policy introduced in 2001, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB 2002), which held schools accountable for how students performed in math and reading, funneled resources away from world languages. Subsequently, the United States experienced a decline in the number of elementary schools offering world languages, from 31% in 1997 to 25% in 2008, as well as a decline in the number of secondary school offerings, from 86% to 79% over the same time span (Pufahl and Rhodes 2011). In US schools, only one in five students is enrolled in world language classes (American Councils for International Education 2017). Forty-two of the fifty states have no world language graduation requirement, and in the seven states and the District of Columbia where world language graduation requirements exist, the maximum obligation is two years of coursework beginning in high school (O'Rourke et al. 2016). Texas, Ohio, and Oklahoma accept computer coding as a replacement for the two-year requirement by colleges of world language study, and many other states are debating similar legislation (Advocacy Coalition 2019).

It is surprising that bilingual education is not more prevalent in a country with such rich linguistic diversity. As of fall of 2016, almost 10% of students in US public schools were labeled as English Learners (ELs), defined as "individuals who have sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language to be unable to learn successfully in classrooms or to participate fully in the larger U.S. society" (NCES 2019b, para. 1). This represented an increase of more than one million since the fall of 2000, signaling a rise in linguistic diversity throughout the school system (NCES 2019a). Research suggests that bilingual education programs, such as dual language programs, are the most effective at promoting the academic outcomes of ELs (Genesee and Lindholm-Leary 2013; Thomas and Collier 2012). Bilingual education has many forms throughout the United States, such as transitional bilingual education and dual language. Transitional

bilingual education is a program type that over time transitions the student into an English-only setting while dual language programs are considered additive; that is, they aim to add an additional language to a student's repertoire with the long-term purpose of maintaining instruction in those two languages. The goals of dual language are to promote bilingualism, biliteracy, and sociocultural competence (Howard et al. 2018). While some states have specific goals and initiatives to promote dual language and bilingual education, three states, including California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, have placed restrictions on such programming in the past (U.S. Department of Education 2015).

In the following sections, we first provide a deeper description of the SoBL. We then narrow our focus to explore the originations of the policy in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, illustrating these origins against the backdrop of their histories with restrictive bilingual education laws. After describing the origins of the policy in those states, we then examine what the SoBL looks like today in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, explaining the small variations in policy requirements and the current awarding of the SoBL.

Variations of the Seal of Biliteracy Nationally

The SoBL represents one of the first language policies in the United States to incentivize bilingualism and biliteracy. Following its inception in California, other states followed suit by passing their own SoBL policies (see SealofBiliteracy.org). Because there was no federal oversight or funding tied to the policy, states were responsible for promoting, creating, and seeking the passing of the SoBL in their own contexts. For this reason, the policy differs substantially across the country in regard to characteristics and requirements (Davin and Heineke 2017).

To earn the SoBL, students typically must demonstrate proficiency in the language other than English in all four language domains, except for languages in which a domain may not be applicable, like American Sign Language (Davin and Heineke 2017). Most states utilize a leveling system created by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), similar to the Common European Framework of

Reference (CEFR) rating scale. Within these guidelines, proficiency levels range from Novice to Superior. The levels, with corresponding CEFR ratings for receptive and productive skills in parentheses, include Novice Low (0, 0), Novice Mid (0, 0), Novice High (A1.1, A1), Intermediate Low (A1.2, A2), Intermediate Mid (A2, B1.1), Intermediate High (B1.1, B1.2), Advanced Low (B1.2, B2.1), Advanced Mid (B2, B2.2), Advanced High (C1.1, C1), and Superior (C1.2, C2) (ACTFL n.d.; ACTFL 2012). Most states require that students demonstrate world language proficiency at the minimum proficiency level of Intermediate Mid (A2, B1.1) for SoBL attainment (ACTFL 2015). A speaker at the Intermediate Mid level can "handle successfully a variety of uncomplicated communicative tasks in straightforward social situations" but their "conversation is generally limited to those predictable and concrete exchanges necessary for survival" (ACTFL 2012, p. 7). Not surprisingly, substantial debate surrounds where the minimum threshold for the SoBL should be set, with states' minimum ranging from Intermediate Low to Advanced Low (Davin and Heineke 2017). A student in a non-Anglophone country studying English likely would not be considered proficient if only able to converse in "predictable and concrete exchanges necessary for survival" (ACTFL 2012, p. 7); however, this threshold might reflect the limited availability of world language education in the United States.

One attempt to address this issue has been the development of a multi-tiered system for the award in some states. While most states offer only one, others offer multiple tiers (Davin and Heineke 2017). With a multi-tiered system, students can earn different levels of the SoBL based on the proficiency level attained. For example, in Minnesota, a state in the northern part of the country where a large number of refugees have settled, students that demonstrate a proficiency level of Intermediate High in two languages receive a gold bilingual seal and those that receive this level in three languages receive a gold multilingual seal. Students who score Advanced Low earn platinum seals instead of gold (Davin and Heineke 2017).

Debate also exists around the variation in requirements for demonstrating proficiency from state to state. Some states require students to pass an approved assessment, while others use seat time, meaning that students must complete a certain number of courses and maintain a

minimum grade point average in those courses. Other less common alternatives include language portfolios or a point system (Davin and Heineke 2017).

Policy Origins in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts

Before passing the SoBL, California, Arizona, and Massachusetts all had restrictive bilingual policies in place. In the 1990s, a movement focused on permitting only English instruction in US schools, commonly referred to as the English-only movement, gained momentum across the country. The leader of this movement, a millionaire from California, created an organization called *English for the Children* to assist in his efforts of passing restrictive language policies in these states on the premise that English-only instruction was what immigrant students needed to be successful US citizens. At this time, debates surrounding immigration were prevalent in national political discourse. Immigrants "were blamed for many social problems (e.g., crime), nativist discourse became increasingly common, and political leaders gained support and funding by promoting highly negative representations of Latinos and the Spanish language" (Yamagami 2012, p. 147).

Although California, Arizona, and Massachusetts had a similar experience passing the restrictive language policy that caused the dismantling of many bilingual programs, their SoBL policy journeys were quite different. We provide a more in-depth description of each state's path in the following sections. Additionally, as Table 1 illustrates (Office of Civil Rights 2019), these states, particularly California, are quite diverse and have large populations of Latinx students and ELs.

California

California has a tumultuous history as it relates to bilingual education. During the previously mentioned English-only movement of the 1990s, voters in the state passed Proposition 227 in 1998 with the aid of the

Table 1 Student demographics

	United States	Arizona	California	Massachusetts
% African American	15.5	5.1	6.2	8.8
% Asian	4.8	2.8	10.9	6.1
% Indigenous	1.1	4.8	0.7	0.2
% Latinx	24.8	43.7	53.3	16.6
% Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.1
% Two or more races	3.0	2.2	3.3	3.2
% White	50.4	41.1	24.9	64.9
% English learners	9.9	7.5	23.1	8.1

Note: Data retrieved from the Office of Civil Rights (2019). Indigenous=American Indian or Alaska Native. Latinx=Hispanic or Latino

millionaire from California and his organization *English for the Children* (Hartman 2003). Prior to Proposition 227, schools could provide ELs with bilingual education programs, allowing for home language instruction in school. However, Proposition 227 required schools to place ELs in what the law referred to as *special classes*, segregating them from peers in mainstream instruction to only provide instruction in English. The purpose of these classes was to instruct students solely in English as soon as possible, in what many term a sink-or-swim method. However, students were not allowed to be in these special classes for more than one year ("Proposition 227: English Language in Public Schools," 1998), which differed from previous law that permitted ELs specialized instruction and services for longer durations of time. Additionally, Proposition 227 gave parents legal power to sue any elected official (i.e. school board) or public school official (i.e. administrator or teacher) for not providing English-only instruction, with these individuals being personally liable financially ("English Language in Public Schools: Initiative Statute," n.d.). These changes made it extremely difficult and risky to continue to offer bilingual education programs, thereby eliminating most.

Proposition 227 provided access to bilingualism to some—native English speakers with parents who had a firm understanding of the law—and denied it for others—immigrants and students that lacked what the state viewed as proficient English. There was an exception in the policy that allowed schools to teach students in a language other than English; however, it required a parent waiver and the meeting of other

stipulations. These included that (1) the student be no younger than ten years and that the school administrator and teachers be in agreement that instruction in a language other than English would be beneficial; (2) a student with special needs had been in an English classroom setting for a minimum of 30 days and that the school administrator, teachers, and the leader of the school district were in agreement that instruction in a language other than English would be beneficial; and (3) the student was already fluent in the English language and the parents desired instruction in a language other than English ("English Language in Public Schools: Initiative Statute," n.d.; "Proposition 227: English Language in Public Schools," 1998). As a result, certain forms of bilingual education continued as parents of native English speakers advocated for such to occur (Thomas and Collier 2012).

Interestingly, the SoBL passed during the time that restrictions to bilingual education remained intact. The representative from California described the beginnings of the SoBL movement in the state, explaining that efforts to pass the SoBL began in 2006 with a group of bilingual education advocates that gathered to form a state initiative to counter and prevent the passing of Proposition 227. As explained by the state representative, this committee, composed of six organizations, was unable to prevent the passing of Proposition 227, but continued their efforts to illustrate the value of multilingualism at the state level. They formalized their group, becoming *Californians Together*, an organization dedicated to multilingualism and advocacy for ELs. Their movement to shift ideologies and foster change grew over time. As the representative explained, *Californians Together* sought to change the deficit narrative of Proposition 227 to assert the value of students' multilingualism across the state.

The journey, as described by the representative, to passing the SoBL in California ultimately took many years and an unwavering commitment. The representative described how the idea of the SoBL first originated. Aware of a school district in Los Angeles that had begun giving a Bilingual Competency Award in 1992, *Californians Together* utilized this district as a model and wrote a piece of legislation to create an official state SoBL. This piece of legislation, however, would take many years and extreme efforts to reach its final passing, according to the representative. The representative explained that the Governor vetoed the legislation

twice, in 2006 and again in 2008. Dedicated to the purpose of changing the conversation and to shifting ideologies, *Californians Together* began to work with districts across the state to develop and implement their own seals. Then, as explained by the representative, when a new Governor took office, *Californians Together* submitted the bill for a third time. According to the state representative, letters of support poured in from advocates, superintendents, school districts, and many mainstream educational organizations. The new Governor signed the bill in 2011. By this time, explained the representative, 55 school districts across the state were already awarding the seal. In the policy's first official year of implementation, 2012, over 10,000 students earned the award (California Department of Education [CDE] 2012).

The official passing of the state SoBL signaled a drastic change in perspectives regarding multilingualism at that time. In essence:

> California's adoption of the State Seal of Biliteracy was a remarkable triumph considering the previous 18 years of English-only instruction. That triumph was made possible by changing public and political attitudes toward multilingual education. The passage of Proposition 58 in 2016, which repealed restrictions on bilingual education, demonstrated the evolution and demand for access to multilingual programs in California. (Californians Together 2019, p. 1)

In November 2016, almost 20 years after its passing, voters finally overturned Proposition 227 with a 73.5% majority approval. The California Multilingual Act permitted schools more flexibility in placing students in dual language programs (Hopkinson 2017), suggesting that ideologies had shifted in favor of multilingualism. As the representative that we interviewed suggested, the SoBL very well may have contributed to the shifting of ideologies that led in part to the overturning of the state's restrictive bilingual education law. The representative further emphasized that while the SoBL alone cannot claim all the credit, considering there was an important change in the electorate that also occurred, they do feel that the SoBL was responsible for changing attitudes that led to a completely different atmosphere.

Arizona

Arizona's story was different from that of California in that although the legislature approved the SoBL, the restrictive language policies surrounding bilingual education remained at the time of this publication. After the passing of Proposition 227 in California (Yamagami 2012), the Californian millionaire took his efforts to Arizona, helping to write the proposed bill *English for the Children* and providing financial support to back it (Johnson 2005; Wright 2005). Although the wording was almost identical, policymakers in Arizona closed loopholes for bilingual programs by changing the bill's wording (Wright 2005). Arizona voters passed Proposition 203 in November 2000 with a 63% majority (Heineke 2017; Yamagami 2012), making Arizona schools a place where "monolingual and assimilative policies manifest[ed] in daily practice" (Heineke 2017, p. 6).

Proposition 203 has yet to be overturned in Arizona, but despite enduring restrictions, the SoBL was successfully passed. The representative from Arizona explained that the Arizona Language Association helped to pass SoBL legislation four years after it passed in California. The bill moved quickly through the Senate to the House and was signed into law by the Governor in May 2016. Interestingly, the representative relayed that the SoBL had no votes against it, as the bill had bipartisan support as well as support from business organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce, that recognized the need for multilingual individuals in the workforce. Thus, this legislation that sought to place value on multilingualism was in sharp contrast to Proposition 203 that sought to assimilate children into an English-only future.

Massachusetts

Unlike California and Arizona, the same legislation that passed the SoBL simultaneously overturned bilingual education restrictions in Massachusetts. Although the first to establish state-mandated requirements for bilingual education in 1969 (Uriarte and Chavez 2000), as

with California and Arizona, the millionaire from California and his organization continued its political campaign in Massachusetts following the passing of Propositions 227 and 203 (Yamagami 2012). Subsequently, voters in Massachusetts "overwhelmingly passed Question 2, a ballot initiative that replaced a 30-year-old mandate for transitional bilingual education" with a mandate for English-only instruction in November 2002 (de Jong et al. 2005, p. 595).

While it took over a decade, Question 2 was eventually overturned 15 years later, interestingly in the same bill that sought to pass the SoBL. As in California and Arizona, an organization dedicated to multilingualism, the Massachusetts Language Opportunity Coalition (LOC), had a major impact on the passing of the SoBL (Sherf et al. 2020). The Language Opportunity for Our Kids (LOOK) Act both lifted the restrictions on bilingual education and established a state SoBL. It also permitted districts to have EL programs that included two-way dual language programs, removed the previous one-year program goal for ELs and the mandatory parental waiver for participation in bilingual education, and further decreed that EL programs should be based on sound research and best practices (An Act Relative to Language Opportunity for Our Kids 2017). The LOC started a three-year pilot in the 2015–2016 school year to award the SoBL (Sherf et al. 2020). In the last year of the pilot, 2017–2018, the LOC awarded 1339 SoBL awards, with 446 awards given to elementary and middle school students and 893 awards given to high school students. Awards were made in 27 languages to students in three tiers (Silver, Gold, and Platinum) across 26 districts (Massachusetts Language Opportunity Coalition 2018). The efforts were fruitful, and the state legislature officially passed the SoBL in November 2017. In the following spring, final decisions for language proficiency levels were set, and the State Department of Education hired an individual to oversee world languages. According to the representative that we interviewed, this marked an important shift for the state considering such a role had not been in place since the 1990s.

The SoBL Today in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts

Current Policy Requirements

While requirements for the SoBL vary slightly across these three states, as with most of the 40 states that have adopted the SoBL, students must demonstrate proficiency in both English and another language to receive the award (Davin and Heineke 2017). For the English requirement, in both California and Arizona, students must complete all English Language Arts (ELA) requirements deemed necessary for graduation while maintaining a minimum grade point average (GPA) of 2.0 in those classes (Arizona Department of Education [ADE] 2020; CDE 2020). Students must also pass the state-mandated assessment of ELA (ADE 2020; CDE 2020). In Massachusetts, the policy requires that students demonstrate proficiency with a standardized state ELA assessment and meet all graduation requirements, but does not require a minimum GPA (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education [MDESE] 2020).

Just as the requirements for demonstrating English proficiency differ somewhat across these three states, so too do the requirements for demonstrating proficiency in the other language. A commonality across California, Arizona, and Massachusetts is that students can demonstrate proficiency in the language other than English by passing an approved language assessment (ADE 2020; CDE 2020; MDESE 2020). California allows students a second option—the option of seat time, operationalized as completing a four-year high school course of study in the language while maintaining a minimum GPA of 3.0 in combination with a locally decided-upon demonstration of oral proficiency in the second language that meets the same rigor and proficiency level as the assessment option (CDE 2020). While Arizona and Massachusetts do not accept seat time as evidence of proficiency, they both also offer an alternative to passing an approved assessment through a portfolio when the option of an assessment proves too difficult to utilize. Such cases include when an assessment is not readily available, when the assessment is cost prohibitive, or

when the assessment option is not appropriate for a student with learning disabilities (ADE 2020; MDESE 2020). Regarding required proficiency levels, California and Arizona do not have a level specifically required; however, the level required to pass certain listed assessments is equivalent to the Intermediate Mid level on the ACTFL proficiency scale (ADE 2020; CDE 2020). Unique to Massachusetts is that students can earn the SoBL in two tiers (MDESE 2020). For the lower tier, students must demonstrate proficiency at Intermediate High in the world language and complete the English requirements. At the higher tier, which is a SoBL with Distinction, students must demonstrate proficiency at Advanced Low in the world language and have a higher score on the English assessment (MDESE 2020).

The Awarding of SoBL in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts

While in many ways the SoBL is still in its early stages in the United States, especially in Arizona and Massachusetts in comparison to California, the states are working toward increasing the number of SoBL awardees and the number of languages awarded. In California, in the 2017–2018 school year, the most current year for which disaggregated data were available, approximately 10% of high school seniors (n=47,248) earned the SoBL in its sixth year of implementation. Of those that earned the SoBL, 37% were native English speakers and 63% were students that had a language other than English background when they entered the school system. Of those 63%, 48% were once labeled as ELs, 14% were bilingual when entering school, and 1% were current ELs on the verge of reclassification (Californians Together 2019). Since its inception in 2011, the state has awarded close to a quarter million seals to students (CDE 2020).

Arizona and Massachusetts are much earlier in implementation and the numbers of students earning the SoBL in these states are still quite modest. This is certainly related to the minimum proficiency level designated in each state, the requirements of each state's SoBL policy, and the fact that participation by districts and schools in SoBL implementation is

voluntary. In Arizona, in the 2018–2019 school year (the state's third year of implementation), approximately 2% of high school seniors (n=1555) earned the SoBL, according to the state representative. Of those awardees, 28% were ELs. In Massachusetts, in the 2018–2019 school year, which was its first year of implementation, approximately 2% of high school seniors (n=1177) earned the SoBL according to the representative from the state. Of the students that earned the SoBL, approximately 6% were ELs and 18% (n=216) had exited EL status in the previous four years.

Conclusion

The United States has a complicated history regarding language policy and perspectives. The trends in educational language policy cannot be removed from waves of immigration and shifts in the openness of the American people in embracing or assimilating these new groups into society. Although the organization, *English for the Children*, was able to utilize the rhetoric and financial backing of a Californian millionaire to pass restrictive language policy in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts, other organizations and individuals succeeded in banning together to shift language policy in these same states. The gaining popularity of the SoBL, evidenced by the passing of this award in 40 states to date suggests that the country is experiencing a shift in ideologies from restrictiveness to an openness to multilingualism. However, it is difficult to say what the future holds, as maintenance of one particular perspective has not endured historically. The cases of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts illustrate that efforts to promote multilingualism in restrictive, monolingual-focused contexts is possible. Policies and awards that recognize and encourage students' multilingualism, such as the SoBL, may be one way in which to shift monolingual ideologies.

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Choosing Language Options at Secondary School in England: Insights from Parents and Students

Ursula Lanvers and Christopher Martin

Introduction

In the context of Brexit, language competencies in the UK matter more than ever before (Holmes 2018). Currently, the UK is performing, along with Ireland, the worst in Europe in terms of language competencies among the general population, costing the UK economy the equivalent of 3.5% of gross domestic product (Foreman-Peck and Wang 2014). Post-Brexit, there will be an even greater need for foreign language skills in order to communicate with nations for whom English is not an official or recognised language in their country (Lanvers et al. 2018). There is, thus, an urgent need to address the continual decline in languages other than English (MFL) learning in UK secondary schools, which is in its

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third decade now, and well documented via annual governmental reports (latest: British Council 2019). However, we have little understanding of how the many factors leading to the decline, such as multiple policy and curriculum reforms, and student and parental attitudes, may interact. Past studies have highlighted the importance of parental attitudes towards MFL on their child's language learning experience (Bartram 2006). Studies also revealed links between parent and child motivation towards learning a foreign language (Martin 2019), parental socio-economic status and child uptake of languages: students who choose not to study a MFL beyond the compulsory phase tend to come from families with low socio-economic status (Lanvers 2017). Furthermore, parents unable to support their child with MFL homework are less supportive of their child to choose a MFL (Costa and Faria 2017). Thus, we know that parents play a pivotal role in both the uptake of, and perceived importance of, MFL study, but we know very little about the mechanisms of these influences. Therefore, this chapter examines parental influences and opinions on MFL study in greater detail, drawing on two different datasets. Before doing so, our next section sketches our current knowledge on the MFL motivational crisis among learners in the UK, and parental influences on MFL study. Subsequent sections will present the data, methodology, and findings, and then conclude with a contextualisation of our findings within the Anglophone context.

Before discussing learner motivation and parental influences, a word about the UK education system: education policy is devolved to the four UK nations: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, with England's Secondary students making up 85% of the UK Secondary school population. Currently, in all four UK nations, (a) MFL study is compulsory up to age 14, and students may choose to (dis)continue a MFL beyond this age, (b) students sit high stake exams at the age of 16 in all subjects they studied to this age (in England and Wales: *General Certificate of Secondary Education* = GCSE), and (c) the government's aim to increase MFL uptake beyond age 14.

The MFL Motivational Crisis in the UK

In 2004, MFLs were made optional for students aged 14–16 in England, and the number of students taking a MFL exam age 16 (GCSE) went into a steep and unpredicted decline. The discontinuation of compulsory languages has led to a continual drop in those learning languages beyond the compulsory phase. The last three years have seen the percentage of students age 16 with a language qualification stagnating around 42% (British Council 2019), governmental initiatives to incentivise students to choose a MFL voluntarily beyond the compulsory phase largely failed (Lanvers 2011), most likely because students themselves are demotivated by their MFL school experience (Lanvers 2017), in particular boys (Courtney et al. 2017). These studies demonstrate a motivational crisis for MFL, starting as soon as students enter Secondary school at age 11, and deteriorating further from then on (Lanvers and Chambers 2019). Reasons for this decline include perceived lack of importance, poor pedagogy, perceived academic difficulty, high-stakes examinations, and severe grading. MFL delivery at Primary level is characterised by problems around teacher shortage and skills, and transition problems to Secondary schools (White Paper 2019).

In England, the government set hope on the introduction of the English Baccalaureate (Ebacc), in 2011, to increase MFL uptake. The Ebacc qualification consists of 'good' pass grades in five core subjects, including a MFL. However, the Ebacc did not lead to the expected increase, because the educational benefit of receiving this qualification remains unclear (Lanvers 2020), and because other higher stake school performance measures conflict with the aim of offering the Ebacc to most students.

MFL Study Choices and School Policies

Individual schools may determine their own language policy beyond the age of 14, determining which MFLs to offer to which students. These post-14 policies vary vastly. For timetabling reasons, schools may offer 'choices' of GCSE subjects in block combinations of certain subjects

(option blocks), rather than by single subject. Schools' 'option blocks' are markedly different, depending on the social mix of a school's intake. Many state schools constrain access to language study to better performing students (British Council 2019). As a result of a plethora of different school practices, neither policy makers, nor researchers, have a clear overview of the actual 'choice' students have to study MFL. Furthermore, in many private schools, and state schools that select students on grounds of their ability (Grammar schools), languages are compulsory up to age 16, whereas in schools performing below average, few students continue with a language beyond age 14 (Lanvers 2017). In many schools, it is common practice for students to be selected to study MFL due to their capabilities and predicted outcomes in terminal examinations. Thus, 'choice' to study a MFL is de facto often beyond control of the individual student.

There has been much controversy over the relatively harsh marking of MFLs at GCSE, compared to other subjects (British Council 2019). The harsh marking of languages led to a reputation of MFLs as 'difficult, often deterring all but the very able or confident students from choosing further language study. A recent governmental announcement in England to adjust grades in French and German (grading for other MFLs were deemed within range of other subjects and therefore not adjusted) to those achieved in other subjects was much welcome, but the effect on uptake remains to be seen.

Parental Influences of MFL Study Choices

Globally, and across all subjects, parental socio-economic status influences learner outcome (Allen and Vignoles 2007). In this respect, the significant correlations we find, between parental socio-economic status and MFL learner outcomes (for England, see Lanvers 2017) are not surprising. However, students' study *choice* for or against a MFL is also strongly related to parental socio-economic status (Lanvers 2017). The precise mechanisms leading to this remain poorly understood. Martin (2019) showed that parents who had a positive experience of language study themselves supported MFL study in their child, and that parents who had not studied a particular language felt unable to support their

child studying a different language. Students with parents who have language skills themselves are also keener (often, also financially more able) to expose their child to target languages and cultures via travel and other contacts. In this way, some children are encultured into valuing language skills as 'cultural capital' in a Bourdieuan sense (Coffey 2018) from an early age, some are not.

Research Questions

1. How do (a) parents and (b) students discuss the choice for or against a MFL? What arguments and constraints affecting the choice do they mention?
2. (How) do parental and student views differ?
3. Do research-generated data (interviews) and naturally generated data (online forums) yield different data?

Method

We present data from two different, complementary, sources, one small dataset, researcher-generated (interviews with parents and students), the other large dataset using existing data from the two online forums *Mumsnet* and *Studentroom*. Both data types were analysed using thematic analysis in order to gather in-depth thoughts and experiences of MFL learning and subject choices from two key stakeholders: students and parents. The scope and nature of the datasets were as follows:

Mumsnet/Studentroom Data

The forum *Studentroom* is a large UK-based student web community for peer support, with 30 million page views and 4.5 million unique users each month (Corazza et al. 2014). *Mumsnet* is also a UK-based

community forum, offering parental peer support. *Mumsnet* has been subject to discourse analysis, and both *Mumsnet* itself and the research community have gathered information regarding the demographics of its users: they tend to be female—although some 16% are male—white, middle class and university educated (Mackenzie 2019). In contrast, *Studentroom* data has not been subject to research so far. The existing body of research using *Mumsnet*, as well as *Mumsnet*'s own data, permit insights into their user profile—which is typically middle class (Mackenzie 2019). By contrast, only one academic publication (Corazza et al. 2014) has harvested *Studentroom* data so far, and we have no information regarding the demographics of *Studentroom* user profiles. The overall site content, including the data used here, suggests that the vast majority are indeed young school and university students. Both *Mumsnet* and *Studentroom* discussion boards offer archives that are fully searchable, using key terms. In order to post or start a new discussion thread in *Mumsnet*, posters need to register with the platform, but archives can be read without registering. Threads in *Studentroom* are only accessible once an online identity is created. For both sites, the following search terms were entered into the search engine:

- GCSE[1] MFL
- GCSE language
- GCSE choice
- Language MFL
- French GCSE
- German GCSE
- Spanish GCSE
- Option choice
- Option block

The order of *Results Display* was set to 'Relevance'. We ceased data harvesting once the overall words reached 17,500+ in each dataset (see Table 1), to keep the overall amount of data manageable. In order to achieve parity in size and relevance of both datasets, the *Mumsnet* data

[1] General Certificate of Secondary Education, high stake exam age 16.

Table 1 Mumsnet and studentroom data

	Number of threads	Number of postings	Total words	Time span
Mumsnet	17	800	17,546	1/2/2013–28/2/2019
Studentroom	21	285	17,623	1/8/2015–28/2/2019

needed to cover a larger time span than *Studentroom* data, indicating a larger amount of site traffic covering our topic on the latter site. Our analysis focuses on the concerns, arguments and opinions that individuals in the two stakeholder groups voice when making a decision regarding MFL.

Two coders (author 1 and independent researcher) read the same sample independently to identify important themes within the first data set obtained inductively developing and refining codes as they emerged from the data. Coders met to agree on an initial coding system. A mid-point check meeting was organised to discuss other emerging themes during the data process, after which small changes were made. All transcripts were then re-coded, where necessary, using this final framework. The coders also double blind-coded a sample (c.1600 words) from each dataset and communicated to resolve any disagreements. The final coding system, as well as frequencies of codes from both datasets, is presented in Table 2. We only report on comments regarding students' individual circumstances and preferences: comments on national or school policy are not reported.

Interview Data

A small (six parent-student interviews) cross-sectional sample of participants was chosen from a larger study (n = 602) in order to represent diversity in school types (state, independent, percentage of disadvantaged students), school profile of MFL, family socio-economic background, student gender.[2] Ethical approval was sought from the headteacher (state schools), or chair of the Board of Trustees (independent school). A case

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[2] Unfortunately not in respect of parental gender: no fathers made themselves available for interview.

Table 2   Codes for mumsnet and studentroom data

	Mumsnet	Studentroom
Student inclined to choose MFL	6+	82+
	9−	42-
	1=	5=
Student should choose (e.g. on predicted grade)	42+	1+
(+good practice, −bad practice, = neutral comment)	8−	7=
	2=	
Conflict 1: student wants no MFL, parent does want MFL	8	1
Conflict 2: student wants no MFL, school does want him/her to do so	8	15
Peer influence: +for MFL, −against MFL, =neutral comment		7+
		6−
		1=
Student liking MFL	8+	40+
	15−	7−
		4=
MFL difficulty (including getting good grade) + easy, − difficult, = neutral comment	12+	20+
	18−	34−
	1=	7=
Useful qualification	26+	28+
	18−	14−
	2=	2=
Useful skill	40+	10+
	12−	4−
		=1
Intrinsic value of MFL (e.g. cognitive advantages, learning how to learn, raising cultural awareness)	36+	25+
	1−	−6
	1=	=1
MFL useful for academic trajectory (including Ebacc)	91+	33+
	68−	12−
	19=	6=

+agreeing/affirming comment
−disagreeing/contradicting comment
=neutral comment

study approach was used to interpret dyadic interviews (parent and student). Interviews took place using, offering participants maximum flexibility and comfort.

The sample consists of six dyads made up of the mother and student (three males, three females) in Year 8 (12 years old), that is, at the time of choosing whether to continue with a language or not. Such dyadic

Table 3 Coding grid for interviews

Code	Number of comments
Parental experience of language learning	11
Parental encouragement and engagement	16
Student enjoyment of MFL	10
Intrinsic value of MFL (cognitive, cultural awareness)	6
Perceived usefulness—travel and tourism	19
Perceived usefulness—career progression	30
Perceived difficulty of learning a MFL	16
Options and timetabling restrictions	32
Teaching approach in MFL lessons	20
Impact of Brexit	5

discussions allowed the researcher to observe power dynamics in family discussions around the issue of choosing to continue the study of a MFL. The data were analysed thematically, and codes developed in a combination of inductive and deductive processes (Braun and Clarke 2006). The coding was mainly deductive and was guided by the coding grid from the forum data (Table 3). Code frequencies for each case study (Tables 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10) are listed in the Results section.

Regarding information on the participating schools (Table 4), we include Free School Meals (FSM), the school policy regarding MFL study age 14–16, and the percentage of students continuing with a MFL at that age. FSM gives the percentage of pupils entitled to free school meals on grounds of economic deprivation in a given school, and thus an indicator of a school's socio-economic mix. The England mean average percentage for FSM in the state secondary schools is 12.4% (2018 figure, DfE 2018). The participating state schools have slighter above average percentages of FSM. Regarding school policy, unusually for the independent sector (see *Introduction*), our participating independent school makes MFL study beyond the age of 14 optional. The participating state schools follow the common practice in this sector to select higher ability students for MFL study age 14–16 (see Introduction), and both schools have a higher participation rate in this respect than the England average of 42%. Two of our state school students are selected for this pathway, one is not.

Table 4 Demographic and school information

Dyad	School information	Parental Information: age, prior MFL study, occupation	Student information
1	(Independent): 0%FSM	Mother; 35–45; studied French GCSE; self-employed; finance	Male; studies French
2	GCSE MFL optional. Average uptake 10%	Mother; 46–55; studied French GCSE, Spanish A level; part-time employed; book-shop owner	Male; studies French
3		Mother; 46–55; studied English and Arabic to A level; full-time employed; teacher of mathematics	Female; studies French
4	(State 1): 19.4% FSM; GCSE MFL compulsory for selected students (65% GCSE MFL)	Mother; 35–45; studied German GCSE; full-time employed; adult learning and skills	Female; studies French, selected to continue MFL
5		Mother; 35–45; studied German GCSE; undergraduate student in nursing	Male; studies German, not selected to continue MFL
6	(State 2): 23% FSM; GCSE MFL compulsory for selected students (77.6% GCSE MFL)	Mother; 35–45; studied French, Italian and Spanish GCSE; full-time employed; administration	Female; studies French, selected to continue MFL

Table 5 Coding frequencies for dyad 1

Code	Student	Parent
Parental experience of language learning	1+	1+
Parental encouragement and engagement	2+	2+
		1-
Student enjoyment of LOTE	1+	2+
Intrinsic value of LOTE (cognitive, cultural awareness)	1+	0
Perceived usefulness—travel and tourism	2+	1+
Perceived usefulness—career progression	3+	3+
	1=	
Options and timetabling restrictions	1+	1+
		1-
Teaching approach in LOTE lessons	2+	0

Table 6 Coding frequencies for dyad 2

Code	Student	Parent
Parental experience of language learning	1+	3+
Parental encouragement and engagement	3+	1=
Student enjoyment of LOTE	1+	0
Intrinsic value of LOTE (cognitive, cultural awareness)	2+	2+
Perceived usefulness—travel and tourism	2+	1+
		1=
Perceived usefulness—career progression	4+	1+
		2=
Perceived difficulty of learning a LOTE	1−	0
Options and timetabling restrictions	1+	1+
	1−	1−
Teaching approach in LOTE lessons	2+	2+

Table 7 Coding frequencies for dyad 3

Code	Student	Parent
Parental experience of language learning	0	2+
		1-
Parental encouragement and engagement	1+	1+
Student enjoyment of LOTE	1+	1=
	1=	
Perceived usefulness—travel and tourism	1+	1+
Perceived usefulness—career progression	1+	2+
Perceived difficulty of learning a LOTE	3−	2−
Options and timetabling restrictions	2+	2+
Teaching approach in LOTE lessons	2=	2+

Semi-structured interviews (see Appendix) were conducted with all dyads, asking questions aimed to elicit parental experiences of language learning at school, their perceptions of language learning in schools today, student views and enjoyment of their MFL lessons, perceived usefulness of MFL as qualification and skill, and influence on the choice for or against a MFL at GCSE level.

Table 8 Coding frequencies for dyad 4

	Student	Parent
Parental experience of language learning	0	1=
Parental encouragement and engagement	1+	1=
Student enjoyment of LOTE	1−	1−
Perceived usefulness—travel and tourism	2−	1+
		3−
Perceived usefulness—career progression	1+	1+
	1−	3−
Perceived difficulty of learning a LOTE	1−	1-
Options and timetabling restrictions	1−	2=
		6−
Teaching approach in LOTE lessons	1−	2−

Table 9 Coding frequencies for dyad 5

Code	Student	Parent
Parental experience of language learning	0	2+
Parental encouragement and engagement	1+	0
Student enjoyment of LOTE	1=	1=
Perceived usefulness—travel and tourism	1−	1=
		2-
Perceived usefulness—career progression	1−	1=
		1−
Perceived difficulty of learning a LOTE	1+	1−
	1−	
Options and timetabling restrictions	1+	1+
	2−	1=
Teaching approach in LOTE lessons	1−	1−
Impact of Brexit	0	2−

Ethics

Ethical approval was granted by the respective researchers' institutions. In addition, for the interviews, we sought approval from parents and students, headteacher (state schools), or chair of the Board of Trustees (independent school). Interviews took place using, offering participants maximum flexibility and comfort. As the forum data from the two discussion forums are deemed to be in the public domain, individual consent from forum contributors was not sought. Approval from forum

Table 10 Coding frequencies for dyad 6

Code	Student	Parent
Parental experience of language learning	0	1=
Parental encouragement and engagement	2+	0
Student enjoyment of LOTE	2=	1+
Intrinsic value of LOTE (cognitive, cultural awareness)	1=	0
Perceived usefulness—travel and tourism	1+	1=
	1-	
Perceived usefulness—career progression	2-	2—
Perceived difficulty of learning a LOTE	2—	3—
Options and timetabling restrictions	1=	2—
	4—	
Teaching approach in LOTE lessons	2=	3—
Impact of Brexit	0	1=
		2—

organisers was given under GDPR conditions such as anonymisation of usernames, downloading only comments which were relevant to the research questions, and active research participating in the relevant discussion threads.

In the following, we present results concerning parental issues around MFL choices, and intergenerational differences (Questions 1 and 2), in order to then discuss intergenerational differences and (Question 3) and review the results more generally.

Results: Forum Data[3]

The presentation of the forum data results is organised as follows: all codes (see Table 2) showing significant controversies either within one user group (within *Mumsnet* or *Studentroom*) or between the forums serving different generations, are discussed, and exemplified by one or two

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[3] Both forums regularly use abbreviations. The most frequent ones are: DS=darling son, D=darling husband, DH=darling husband, O level=old qualification for 16 year olds replaced by GCSE.

citations. The number after a citation indicates the thread it can be found in.

In the forum designed for students, *Studentroom*, posters tend to share their intention to choose a language (or not) (code: student inclined to choose MFL) and request recommendations and inside comments from current or past learners.

> My school only offers French and Spanish, so another language is out of the question, but I really need to choose one. (*Studentroom*, 11[4])

Most students do not over-problematise the option restrictions of their schools, neither in choices between different languages, nor a language versus another subject. Regarding past achievement, students mention less than parents that their choice is influenced by the grade they achieved in their language so far. Parents, however, often caution others that languages are marked more harshly than other subjects:

> (…) if they are determined they don't want to do a certain subject, then they are probably better getting a good grade in another subject, and one GCSE here and there doesn't matter IMO if you have a fairly broad range of traditional subjects in there. (*Mumsnet*, 4)

However, students discuss the difficulties of achieving good grades in language more than parents. Here, comments remarking on the relative difficulty (c. 60%) outweigh those reporting relative ease (c. 40%) (Table 2, code used: MFL difficulty).

Some parents insist that students should do a language regardless of ability (code used: intrinsic value of MFL):

> I don't think our children should be allowed to throw in the towel on learning a language just because it is difficult. (*Mumsnet*, 15)

and often evoke a range of intrinsic reasons for the benefits of language study generally:

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[4] Numbers refer to the thread number in which this quote occurred.

I feel learning another language can open another world and make her more open-minded and accepting of other people and cultures. (*Mumsnet*, 4)

A near-similar number of students and parents made arguments about the intrinsic values of languages:

I wish there was more enthusiasm around MFL as I do feel it is important to learn languages in order to connect with the cultures of other countries (esp. due to brexit [*sic*]). (*Studentroom*, 14)

Parents voice the opinion more often than students themselves that students should be able to choose (code: student should choose) whatever they enjoy:

There's a lot of pressure to be taking a 'broad' range of GCSE's and many kids and parents become stressed and loose (*sic*) sight of what the individual (the young person) actually *likes* doing. (*Mumsnet*, 4)

Regarding intergenerational conflicts between student and parental wishes, parents do report that their wish for a language choice is not shared by their child (code: conflict 1):

I agree having MFL is a sign of all-round skills (I did 3 at O level and loved them) and I think if you apply for arts or humanities degrees it will look really, really odd not to have done one, but my DS argues that computer science will be more use to him than French because he wants to do computing or a related subject. (*Mumsnet*, 2)

Students, for their part, hardly report on such intergenerational conflicts, and if they do, they seem to come to amicable resolutions:

I was dead set on geography until my dad brought Spanish back up, and now that I think more about it, I've got a gut feeling that I'd regret not doing Spanish. (*Studentroom*, 19)

Students are more concerned that their school wants them to do a MFL GCSE, against their will (code: conflict 2).

Both parents and students discuss the instrumental benefits (codes: useful skill, useful qualification) studying a language for academic trajectories and qualifications, as a useful skill to have, but with the marked difference that parents are much more interested in long-term academic trajectories:

> I think Cambridge will notice [the absence for a GCSE language]. Oxford medical students have an average of 10 GCSEs at A* so don't give any reason to Cambridge to turn her down. They may not state an MFL but it is a gap if you don't have one. (*Mumsnet*, 17)

As evident in Table 2, students discussing the usefulness of a language qualification spend considerably more time than parents discussing the (dis)merits of a specific language:

> I find people usually find French easier because in my era they used to have an extra year of study. (*Studentroom*, 3)
>   The language [Spanish] is okay in places however it has many tenses and rules which I didn't get on with. (*Studentroom*, 7)

Finally (at times, heated), debates on dyslexia and language learning broke out on *Mumsnet* (code: MFL difficulty), with parents of dyslexic children often lamenting the disadvantaging their child experiences in language study, and other parents strongly refuting this:

> England has the worst language skills in Europe. I am sure that there are plenty of dyslexic children in Europe. In Europe children with special needs are made to learn a foreign language. The difference is that their parents and teachers see learning a language as an asset. (*Mumsnet*, 15)

Students, for their part, have less to say on the MFL difficulty for different groups of learners. Instead, students tend to give pragmatic advice on how to best 'play the system'. For instance, some volunteer that Italian might be better for dyslexics, or give advice on how to get out of language study altogether:

Ask for a dyslexia assessment—that's usually the easiest way to drop a language! (*Studentroom*, 21)

Discussion of Forum Data

Considering the dismal state of language learning in the UK (see Introduction), a first observation concerns the wide range of intrinsic benefits of MFL that both parents and students mention. Against the backdrop of public negative discourses on the British as tongue tied, lazy, and so on (Lanvers 2017), many posters in both forums cite a pleasingly wide range of benefits of MFL that go beyond instrumental and extrinsic benefits. Having said this, parents, with a longer-term view on their child's education than students themselves, worry more about the relative merits of a MFL qualification of their offspring's future career, including their future university study. Students, for their part, are more concerned about the immediate implications of a MFL choice. Here, the perceived difficulty of the subject, and potentially poor grades, are a source of worry, and peer support posts in *Studentroom* in particular exemplify exquisitely how some students aim to boost their peer's self-confidence in taking a MFL, alleviating their doubts. Somewhat surprisingly—given that students articulate their interests in a specific language more than parents—students are less critical than parents overall of the schools' offers of languages. They seem to consider that schools operate under difficult timetabling and resource restrictions, and focus mainly 'surviving in the system', which can include choosing an 'easier' language, a language more suited to dyslexics, or tips on how to 'get out of it' altogether. However, given the vast age difference in the forum users of *Mumsnet* and *Studentroom*, the most striking finding in this data is the near-total absence of intergenerational conflict, suggesting that families tend to share similar views on MFL.

Results: *Interviews*

This section reports on the salient codes (as per frequencies) mentioned in each dyad. Space permitting, three sample citations serve to illustrate the salient topics in each dyad. We first present the dyads from the independent school, then those from the two state schools.

Case Study 1

Both student and parent are generally positive towards learning a foreign language. This dyad appeared to be aware of the perceived usefulness for career progression and aspirations, with both participants commenting positively on how MFL can support one's career:

> I think it opens doors for the students more later in life which job or career route they want to go down. It gives them an extra …. (Parent)

The student shared the positive view of his parent in that MFL are important if someone is to have a good career after their studies. Additionally, both agreed that parental encouragement is pivotal in supporting students to secure good outcomes in language learning:

> […] because my mum speaks French as well so she has experience of doing French so obviously, she is able to help me and wants me to carry on learning French as well. (Student)

According to the parent, home encouragement is key. She states that parents who have little exposure and experience of language learning are at a disadvantage in supporting their student (see also Costa and Faria 2017). She concedes that if her student had chosen a *different* language, she would still be supportive, but with limited support:

> […] I don't speak any other languages so we couldn't have our banter 'en français' and I think, support wise, this would become very difficult. (Parent)

Thus, this dyad generally shares the same positive views on language learning and its instrumental benefits that it can bring.

Case Study 2

Like dyad 1, this dyad shares generally positive stances on learning MFL, with the same salient theme of perceived usefulness for career progression, here more often mentioned by the son, for example:

> I think of it as a really good opportunity, that it can help you later on in life when you get a career, possibly in a foreign country and it's helpful to have a language or two. (Student)

The parent confirmed his views regarding the importance for career prospects, and added that during her schooling, it was taken for granted that all had to do it. Furthermore, dyad 2 highlighted the support of the wider family:

> Well one of the things is me having French cousins who live near Paris. I'm now going to see if I can Facetime my cousins and uncle to see if I can speak to them in French, so it's an opportunity basically. (Student)
> I think that, in combination with the fact he's got a French uncle and his other uncle is Head of MFL in a college, it normalises the experience of another language spoken in the family. (Parent)

Both participants also commented favourably on the pedagogy used on the language classroom, with the student speaking positively about the types of activities that are used in order to encourage autonomy in learning, and the mother praising the teacher. To sum up, the student is even more positive in this dyad than the mother. Both emphasise the opportunities the wider (French) family offered to develop his language, and shared positive stances towards the current MFL school experience.

Case Study 3

Both mother and daughter focused on discussing difficulty of MFL, with the daughter commenting more negatively on this than the mother:

> My experience is I struggle with French quite a lot. I find writing difficult especially. When I write it, I try and form the words and think about what they are and that's definitely what I struggle with the most. (Student)

The mother recalled her difficulty in learning Arabic, an experience she extrapolates onto both other languages, and other individuals. The daughter, however, has a more positive stance towards learning a heritage or community language:

> I've heard that you can do almost any language as long as they can get a teacher for the examination. I've seen a student doing Chinese and other students have done Russian. So it turns out that you can do pretty much any language as long as they can get a tutor for it. (Student)

Furthermore, mother and daughter comment—mostly negatively— on issues regarding MFL delivery in school, such as pedagogy and time-tabling. The parent, a teacher, is aware of the timetabling and curriculum pressures on MFL:

> When you are in a class, if the pupils are not engaged with the lesson, they will tell you. Also, I don't think once a week in some cases is anywhere near enough. (Parent)

However, despite this problematisation of MFL, both broadly support the view that languages are important, and useful for the future.

We note that both parents and students in the independent school report overall more positive aspects about MFL than negatives. We now turn to the three state school dyads.

Case Study 4

Both mother and daughter are overwhelmingly negative about MFL, the mother especially about the languages on offer, and timetabling restrictions.

> I don't think that the languages that are currently on offer in secondary schools are perhaps the most beneficial. So for instance now, it is still primarily focused on French and I think more people tend to go on holiday to places like Spain and Greece rather than France. (Parent)

Just as the parent, the daughter equates 'usefulness' with the ability to use a language on holiday:

> […] like no-one really goes on holiday to France but they go on holiday to Spain, so Spanish would be more useful than French. (Student)

Finally, despite their overall negative assessment, both mother and daughter acknowledge that some—rather unspecific—general benefits of MFL exist:

> I guess it does open more doors for you if you can speak a language. My daughter is saying that she would drop it if she had the option, I personally wouldn't want her to do that because I do think that even having the basics of the language can be beneficial. (Parent)

To sum up, this dyad report largely negatively on the experiential level of MFL at school, and struggle to articulate a rationale for learning MFL beyond the 'holiday' argument.

Case Study 5

Despite the mother reporting overall positively on her MFL experience, the salient themes from this dyad centre around the (lack of) perceived usefulness of languages, problems at school level, and the impact of Brexit:

Even though I think there is a lot of value in learning a language, I do think that a lot of people won't get to use it or necessarily need it throughout their life in the same way. There is an attitude in the business world that most people speak English. (Parent)

The son echoes this opinion. Furthermore, the mother explains that contacts to other countries and cultures were not part of her upbringing:

Family holidays were never abroad, so I didn't travel, no, as a young person or have that kind of cultural experience. (Parent)

This dyad thematised option choices and timetabling a lot, a theme also prominent in the discussion fora. Despite not being selected for this pathway, the student is considering continuing with German, and the mother is considering refreshing her knowledge of that language. However, both advocate greater choice of different target languages:

I feel like there should be a few more language choices. If I study a little bit more with the environment, I might drop it half way through Year 9. (Student)

In sum, despite the student's—hesitant—proclivity to continue MFL study, and the mother's positive learner experiences, both see little value overall in language learning at school, and in particular not the languages currently on offer.

Case Study 6

This dyad commented generally negatively on foreign language learning, with only one positive comment made by the parent, and three by the student. Their negative views focused on pedagogy of MFL, and lack of usefulness, and in particular restrictions of choices, as exemplified here:

I told my daughter that I didn't enjoy French, but that I enjoyed Spanish and Italian. But at her school, they do only French, they don't do any other language. (Parent)

> As part of my option pathway, I have no choice, we have to do French until Year 11 as a GCSE. (Student)

Both mother and daughter interpreted 'usefulness' with a strict focus on language-related professions only, rather than other career-supporting, or intrinsic benefits:

> Unless you're actually going to be an interpreter or travel abroad for a living or something to do with foreign countries, I don't think it's necessary unless it's something that you really want to learn. (Parent)

Furthermore, the parent in this dyad stood out as mentioning Brexit as a detrimental factor to learning the languages currently on offer in schools, but suggests others might be useful:

> This is going to sound really bad but the way our country is going at the minute, I don't think it will be French, Italian, Spanish or German that people are going to need to learn. (Parent)

Overall, this dyad, held the most negative stances towards MFL, with both parent and student interpreting benefits of MFL in an instrumental sense, and strongly critiquing the school's languages offers.

Discussion of Interview Data

Looking at sector differences, one striking observation concerns the pre-occupation with specific target languages of participants (both student and parent) in the state sector, while those from the independent sector show little dissatisfaction with the traditional range of languages currently on offer. Parents from the state sector in particular are asking for a diversification of languages on offer (in part, in reaction to Brexit), and mostly interpret the 'usefulness' of languages along the perceived instrumental benefits of specific languages (see also, Thompson, this volume). Parents from the independent school had few complaints regarding school MFL policy, reported more positive MFL experiences, and

contacts to MFL speakers abroad—favourable contexts which allow parents to construe the benefits of MFL in broader terms than a solely instrumental focus. Generally, this sector is financially better equipped to diversity their languages and work with smaller classes. Conversely, resource restrictions in the state sector often leads schools to reduce choices, and language offered (often to one language only, see Introduction), leading to parental and student dissatisfaction. Furthermore, nearly all parents actively seek to support their child's MFL learning and consider their own language skills an important factor in their child's MFL choice, but parents from the independent sector had greater linguistic resources to do so. Finally, no gender patterns regarding attitudes were discernible, possibly due to the small data sample, but the most salient observation overall is the extent to which students echo their parents' views.

Conclusion

Any dataset needs to be interpreted within its limits. In the case of the forum data, little is known about the representativeness of those choosing to post on *Mumsnet*, and *Studentroom*. The interview data is small scale and offers only a snapshot of both generational and education sector (independent or state school) differences. Thus, while care has to be taken not to over-generalise the results, we can comment on the patterns emerging from this data. The forum data in particular has revealed that many parents *and* students harbour opinions on language study that are in themselves not suggesting an intrinsic disinterest or dislike of the subject. On the contrary, a relatively large group of both parents and students express desire for proficiency, intrinsic interest and curiosity for other cultures. The discussions around the pros and cons of continuing with MFL at school, however, become operationalised alongside strategic questions such as: *Do I like the other Option subjects in my GCSE Option block that go alongside a MFL? Would my grade in MFL be as good as if I had chosen History instead? Will I need a MFL for my university application?* and so on. In other terms, potentially favourable stances towards MFL are mediated via the restrictions and regulations within the education

system, at which point the 'reality principle' of strategically choosing options to one's future academic advantage might disfavour a language study.

However, the positive 'take home' message here is that, contrary to some public debates on the language crisis, students are not necessarily all 'linguaphobes', harbouring the belief that 'English is enough'. Yet, such beliefs are easily reinforced by an education system that does put little emphasis on language study. Thus, to capitalise on existing positive stances towards MFL, the education system needs to incentivise and enable more MFL study.

Neither the parental nor student forum reported many intergenerational conflicts, suggesting that students' stances towards MFL are largely shaped by family values on this. The interview data clearly illustrates the intergenerational 'echo effect', whereby children echo the parental views on the value of languages. The interview data has also shown, more strikingly still than the forum data, the degree to which parental language skills influence student choice, with some students choosing a particular language as a direct consequence of parental support and language skills. The interview data, permitting the researcher access to background information about participants, also shows the extent to which differences in beliefs about MFL fall along socio-economic divides, resounding the social divide we find in the UK in general in MFL uptake (see Introduction).

We conclude with the reflection that any initiative aiming to increase uptake must necessarily widen the social spectrum in MFL uptake, and incentivise groups of learners who, whether by their upbringing, learning opportunities, or family value systems, have had little exposure to MFL in their environment. Breaking intergenerational cycles of dislike of MFL thus constitutes a particular challenge. Targeted confidence boosting interventions in schools with low uptake, or—more effective still—a policy that truly disadvantages no child—making MFL compulsory for all would achieve this widening participation.

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A Review from Northern Ireland of the Linguistic Devolution of Primary School Languages

Ian Collen

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review primary school language provision in the complex politico-linguistic landscape of Northern Ireland (NI). Here in particular, the existing languages English, the indigenous Irish language and Ulster Scots variety, all interact with foreign language provision, resulting in tensions in primary school-level language learning in a predominantly Anglophone context. The chapter thus offers a first scholarly evaluation of the current dismal state of foreign, indigenous and vernacular language learning on the primary school curriculum in NI.

Like all education and other internal policy issues, Modern Foreign Languages education is devolved to the four United Kingdom (UK) nations: England, Scotland, Wales and NI. With 173,856 pupils in 806 schools (DE 2020) NI makes up 3.4% of the UK primary school population.

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The Political Context of NI

Since partition in 1921, when the government of the then United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland divided the island of Ireland into two separate polities, it has been home to two countries; NI and the Republic of Ireland (RoI). Prior to partition in 1921, the condition in history of the Irish language in what is now NI was, on the whole, comparable to what pertained in the rest of Ireland. Broadly similar social, economic, political and cultural factors lay behind the linguistic decline of Irish throughout Ireland, as is the case for Gaelic generally throughout Scotland and the Isle of Man as well (McKendry 2008).

The UK exited the European Union (EU) on 31 January 2020; NI, also commonly referred to as Ulster, is now the only part of the UK to have a land border with the EU (i.e. the Republic of Ireland). NI, therefore, makes for an interesting multilingual country with a complex relationship between language and politics, set against a wider backdrop of changing policies in the rest of the UK and RoI.

Devolution, whereby significant powers for matters, such as health and education, are granted from the UK Parliament in London to the local NI Assembly in Belfast, came into force in 1999, following the signing of the Belfast Agreement in 1998.[1] Regional governance through the NI Assembly permitted a new focus on local cultures and languages, which central state administrations previously viewed as unimportant or divisive. Birrell (2009) too noted that one outcome of the decentralisation of power has been the development of policies that have reflected the specific national characters of each of the UK regions, and this can be seen clearly in language education. Each of the four UK nations have taken a different approach to languages in primary schools; all except Northern Ireland see languages on the primary curriculum as being important.

The Belfast Agreement, also known as the Good Friday Agreement, brought a period of civil unrest between opposing groups belonging to either the Protestant tradition, loyal to the UK, or the Catholic tradition, sympathetic to the RoI, to an end. The NI Assembly has 90

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[1] A peace agreement between Ireland and the UK, see https://education.niassembly.gov.uk/post_16/snapshots_of_devolution/gfa

democratically elected Ministers and is a consociational model of democracy, similar to other post-conflict societies such as Lebanon, and is also used in Belgium and Switzerland. Consociational democracy in these aforementioned countries is a political system whereby the cooperation of different social groups forms the basis of a government jointly, and share power. In NI, a First Minister and a Deputy First Minister (with equal status despite the title of Deputy) are elected to lead the Executive Committee of Ministers; one from each of the unionist and nationalist parties. They must stand for election jointly, and to be elected, they must have cross-community support in that a majority of both the Members who have designated themselves nationalists and those who have designated themselves unionists and a majority of the whole Assembly must vote in favour. The current First Minister, from the UK-sympathetic Democratic Unionist Party, supports the wider development of Ulster Scots, while the current Deputy First Minister belongs to the RoI-sympathetic Sinn Féin party. Within this cross-community Assembly of power-sharing, one question of debate is what official status or protection should be accorded the Irish language and Ulster Scots, part of the identity politics and "culture war" which have survived the end of the violence (McMonagle and McDermott 2014).

The two main communities in Northern Ireland, usually labelled Protestant (pro-British and unionist, sympathetic to Ulster Scots language/dialect) and Catholic (pro-Irish and nationalist, sympathetic to Irish language) are not divided by an everyday language as all understand English, but by their affiliation to lesser spoken languages and/or dialects.

Language Education Policy in NI

As language education, like all decisions pertaining to the Curriculum, sits within matters devolved to the UK's four nations (see above), there is a divergence of approach to languages in all stages of education in the UK. Whilst other parts of the UK have made language learning at primary level compulsory, NI has not followed this pathway, despite various calls from academics (e.g. Jones et al. 2017; Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers 2019) and almost 2000 primary school pupils (Collen 2019) that serious

consideration should be given to such an endeavour to bring NI into line with the rest of the UK. Furthermore, as in other parts of the English-speaking world, overall entries in modern foreign languages in Northern Ireland have declined year on year at secondary examination levels (Tinsley 2019) since 2002.

Irish, a Celtic language, has been spoken on the island of Ireland for at least 2500 years (Ó Siadhail 1989; hUiginn 2008). It is closely related to Scottish Gaelic and Manx (Isle of Man) and more distantly related to Welsh, Breton in north-west France and Cornish, spoken in Cornwall in south-west England. Ulster Scots, essentially a minority vernacular of English with origins in the lowlands of Scotland, was brought to the north of the island of Ireland by the Scots during the Plantation of Ulster in the seventeenth century (Ulster Scots Agency 2020). The Plantation was a time when a series of economic schemes attracted thousands of Scottish Protestants to the northern part of the island of Ireland. Given that these planters were often Scots-speaking, a marked influence remains on Ulster Scots today (Corrigan 2010). Ulster Scots is viewed by some as a separate language (e.g. Adamson 1991) with vibrant communities of native speakers, while others do not describe it as separate from standard English (e.g. Adams 1977; Görlach 2000) due to its close relationship and mutual intelligibility. Up until the 1990s, there was little interest in Ulster Scots from the supporting Protestant community (Gardner 2016). However, as the Catholic community became increasingly associated with the use of Irish, so did the Protestant community develop their closeness to Ulster Scots (Gardner 2016; Gardner 2018), resulting in a revival of this variety. Although there is no agreed standard variety of Ulster Scots (DCAL 2015), education programmes are now in place and government strategy plans for examination qualifications in Ulster Scots in the longer term.

Languages in UK Primary Schools

England

In England, the Labour government of 2004 made languages at General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) level (taken normally at age 16) optional for the first time since the advent of a National Curriculum in 1988, but committed to introducing a language at Key Stage 2 (KS2, ages 8–11). Their expectation was that primary languages would reignite sufficient passion for language learning to generate long-term, enduring, favourable attitudes to language learning and thus increase language uptake in post-compulsory phases (Courtney 2017). Since September 2014, the study of one modern foreign or ancient language has been compulsory at KS2. Whilst primary languages are enshrined in policy, some schools lack the provision and capability to effectively deliver languages (Tinsley and Doležal 2018; Holmes and Myles 2019) and no additional central or regional funding has been made available to support this major reform (Myles et al. 2019). The numerous problems associated with primary languages delivery include time allocation, which is often limited to 30 minutes per week varying by school; disparity in expectation of pupil progress in language learning between primary and secondary teachers; lack of coherent cross-phase planning leading to demotivation on the part of the pupils; teacher's lack of subject knowledge (Holmes and Myles 2019); and limited content guidance provided for primary languages by comparison to other subjects (Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers 2019). The example demonstrates how a Primary Languages policy does not automatically lead to successful practice; there is a need for a robust implementation strategy (Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers 2019; Holmes and Myles 2019). The Research in Primary Languages White Paper on languages policy in England (Holmes and Myles 2019), which has been endorsed by the British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL), recommends an implementation strategy for primary languages should now be developed as a matter of priority. This would operationalise the solutions proposed within in relation to time allocation, primary languages

pedagogy, Initial Teacher Education and Continuing Professional Development provision, curriculum planning, assessment and reporting, transition arrangements, and the use of digital technology. The White Paper also proposes a strategic role for further research in primary policy development, implementation and evaluation.

Scotland

Scotland appears to have embraced the most far-reaching and ambitious approach of all UK nations to primary language provision. In 2012 the Scottish government introduced a '1+2 Approach' to primary languages, recommending a first additional language (L2) from age 5 and a second additional language (L3) from age 9, and this will continue until age 14. Full implementation is planned by 2021 (Scottish Government: Learning Directorate 2017). Gaelic as an additional language is recognised as a potential L2 subject for some pupils, and this is the sort of system to which Northern Ireland could aspire. Modern languages guidance documents for First and Second curricular levels are provided in the areas of principles and practice, experiences and outcomes, and benchmarks for assessment (Education Scotland 2017). The strategy incorporates positive recognition of young people with a community language mother tongue: where both the acquisition of English and the continuation of mother tongue learning are anticipated (Scottish Government 2012). There are various initiatives to upscale teacher competence, such as the Open University courses for primary practitioners in French, German, Mandarin and Spanish, (Open 2020) offered in cooperation with the Scottish Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research. Whilst the strategy seems laudable, its feasibility has been questioned (Murray, 2017) not least since funding is unsecure beyond 2021. Gaelic Medium Education, in which pupils learn everything through the medium of the indigenous languages, makes up less than 5% of primary provision in Scotland.

Wales

The approach throughout the school system in Wales is one of 'bilingual +1'; that is, all pupils are expected to learn English and Welsh (Education Reform Act, 1988) from age 5 up to age 16, and there is a commitment to offer at least one Modern Foreign Language from age 9 (Welsh Government 2015). This is similar to Scotland. However, lack of resourcing, funding and training have been identified as major barriers to implementation (Tinsley and Board 2017) at a system wide level. There is investment by the Welsh government to try to increase the number of pupils studying a modern foreign language at GCSE and A-level and MFL is to be 'made available' to all pupils for GCSE. The notable problem in Wales is this competition between Welsh and foreign languages on the secondary curriculum.

It is noted that the nations England, Scotland and Wales all have made language learning in primary schools statutory, although in all three nations, many problems related to practice and delivery persist. Furthermore, although long-term funding for Wales' and Scotland's plans remains uncertain, it is of great interest for NI to consider how and why these two small UK nations in particular developed such ambitious policies. Both the Welsh and Scottish policies are strongly aligned with the European goal of 'mother tongue plus competency in two foreign languages' (Valdera-Gil and Crichton 2018). Scotland, for its part, has a long political tradition of a stronger European orientation than England, recently marked by its decided vote in favour of remaining in the EU. Thus, their language education policy needs to be understood in the Brexit context of deliberate distancing from central UK policies (Lanvers 2017), similar to other Scottish policies. Next, we consider how NI, with its even more complex politico-linguistic landscape, provides for primary language learning today.

Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has never had statutory language learning for all children in the primary phase. A 'Primary Modern Languages Programme'

ran from 2007 to 2015, offered to only some schools, but funding was withdrawn bringing the programme to an abrupt close (Jones et al. 2017). In the final year of the programme, lessons were delivered in 413 schools (BBC 2015) by peripatetic staff, some of whom did not have a teaching qualification. Weaknesses of the programme were that it focused on the indigenous Irish language, Spanish and for a short time Polish. French and German, along with other languages, were left out. It is surprising that French in particular did not feature since it was and continues to be the most taught language at secondary level. Furthermore, by focusing on ages four to seven, there was no upward progression possible for most students (Collen et al. 2017). There are currently no plans to introduce languages in the primary school.

The aforementioned changes in other parts of the UK result in NI having the shortest compulsory phase of language learning in the continent of Europe. During the compulsory period of language learning from ages 11 to 14, pupils must study at least one language of the European Union. In practice this means either French, German, Irish or Spanish. There is no prescribed time from government and children's experiences of the curriculum for language learning vary from school to school. In common with other devolved regions of the UK, the number of pupils taking a language for the General Certificate in Secondary Education at age 16 has declined year on year since 2002 (Tinsley 2019).

In conclusion, although problems concerning language uptake at the secondary sector are common to all four nations, NI has not managed to create a primary language provision that ensures some uniform provision of either an indigenous or foreign language—unlike the other smaller UK nations such as Wales and Scotland. NI Primary languages provision also differs significantly from that in the RoI, where Irish is compulsory—a move which, applied to NI, would, in all likelihood, be interpreted as nationalist-friendly, and thus create friction. Thus, the NI lacuna can be understood as arising out of NI's very specific socio-political and linguistic challenges, which are discussed more in the next section.

Challenges in Implementing NI Primary Languages

Northern Ireland has 1.811 million inhabitants (NISRA 2012). The education system at large is similar to that in most developed countries with the main differences found in the relatively young age at which compulsory education starts (age 4), the continuation of a selective system of secondary education and the significant role of the churches in education governance (Gallagher 2019). In total, there are 806 primary schools, 193 secondary schools and 39 special schools for children with complex additional educational needs (DE 2020). Thirty-two of the primary schools and two secondary schools deliver the curriculum through the medium of the Irish language; no schools deliver the curriculum through Ulster Scots. Three universities and six colleges of further education complete the mainstay of the system. Furthermore, education in NI is still divided along ethno-religious lines with 94% of children attending a predominantly Catholic or a predominantly Protestant school, with the remaining 6% attending integrated schools in which children of all faiths learn side by side (Abbott 2010). In practice, it is common that many Catholic children in NI will only ever come into contact with Catholics, and many Protestant children only ever with Protestants. As previously mentioned, the general assumption is that Catholics have a pro-Irish nationalist viewpoint and wish NI to be reunited with the RoI, whilst Protestants have a pro-British unionist viewpoint and value NI's ties with the UK.

Unlike other parts of the UK, most pupils attend State schools; there are only a handful private and part-private schools. All State schools are duty bound to deliver the NI Curriculum which was last revised in 2007. Although there is no statutory obligation to offer languages in primary schools, studies (Purdy et al. 2010; Jones et al. 2017; Tinsley 2019) have shown that there is a patchwork of schools offering languages either as part of the curriculum or as an extra-curricular activity, using school-based resources thus leading to inequities across the system.

Regarding languages spoken in NI, English is the most widely spoken and only official language. According to the 2011 UK Census, in NI

184,898 (10.65%) claim to have some knowledge of Irish, of whom 104,943 (6.05%) can speak the language to varying degrees. A small minority, some 4130 people (0.2%), use Irish as their main home language, compared to, for instance, 17,731 residents (1.04%) of the NI population who use Polish as their main home language. Some unionists, such as the current First Minister Arlene Foster of the Democratic Unionist Party (Belfast Telegraph 2017) said that in creating societal integration NI should therefore focus on the teaching of Polish. In the same census, 16,373 people (0.9% of the population) stated that they can speak, read, write and understand Ulster Scots, and 140,204 people (8.1% of the population) reported having some ability in Ulster Scots. No one reported using Ulster Scots as their main language, though its closeness to standard English, as well as the aforementioned debate about being a language in its own right, makes it difficult to validate. The religious divide in linguistic ability is particularly stark. Of those with some ability in Irish, 90% are Catholic and only 7.4% Protestant. For Ulster Scots, meanwhile, 79% with some ability are Protestant, while Catholics make up 17% (NISRA 2014).

The fact that the school system is so segregated means that the cultural identity of the two main groups is taught from a young age. Since 2007, NI has put increased efforts into 'Shared Education', by which pupils share some learning between schools associated with different communities, but language learning has never been evaluated as part of this work. On the NI Curriculum, the place of Irish is within the learning area of Modern Languages, sitting along aside foreign languages French, German and Spanish. A handful of secondary schools offer lesser-taught languages such as Russian, Mandarin and Latin. This differs significantly from the school curriculum in RoI and Wales, where Irish and Welsh respectively, official languages, are compulsory heritage languages, treated as separate from modern foreign languages.

To meet current curriculum requirements in NI pupils aged 11–14 must learn at least one language other than English, and this can be Irish. However, it was not always this way. It was not until 2004 when the government of RoI requested Irish be recognised as an official language of the European Union, a request which was subsequently granted; this then paved the way for Irish to be considered as of equal status to French,

German and Spanish on the NI Curriculum from 2007. In the early days of regional governance from 1998 to 2007, there was an upsurge in the visibility of Ulster Scots with the local curriculum body, whereby the Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment created resources to help promote both Irish and Ulster Scots in the school system. At a wider societal level, the two agencies were created to promote Irish and Ulster Scots: *Foras Na Gaelige* and the Ulster Scots Agency. Increasing support for Ulster Scots was often justified by unionist parties on the basis that it created greater equilibrium for Protestant linguistic culture in the face of wider Irish language recognition (McCall 2002). The local assembly was suspended from late 2002 due to political fallout between the main parties, and it did not fully function again until 2007, following a lengthy talk process known as the St Andrews agreement,[2] which placed specific obligations on the authorities to establish an Ulster Scots strategy. In 2015, the NI government published a strategy for Ulster Scots from 2015 to 2035 which includes a commitment to the teaching of a standard form of Ulster Scots in the school system (DCAL 2015); however, the out workings of this have yet to be realised.

From January 2017 to January 2020, the NI Assembly was once again suspended due to a political fallout between the Democratic Unionist Party and the nationalist Sinn Féin party. One of the key issues which led to the collapse was the rights of Irish language speakers, spoken predominantly by nationalists. Advocates for the Irish language in NI want there to be an Irish Language Act *Acht na Gaeilge*, which gives Irish equal status to English. This has been met with hostility from many unionists, particularly the Democratic Unionist Party and the Traditional Unionist Voice party.

As a result of the collapse of power sharing, many decisions were made by civil servants with limited authority and any change slow to non-existent. While other UK nations have moved forward with primary languages, NI lags behind, and currently offers the shortest compulsory period of language learning of any country of the UK, from ages 11 to 14 only. It is currently the only country in the continent of Europe where

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[2] A UK- NI Government meeting which prepared for the restoration of political institution in NI, see https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-st-andrews-agreement-october-2006

children do not have a right to learn a second language as part of the primary school curriculum.

In January 2020, a *New Decade New Approach* agreement (NDNA 2020), endorsed by all of the main political parties in NI, brought about the restauration of the NI Assembly after three years of political stasis. It is significant at a time when NI is renegotiating its place within the UK and with international partners following Brexit.

Within this agreement, commitment is given to introducing legislation to create a new commissioner, or senior government official, to recognise, support, protect and enhance the development of the Irish language in NI, and to provide official recognition of the status of the Irish Language in NI, as well as a further such commissioner to enhance and develop the language, arts and literature associated with the Ulster Scots/Ulster British tradition and to provide official recognition of the status of the Ulster Scots language in NI. The legislation places a legal duty on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate the use of Ulster Scots in the education system (NDNA 2020). The practical application of this agreement remains to be seen, but there is a genuine concern that NI could polarise further the gulf between those who identify as Protestant and those who identify as Catholic. Within the new agreement, there is no concrete provision for languages other than English, Irish and Ulster Scots.

Currently, the indigenous Irish language is taught at secondary level only, and in Catholic schools, whose parents support pro-nationalist political viewpoints, and very few integrated schools. Conversely, regarding Ulster Scots, there is no formal qualification, or widespread use, of Ulster Scots in the school system. Nonetheless, the aforementioned strategy (DCAL 2015, p. 30) does make provision to *Fen an gie a lift til furstheicht schuils tae yokk til effeirin UlstèrScotch leid*/('Support and encourage schools to participate in relevant Ulster-Scots language'). The strategy document concedes that a GCSE or A-level qualification in Ulster Scots is far from being developed, not least because a standard version needs to be agreed upon. However, the strategy does make reference to the development of examination qualifications in Ulster Scots in the longer term.

Regarding secondary provision, we observe a year-on-year decline of pupils taking a language for the General Certificate in Secondary

Education (GCSE) since 2002 (Tinsley 2019), common to all nations. The study of at least one language of the European Union (in practice French, German, Irish or Spanish, following policy written before the UK's exit from the European Union) is compulsory from the ages of 11 to 14. As the NI government shifts its focus to Irish and Ulster Scots, it is notable that foreign languages are absent from strategy documentation.

Conclusion

Many teachers and pupils in NI look out with envy to other UK nations, where primary school children enjoy a right to language learning, including indigenous languages. Currently, education policy makers in NI have chosen not to prioritise language education. One likely factor influencing this decision is that any decision for a particular language, or a language policy, is likely to be interpreted as favouring one or another political direction (favouring either nationalist or unionist).

In order to move NI primary languages forward, the political connotations, associated with Irish and Ulster Scots, need first to be re-assessed, so as not to further polarise an already very segregated school system. Further, the current conflation of Irish with the foreign languages of French, German and Spanish, under an umbrella term of 'Modern Languages' on the curriculum, together with Ulster Scots gaining momentum as a language in itself, means that progress is likely to be slow. In recent years, politicians and policy makers in NI, caught up in a polarised debate between cultural and linguistic identity, focused on Irish and Ulster Scots, to the detriment of progress in foreign languages. For a primary school languages policy to ever succeed in NI, a harmony between indigenous, vernacular and foreign languages needs to be achieved. One possible solution is Scotland's model, whereby children learn *two* languages, one of which can be an indigenous or heritage language, the other a European one, is an attractive model to follow, while in areas where Irish is spoken as a first language by most primary school children, the Welsh model of bilingualism +1 might be suitable: for NI,

that could mean: Irish plus English dual immersion, followed by one foreign language.

In conclusion, finding the time for this on an already busy primary curriculum, coupled with the financial resourcing required to upskill teachers and roll out primary languages at a system-wide level, would require significant buy-in from policy makers. Navigating the introduction of primary languages in a complex politico-linguistic landscape could cause more tension than it solves and needs to be handled with care. If NI is to embark on planning for statutory languages in primary education, it would do well to learn both from promising recent policy advances and the mistakes of other UK nations (Holmes and Myles 2019) and ensure that all children have opportunities to learn 'languages', in the broadest sense of the discipline.

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Language Education in Australian Primary Schools: Policy, Practice, Perceptions

Shannon Mason and John Hajek

Introduction

Australia has been at the forefront of education policy for languages other than English, ever since the development and implementation of the *National Policy for Languages* (Lo Bianco 1987), the first of its kind in an English-speaking country. The policy paved the way for a range of initiatives to harness and build Australia's linguistic diversity and capacity, at individual, community and national levels. Among the many recommendations set forth was the promotion of "a language other than English for all" (p. 4) and specifically the provision of language learning in schools. As a result of this recommendation, most students across Australia over

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the past 20 years have been required to study a language other than English for at least part of their compulsory schooling (Liddicoat 2010), and at both state and school levels this generally begins in primary school (Liddicoat et al. 2007). However, as in other Anglophone countries (Lanvers and Martin, this volume), only a small percentage of students elect to continue language study beyond any compulsory period, which generally ends in early secondary school (Liddicoat 2010). This is a trend that has continued unchanged for decades, with national rates of high school graduates completing their schooling with a language remaining steady at around 11% (Asia Education Foundation 2014). In some states, this is as low as 5%, as in the case of Queensland (Department of Education, Training and Employment 2014).

In both policy and research there is limited attention on the primary sector (Year 1–Year 6/7, 5+ to 11+ years of age), meaning that "it is impossible to describe with any confidence a typical primary school experience of language study" (Liddicoat et al. 2007, p. 83). This is a critical gap in knowledge in need of further examination, particularly because early experiences may have a profound impact on students' attitudes toward other languages. Early language learning is expected to "instil interest in other languages in children and generate a lasting motivation to learn other languages" (Mackiewicz 2002, p. 4). For many young people in Australia, the language classes they attend may be their first experience of formal language learning, and for monolingual English-speaking children, this may be their first exposure to a language other than their own. Around the English-speaking world, apathy and antipathy toward multicultural diversity and difference show signs of increasing. Exposing students to concepts of multilingualism and multiculturalism while they are young presents an important opportunity to disrupt widely embedded notions of ethnocentrism (Clyne 2008).

To draw focus onto the primary sector, we provide an illustration and analysis of the current discourse regarding language learning as a subject at the primary school level in Australia, from three interrelated perspectives. First, we look at the major policies, initiatives and programmes at state and national levels that have influenced primary school language education, to illustrate the scope and depth of political efforts to bring language education to Australian students—especially in the early years

of schooling. Next, we look to current research that provides a glimpse inside primary school language classrooms. Then, we draw on the recent literature related to the perceptions of primary language education by the general public. Together, these three interconnected discourses provide a holistic view of language education in the primary school sector. We conclude with implications for strengthening early language education in a context of global English and general apathy toward learning other languages.

Before proceeding, we note that, while other models are available to some primary school students, such as bilingual education models, this chapter focuses on language as a subject, as it is the most common model by which Australian students access language learning.

Policy

In our discussion of language education policy, we are informed by a broad definition of language planning which extends well beyond "formal language planning documents and pronouncements" (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, p. xi). In the Australian context 'policy' also includes initiatives and programmes that are inherently reflective of government planning, policy and direction, and are often, but not always, supported by significant funding. The word 'policy' is often carefully avoided at official level—partly in response to sensitivities in Australia's federal and highly autonomous governing structure where state-level jurisdictions may not wish to be constrained by officially stated national policy.

As of 2016, the teaching and learning of languages other than English has been to a large degree guided by the *Australian Curriculum: Languages* (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority [ACARA] 2014). Through the provision of detailed guidance, structure and content, the highly elaborated curriculum informs the teaching and learning of languages across the span of compulsory schooling, beginning with an initial Foundation year, through six years of primary school, and the first four of six years of high school. Although schools in the private sector, where approximately one-third of Australian students receive their education, are not under any obligation to adopt the national curriculum,

many mirror the state sector in terms of general trends in language programme implementation. The *Australian Curriculum: Languages* includes language-level curricula for 14 separate languages, as well as two frameworks to support the teaching of Aboriginal Languages and Torres Strait Islander Languages and of Classical Languages. The major rationale for the learning of languages is that:

> being able to communicate proficiently gives learners essential communication skills in the target language, an intercultural capability, and an understanding of the role of language and culture in human communication. It provides the opportunity for students to engage with the linguistic and cultural diversity of humanity, to reflect on their understanding of human experience in all aspects of social life, and on their own participation and ways of being in the world. (ACARA 2011, p. 6)

The *Australian Curriculum: Languages* is the latest of several national policy initiatives to influence the implementation of language education programmes. We use the term *Australian Curriculum: Languages* throughout this contribution as a matter of convenience, although it has been renamed and localised in different states, for example the *Victorian Curriculum F-10: Languages* in Victoria. Table 1 provides an overview of the major initiatives that preceded the *Australian Curriculum: Languages*, with the first two funded by the aforementioned *National Policy for Languages*.

Several observations can be drawn from the national policy discourse of recent years. Perhaps most obvious is the disjointed nature of efforts to improve language education, with changes in policy occurring at regular intervals, generally coinciding with changes to national leadership. This chopping and changing of policies is also seen at the state level (Liddicoat 2010), and "has served to weaken the place of languages due to continual shifting of priorities and ineffective interventions" (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009, p. 6). With each new policy offering come new "extravagant and unachievable" targets (Australian Language and Literacy Council 1996) that in Australian language policy history have yet to be met (Liddicoat 2010; Poyatos Matas and Mason 2015). In light of this history, Mascitelli and O'Mahony (2014) bring a healthy dose of

Table 1 Major national policy initiatives related to school language education

Policy or programme	Scope (time and funding)	Goal and targets related to school language education
Australian Second Language Learning Program	1988–1991 A$27 million	To enhance language programmes in state and private sectors at all levels from kindergarten to Year 12 (Commonwealth of Australia 1991, p. 63).
Asian Studies Program	1988–1993 undetermined	To ensure that "all Australian school children have access to the study of Asian languages by the year 2000" (Commonwealth of Australia 1991, p. 63).
Australian Language and Literacy Policy	1991–1994 A$66 million	To expand and improve the learning of languages other than English. Specific targets were set for 2000, that a) the proportion of Year 12 students studying a language other than English should rise to 25%, and b) all Australians will have the opportunity to learn a language other than English appropriate to their needs (Commonwealth of Australia 1991, p. 61).
National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools	1995–2006 $A208 million	To improve participation and proficiency levels in language learning in Japanese, Chinese, Indonesian and Korean. A specific target was set for 2006, that 60% of Year 12 students and 15% of Year 12 students should be studying one of the four priority languages (Erebus Consulting Partners 2002).

Table 1 (continued)

Policy or programme	Scope (time and funding)	Goal and targets related to school language education
National Plan for Languages in Australian Schools	2005–2008 No specific funding	To "establish long-term directions for languages education, advance the implementation of high quality and sustainable programmes, maximise collaboration in the use of national, state and territory resources, (and) provide flexibility in implementation by individual jurisdictions" (MCEETYA[a] 2005).
National Asian Languages and Studies in Schools Program	2009–2012 $A62 million	To "significantly increase the number of Australian students becoming proficient at learning the languages and understanding the cultures of our Asian neighbours—China, Indonesia, Japan and Korea", with a specific target of 12% of Year 12 students leaving with one of the four priority languages (Australian Government 2008 in Sturak and Naughten 2010, p. 2).
Australia in the Asian Century White Paper	2012–2013 Not funded[b]	To ensure that "all Australian students will have the opportunity, and be encouraged, to undertake a continuous course of study in an Asian language throughout their years of schooling (and) all students will have access to at least one priority Asian language; these will be Chinese (Mandarin), Hindi, Indonesian and Japanese" (Australian Government 2012).

(*continued*)

Table 1 (continued)

Policy or programme	Scope (time and funding)	Goal and targets related to school language education
The Coalition's Policy for Schools: Students First	2013–2018 No data available	To "revive the teaching of foreign languages in Australian schools to ensure that at least 40% of Year 12 students are once more studying a language other than English within a decade" (Australian Government 2013, p. 12).

[a]Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs
[b]Policy superseded by new incoming government policy before implementation

scepticism to their critique of the *Australia in the Asian Century White Paper* (Australian Government 2012), launched with great national fanfare but then quickly superseded. Mascitelli and O'Mahony note:

> Indeed, the provision of the foundations required to attempt to deliver on these promises requires an enormous, long-term financial commitment which, when added to the cost of the proposed education reform agenda, will represent a staggering funding investment with little assurance of a return on that investment. (p. 551)

The regular prioritisation of a small number of Asian languages is a clear indication of the political agenda pushing much of the official discourse around languages education, that is, that language learning is a skill for contributing to economic prosperity, a notion promoted particularly at the national level (Liddicoat 2010; Mason and Hajek 2020). While the rhetoric surrounding most initiatives acknowledges language learning and multilingualism as resources for personal development and social cohesiveness, it is clear that more explicit attention is given to an economic rationale.

While all of the initiatives listed in Table 1 make provision for the expansion or improvement of language education across students' compulsory education, the yardstick by which they are evaluated continues to be a quantitative measure of completion rates in Year 12, the final year of secondary schooling (16+ years of age). While it is true that policies have

been far from successful in meeting their aims on this front (Liddicoat 2010), the focus on high school in evaluating policy has meant that the quality of programmes in primary schools has been all but ignored. It also means that some of the well-acknowledged challenges to successful implementation, such as limited contact time (Liddicoat 2010; Scarino et al. 2011) and teacher supply (Liddicoat 2010; Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009; Mason and Poyatos Matas 2016a) have not been given the necessary long-term strategic attention necessary to improve language education in the early years, with potential influence on later uptake.

As has typically been the case with national initiatives, state and territorial authorities have responsibility for the implementation of the *Australian Curriculum: Languages*, which is based on an assumption of 350 hours of learning leading up to high school (ACARA 2011). However, these hours are indicative only and considerable autonomy is given to local authorities in terms of when, how and how often languages are taught in schools (ACARA 2017). The devolved nature of implementation has resulted in a system with considerable diversity in delivery across and within the states and territories. In a recent national review, Kohler (2017) collected detailed information regarding the policies of each state at all levels of schooling. Drawing on these data, we highlight the requirements as they relate directly to the primary school sector (Table 2).

Victoria has the highest commitment to language learning at the primary school level, with recommended time allocations exceeding the

Table 2 Language learning from Year 1 to 6, by state (Source: Kohler 2017)

State	Required span of learning	Recommended weekly contact time
Australian Capital Territory	Four years (Years 3–6)	60 minutes
New South Wales	Schools are encouraged to offer language programmes	
Northern Territory	Schools modify curriculum content to meet programme conditions	
Queensland	Two years (Years 5–6)	85 minutes
South Australia	Six years (Years 1–6)	80 minutes
Tasmania	Schools are "strongly encouraged" to offer language programmes	
Victoria	Six years (Years 1–6)	150 minutes
Western Australia	Four years (Years 3–6)	120 minutes

expectations of the Australian Curriculum, while South Australia has adopted the guidelines as they stand. For all other states, programmes may be shorter in scope in terms of the number of years language learning takes place, or the weekly allocated hours. In some cases, implementation is further devolved to schools. As we illustrate in the next section, the lack of accountability for states to implement the *Australian Curriculum: Languages*, or for local jurisdictions and schools to implement state policy, means that policy initiatives do not always inform practice, and what language teaching and learning actually looks like in schools may be highly divergent from policy and the aims they espouse.

Practice

While policy discourse provides important insights into the symbolic position of language education within the broader educational landscape in Australia, without strong evaluation processes and accountability measures, policies may be seen as largely rhetorical, and the teaching and learning of languages at the school level may not always be responsive to policy goals (Poyatos Matas and Mason 2015). In Queensland, there have been cases in the past of large numbers of schools not running compulsory language classes (Chilcott 2010). The lack of accountability and data collection makes it almost impossible to determine the extent of compliance, a fact true of many of the states. A good example of the limits of top-down policy on local level implementation is Victoria, which has been the leader in language education for most of recent history, with an exception during the period 2002–2012, which saw a dramatic decrease in the number of primary schools teaching languages (State of Victoria 2017). This decline can largely be attributed to reduced bureaucratic insistence on languages provision in primary schools. This unfortunate trend was quickly reversed by 2013, thanks to renewed state government policy and monitoring which insisted on languages provision at both primary and secondary schools. Our discussion in this section centres on several key aspects of classroom practice that are vital for effective language teaching and learning: time on task, learning content and teacher supply.

Time on task arguably garners the most attention when viewing language programmes, perhaps because it is easily visible and quantifiable, but also because a lack of contact time with the language is one of the most pressing reasons for incomplete language acquisition by students in schools (Lightbown 2000, p. 449). Indeed, a local study (Scarino et al. 2011) established that increased time dedicated to language learning throughout schooling, and beginning in primary school, yields considerable improvements in learner outcomes. Even in states where minimum hours are mandated, there is considerable variety in programme make-up across schools; there are limited data from states; and there appears to be no infrastructure for the collection of relevant data at a national level. Victoria is the state with the highest levels of accountability and the most transparent and up-to-date data. However, a recent report showed that, while 90% of primary schools provided a language programme in 2017, these programmes ranged from 10 to 180 minutes per week, and averaged only 55 minutes per week, with only 0.1% of schools meeting the recommended minimum time of 150 minutes (State of Victoria 2017). Similar diversity in terms of weekly contact hours was also seen in Queensland, with a non-random sample of primary school programmes running anywhere from 15 to 225 minutes per week (Mason 2018). Contact time may also be further constrained by regular interruptions to programmes due to extra-curricular activities (Duquemin 2018). Additionally, even when primary schools are able to provide a strong programme, in some cases students may not have the opportunity to continue that language into secondary school. This "damages children's motivation, parent's [*sic*] interest and the general community's tolerance" for language education (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009, p. 48).

Our understanding of current practice at the grass-roots level tends to revolve around programme structures, and it is difficult to develop a comprehensive qualitative view of what is happening within those structures. An in-depth study utilising focus groups of lower secondary school students about their learning experiences provides important insights into their classroom experiences (Lo Bianco and Aliani 2013), but there are no similar studies of student experiences in the primary school sector. This is likely related in part to the ethical and practical challenges of conducting research with younger students. Nevertheless, anecdotal evidence

has suggested that there is extreme diversity in the experiences of students across the country. On the one hand, there are classrooms which lack rigour and depth, with a "plethora of parents who keep quoting the anecdote of their child learning Japanese for eight years at primary and early secondary school and not being able to say hello (though they are extremely good at origami and a few nursery rhymes)" (Anderson 2014, p. 27). On the other hand, there are examples of strong engagement within primary school classrooms, such as the use of creative and imaginative texts to teach Japanese (Pearce 2016; Pearce et al. 2018), songs and music in the Italian classroom (Paolino and Lummis 2015), and innovative methods to support the acquisition of Chinese characters (Wang et al. 2017). In the area of in-class interactions and the use of the target language, wide variation was seen in one of the few studies focusing on primary schools (Tognini 2008).

A shortage of qualified language teachers is a common challenge for schools across the world, including Australia (Swanson and Mason 2018), and as a result there have been calls to better utilise new technologies to support teaching and learning (Zbar and Jane 2012). Building connections through online technologies was one of the proposed uses for the National Broadband Network currently under construction to increase access to high-speed internet across the country, as recommended in the *Australia in the Asian Century* white paper (Spence-Brown 2014). While initiatives such as *Innovative Language Provision in Clusters* in Victoria have shown the potential of digital technologies to improve and increase language education (Zbar and Jane 2012), Slaughter, Smith, and Hajek (2019) note that "the success of these videoconferencing [and indeed other] initiatives are influenced by a nuanced combination of social, educational and technological factors" (p. 204). Indeed, the quality of provision of language education regardless of the mode of delivery is dependent on a variety of factors, and, while teacher quality is vital, the reality for many teachers in primary schools is that they are impeded in their ability to provide quality language education by factors outside of their control. For example, they may be teaching hundreds of students per week with minimal contact time (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009; Mason 2018). As they are often the only language teacher in their school, and may even work across multiple schools, it can be difficult to gain support and build

networks (Mason and Poyatos Matas 2016b). They may be constantly competing with other school priorities and justifying the role and position of languages in the curriculum due to poor attitudes toward language learning (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009; Mason 2015).

Perceptions

Perceptions play a key role in the decision-making processes of various stakeholders in language education. Students who do not see the relevance or importance of learning a language, or find it difficult or boring, may lack motivation to study, with parents and wider communities also having some influence over student decisions (Australian Council of State School Organisations [ACSSO] 2007; Lo Bianco and Aliani 2013). Often serving to push language education to the periphery are arguments that primary school classrooms are inhibited by a 'crowded curriculum', and that addressing falling literacy standards requires a back-to-basics approach with an undivided focus on English language skills (ACSSO 2007; Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009). Thus, "substantial barriers remain to recognition and acceptance of the unique contribution language study makes to the education of young people" (Fernandez 2007, p. 2).

The perception that language education is not relevant to the lives of Australian students is reflective of a permeating monolingual mindset (Hajek and Slaughter 2015). This mindset is present in many parts of the English-speaking world—a world which has "a concentration of monolingual English speakers, that operates in English, thinks it only natural that everything should happen in English and should logically be experienced and understood in English" (Hajek 2016, p. 2). This mindset is seen as a paradox, as even within the position of English as an international lingua franca, the communities of Australia are among the most linguistically diverse in the world (Clyne 2005). Challenging this mindset is regarded among language education scholars as one of the most pressing challenges standing in the way of widespread uptake of language learning (Clyne 2005; Hajek and Slaughter 2015).

For community members who "do not possess direct knowledge or experience [in a particular issue] … the media play a central role in

informing the public about what happens in the world" (Happer and Philo 2013, p. 321). In Australia, debates surrounding curriculum policies have indeed played out in the media, and resulted in substantive changes in policy direction, as evidenced in several high-profile cases involving the History curriculum (Clark 2013) and the Safe Schools anti-bullying programme (Australian Associated Press 2016). The media can be seen as both reflecting public opinion as well as shaping it, and various studies have been conducted to gain insights into public perceptions of educational issues through investigation of media coverage (e.g. Shine 2018).

In the authors' recent work in this space, coverage of language education in the Australian press was found repeatedly to position the discipline as an economic resource vital for the nation's prosperity (Mason and Hajek 2020), and the poor state of language education, particularly in the case of Asian languages, was regularly presented as threatening our national economic security. This is a rationale for language learning favoured by national governments, but one that is unlikely to be relevant to primary school-aged children. The dominant 'crisis' frame in print media also does little to provoke assurance in the wider public regarding the potential benefits of language learning in light of the reported short-comings of the discipline. Within a narrow and largely negative and superficial coverage, secondary schools are given the most explicit attention, with limited focus on the primary sector that precedes it (Mason and Hajek 2020), or the tertiary sector that potentially follows (Mason and Hajek 2019). This is concerning when noting that one of the few concerns raised in the media coverage that directly related to the primary sector, along with the time dedicated to learning, was the lack of transition and continuity from primary schools into high schools.

Conclusion

Through the three lenses of policy, practice and perceptions, we see there are clear obstacles standing in the path of language education in Australian primary schools. Inconsistent and changing policies and initiatives often have a greater focus on objectives that are of little direct relevance to

successful language education in primary schools, for example, greater economic engagement with Asia. In terms of both policy attention and press coverage, too much focus is put on the secondary sector, which is only one part of the potential language learning journey for Australian students. By focusing purely on Year 12 completion rates, attention is diverted away from the journey itself, and, in particular, from the experiences of young Australians learning languages in classrooms today. While the public sphere allows for examination of rhetorical agendas, less can be articulated from classroom practices, which are largely hidden. Thus, much more attention needs to be placed directly on the primary sector, not only to improve the quality of language education delivery but also to improve the transition on to secondary schooling, and to place students in a stronger position to continue language study once it becomes an elective subject. The early experiences of students in primary school are vital, but remain largely a mystery, and the lack of attention on crucial elements of language programmes such as time on task, positive practice, teacher supply and quality and programme continuity may serve to diminish motivation for learning.

An equally important challenge is how best to strengthen primary school languages education in Australia (and elsewhere in the English-speaking world) in a global context where the dominance of English is increasingly evident, and where there is also increasing anxiety about improving literacy and numeracy outcomes in English. The most recent national initiative announced in August 2019 is promising. In addition to its goal of increasing the number of Australians who "get the chance to learn a language other than English" (Department of Education, Skills and Employment 2019, para. 1), there is explicitly stated support for Indigenous language teaching and community language schools, and a commitment to "develop a national languages strategy to support language teaching and learning in Australia" (para. 2) including provision for data collection at a school level. What this means in practice remains unclear for the moment, but we would hope that it will also include an articulated focus on improving languages education specifically in the primary school sector, with a goal of providing quality instruction that can impact positively on attitudes toward languages other than English

and the people who speak them, and motivate students to continue with their language studies throughout their schooling and beyond.

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Part II

Challenges to Language Learning in Anglophone Countries: Observations from Higher Education

University Language Policy and Planning in the United Kingdom: Modern Foreign Languages Teaching and Learning

Anthony J. Liddicoat

Introduction

Universities in the UK operate in a context in which English, as both the dominant language of the country and a privileged language of international academic communication, predominates and universities are often largely monolingual institutions. This may also be the case in Scotland and Wales, where language policies devolved administrations may also support local languages.[1] However, university communities are fundamentally multilingual environments, and the educational offerings of universities usually include programmes in a range of languages. In responding to these complexities, few universities in the UK have

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[1] In Wales, for example, only 5% of students in Higher Education receive Welsh-medium instruction (Davies 2017).

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developed officially stated policies about language, beyond stipulations relating to the levels of English required by international students. This does not, however, mean that universities do not have language policies or that they are not involved in decision-making about languages and their teaching and learning. In the absence of explicit policy documents, understanding universities' language policies needs to be based on an analysis of the language practices of institutions (Liddicoat 2016), which can be seen to be discursive products of decision-making that give insight into the priorities and ideologies that have shaped the decisions that are made (Shohamy 2006).

A key issue in language education policy in the UK has been a deficit in participation in, and levels of attainment in, Modern Foreign Languages (MFLs), often expressed as a crisis (Introduction, this volume; Lanvers and Coleman 2017). Discourses about language learning have often focused on the need for languages in professional work and there is evidence that employers are dissatisfied with the lack of language abilities among professional graduates (British Chambers of Commerce 2013; Foreman-Peck 2007; Lanvers and Coleman 2017). This raises the question of the extent to which universities in the UK respond to this deficit, how they provide for education in MFLs and how universities offer languages to their students, especially given universities' policy concerns around graduate employability (Smith et al. 2000). This chapter aims to investigate how the teaching and learning of MFL is planned by universities. It will do so by examining the information provided by universities to prospective students about the diversity and intensity of language offerings, the ways languages are positioned in the curriculum of universities, and the nature of the programmes made available as a way of understanding the implicit policies of universities in credit-bearing language provision. The chapter will discuss universities' MFL programme provision in terms of languages offered, hours of study, and the relationship between language study and other key university objectives across two types of universities in the UK, and then conclude by discussing the question of whether universities' MFL provision can address UK needs.

Research Design

In order to investigate policy, it is necessary to begin with an analysis of the practices of universities. For Spolsky and Shohamy (2000, p. 29), practice can be investigated as policy as "practice forms a recognisable and analysable set of patterns". Bonacina-Pugh (2012, p. 218) further argues that practices "constitute a policy to the extent that they are regular and that as a consequence, they provide implicit interactional rules of language choice". While Spolsky and Shohamy and Bonacina-Pugh base their argument on the language choices made in micro-level acts of language choice in communication, the idea of practices can also be applied to other forms of language practice, for example patterns of language offerings can be seen as practices of language choice at a higher level. These practices of language choice are communicated by universities in textual ways, for example, through websites of course offerings and their internal structuring, which leave a record of the practice that can be analysed in policy terms.

The study presented in this chapter is based on the data presented on university websites in the UK that are designed to give details of Modern Language degree programmes at each institution for the academic year beginning in 2019. University websites are a useful way of understanding how institutions represent their policies on language study to students because they are a primary way in which universities communicate degree content and frame study choices for potential students (Chapleo et al., 2011). They are textual representations of the ways that universities construct educational possibilities for students. At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that such sites are problematic as a data source as they can be difficult to navigate, and data may be incomplete or difficult to locate. Thus, for example, it may be the case that students in particular degree programmes may have options to study a language alongside their degree. As such options are not communicated clearly on university websites to prospective students, these pathways are not included in this chapter. Such silences, however, can be instructive as they represent an indication that such information is not significant for students or of importance for them in understanding their future studies.

The Data

The data were taken from two large university groupings: The Russell Group, a group of 22 research-intensive universities (Boliver, 2015), and the Coalition of Mainstream Universities (CMU), 32 universities created after 1992 following changes to the Education Act, many of which were previously colleges or polytechnics (Hogan 2005). Russell Group universities are often perceived as "elite" and tend to provide a more academically oriented education for their students. The CMU universities are more recently established but often with a longer history as specialist technology, teacher education or other institution, with a focus on professional and technical education and a more recently developed research focus, and consequently a lower level of prestige (Boliver 2015).

   The study collected data in several forms. It examined advertised language offerings available for credit at each institution to examine the information made available to prospective students about the possibilities for language study at each institution. The data collection focused on identifying the languages advertised at each university, the types of language programmes that were available and the time allocations for classroom language learning. It then examined the place of languages in particular degree types, focusing on degrees labelled as 'international' and those in professional disciplines. To examine how languages are represented in internationalisation discourses, the curricula of undergraduate degree programmes labelled as 'international' were investigated to examine if languages were included in the degree programme, and if so in what way. In this case, universities that did not offer a language were excluded from the analysis, as it would not be possible for students studying a degree labelled as 'international' to study a language. Examining the curriculum for professional degrees reveals something of how MFLs are understood in terms of the employability agenda of contemporary universities and whether or not MFLs are seen as contributing to the future work of professional graduates. To do this, the curricula of degrees with a professional focus were examined to gain insight into how languages are represented as part of a professional repertoire. The professional degrees chosen were those where communication and language use could be

considered important and curricula were investigated for Business (degrees with a focus on business, management, economics, accounting and related areas), Marketing (marketing, advertising and public relations), Tourism (tourism, hospitality, event management), Media (journalism, media production). In the Media sample, programmes which focused on the study of media rather than on developing professional skills for media work were excluded. The sample also excluded joint degrees in a business and non-business area (e.g. business and politics) unless the degree was offered in combination with a language.

Results: University Language Offerings

The principle language policy of any university in relation to the teaching of MFL is whether to offer languages and if so which languages and how many will be made available. The range of languages advertised by the 54 UK institutions (22 Russell Group and 32 CMU institutions) investigated in this study is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 shows that there are 39 languages advertised for study on UK university websites, with many of these being offered at a small number of universities or even at a single site. The most widely available languages are Spanish, French, German, Chinese, Italian, and Portuguese. The most commonly available languages are thus the major languages of Europe with a small number of significant languages from Asia. Some of the languages advertised are offered only in limited programmes: as a minor only (e.g. Luxembourgish and Yiddish), or as year-long electives (e.g. Slovenian and Hindi).

The languages on offer show that universities tend to select widely spoken languages of significant regional or international powers, and the languages of minority groups in the UK are less widely offered, especially those of immigrant groups. For example, Bengali, Urdu, Gujarati, which are important community languages in the UK are offered at none of the universities studied. The UK territorial minority languages Welsh and Gaelic tend to be offered at universities in the relevant nations and their inclusion in university language programmes is an accommodation to local language policies in Wales and Scotland. Few languages of

Table 1 Languages and number of programmes (Russell Group and CMU)

Language	Programmes	Language	Programmes
Arabic	14	Japanese	16
Basque	2	Korean	4
British Sign Language	2	Luxembourgish	1 (minor)
Bulgarian	1	Norwegian	2
Catalan	9	Persian	3
Chinese	26	Polish	4
Czech	4	Portuguese	21
Danish	2	Romanian	1
Dutch	5	Russian	17
Finnish	1	Serbian/Croatian	2
French	29	Slovak	1
Gaelic	2	Slovenian	1 (elective)
German	26	Spanish	30
Greek	3	Swedish	2
Hebrew	3	Thai	1
Hindi	1 (elective)	Turkish	2
Hungarian	1	Ukrainian	2
Icelandic	1	Welsh	2
Irish	1	Yiddish	1 (minor)
Italian	22		

immigrant groups are advertised at UK institutions other than those of immigrant groups coming from the EU, although Chinese and Arabic are exceptions. However, their inclusion in Table 1 can give a misleading picture of how universities respond to the presence of such languages, as almost all programmes are designed for L2 learners of these languages and there are very few curricula catering for heritage speakers of immigrant languages such as Chinese and Arabic. In fact, in many instances, these languages may be offered as ab initio programmes only showing that universities' language policies are directed towards new languages learning rather than developing the language repertoires of heritage language speakers (Lanvers 2017).

When language offerings at the two university groups is examined, a different pattern of language offerings emerges between Russell Group and CMU universities as shown in Fig. 1.

The most notable difference between the two groupings is that, all Russell Group universities advertise language programmes, but the
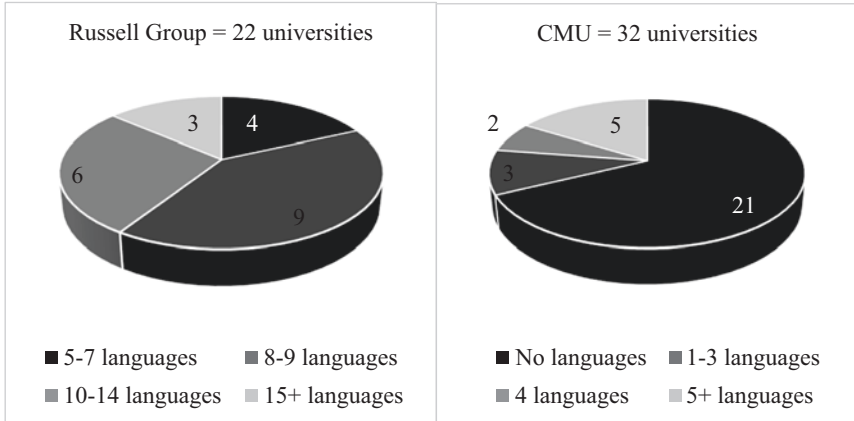
Fig. 1 Number of languages advertised by individual universities (Russell Group and CMU)

majority of CMU universities do not, with around two-thirds of institutions having no award-bearing language programmes. Moreover, there is a difference the number of languages included in university offerings, with no Russell Group university offering fewer than five languages and most offering significantly more, while few CMU universities have such a range of programmes. The largest offering found for a CMU university was eight. This means that not only are CMU universities less likely to offer a language, they are also less likely to provide a range of student choices. Overall, languages are more present in universities that have higher entrance requirements and are more likely to recruit students from educated, middle-class backgrounds (Coleman 2004; Lanvers 2017). It is not simply the stronger presence of languages in Russell Group universities that promotes this elitism but also the exclusion of languages from the programmes of less prestigious institutions attracting students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, meaning that such students do not have the same opportunities. The concentration of language study in more established, academically focused universities suggests that they are viewed as academic content rather than as being relevant for professionals. It seems therefore that in UK universities, one influence on language

policies for MFL is an ideological construction of languages as an academic field of study, as elite, and as of little utility in other contexts.

Types of Programmes Advertised

In the previous section, it was observed that a small number of languages are available in programmes of limited duration. However, when the advertised curricula available at universities is examined, the picture becomes more complex as languages available as majors at some institutions may be offered in more limited ways at others meaning that students have fewer opportunities to reach high exit levels in the language. Figure 2 shows the distribution of languages offered as majors (a three-year sequence), minors (a two-year sequence) or electives (one year of study or less).

Figure 2 shows the types of language programmes advertised in the UK for each language and shows a difference in language offerings between the two groups of universities. Russell Group universities offer most languages as a major sequence, with a few exceptions. As mentioned above, Yiddish, Luxembourgish, Slovenian and Hindi are advertised at Russell Group universities at levels below a major and Korean is available only as a minor. Even widely taught languages may only be advertised as minors in some institutions, while Arabic and Catalan are available only as electives and are available at a single university each. This shows that even in the Russell Group, in which languages tend to be more strongly represented, language offerings may not be available equally for students in all institutions. Part of this difference in distribution appears to relate to the nature of institutions within the Russell Group. While most of these institutions are comprehensive universities, some are specialist institutions and some of these institutions (e.g. Imperial College London, which is a STEM-oriented institution) may be less likely to offer languages as major areas of study. In these institutions it may be the case that languages may be seen as less relevant for their students and so programmes may be less extensive. At CMU universities, languages are more likely to be advertised as a minor or as electives. Although all languages except Portuguese are available as majors in CMU universities, most
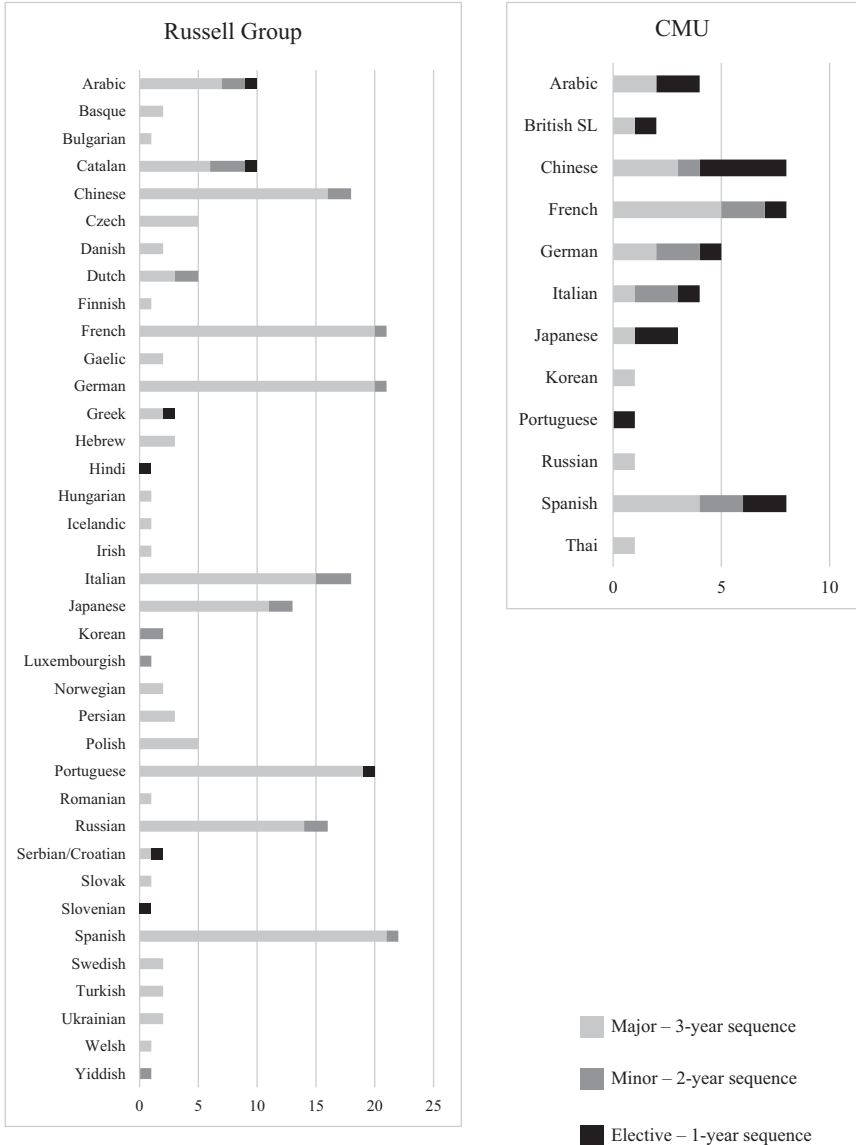
Fig. 2 Language programme types

institutions advertise less than a full three-year major in a language, except for French and Spanish, which are mostly advertised as majors. The normal duration of a language programme in these universities is thus likely to be two years or less. Russian, Korean and Thai are the only languages advertised solely as majors at CMU institutions, but these are not offered frequently (one programme in each was identified). Korean is, for instance, offered as a major at one CMU university, but is not available as a major in any of the Russell Group institutions. British Sign Language is available only in CMU institutions and is typically offered in interpreter training programmes, reflecting the professional focus of such institutions. British Sign Language thus does not seem to have a place in academic education and thus differs from most languages. Russell Group universities can still offer programmes that rely on high entry levels and hence can offer more content beyond language learning itself (e.g. literature, culture), while CMU universities may need to offer mostly ab initio level courses to attract students to sustain viable language programmes. As they rely more on ab initio learners, it may be the case that CMU universities may be less tied to offering languages taught in the school system and could offer greater diversity of languages, although this does not seem to lead to significant differences in offerings, as both groupings mainly offer large European language and small number of non-European languages (Arabic, Chinese, Japanese).

Time Allocations for Language Study

Universities' language policies are also evidenced in the time they allocate to language teaching and this is significant for the ultimate attainment of learners. Such decisions are thus not simply decisions about timetabling but are decisions about how much language development the university deems appropriate and what the ultimate expectations are in terms of exit levels. Across institutions, there are considerable differences in time allocations indicating that curriculum decisions are based on differing priorities and assumptions. Moreover, time allocations for ab initio and continuing programmes may also vary, especially where students from both pathways (ab initio and continuing language study) are eventually

Table 2 Time allocations, hours per week

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3			
Ab initio language programmes						
All universities (54 institutions)						
	Year 1		Year 2		Year 3	
Mode	4.0		3.0		3.0	
Range	2-10		2-8		2-9	
	Russell Group (22 institutions)			CMU (11 institutions)		
	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Mode	4.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	2.0
Range	2–10	2–8	2–9	2–3	2–4	2–4
Continuing language programmes						
All universities (54 institutions)						
	Year 1		Year 2		Year 3	
Mode	3.0		3.0		3.0	
Range	2–7		2–8		2–8	
	Russell Group (22 institutions)			CMU (11 institutions)		
	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Mode	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Range	2–7	2–8	2–8	2–3	2–3	2–3

merged. The data relating to instructional time advertised for ab initio and continuing programmes in UK universities is presented in Table 2.

Across universities, the most frequently advertised time allocation (the mode) for ab initio students is four hours per week in first year, decreasing to three hours in later years, while for continuing students, the mode is consistently three hours per week. The mode, however, obscures differences in time allocations between universities as weekly contact hours may vary from two hours per week to ten hours per week in ab initio programmes and between two hours and eight hours in continuing programmes. Thus, programmes of study at different institutions can be very different, and expected levels of students' attainment and exit levels would appear to vary indicating that there is little consistency in universities' decision-making about what a sequence of language study involves. Moreover, the time allocations may not be consistent within a university or for the same language across universities. Continuing classes tend to have lower time allocations than ab initio classes, although again this is not consistent. In ab initio programmes designed to converge with continuing programmes, the time allocations for ab initio students are

typically higher than for post-A-level[2] students, and sometimes may be double or more—this is presumably to prepare ab initio learners to catch up. However, in other cases, time allocations may be identical for each cohort. The lack of consistency in how offerings are organised suggests that decision-making is not driven by pedagogical concerns but rather by operational constraints such as institutional budgets.

Universities may offer different time allocations for different languages and in some cases this seems to be driven by pedagogical needs for the study of specific languages, for example, where a language is linguistically distant from English, such as Chinese or Japanese, it may be allocated more time than a linguistically close language like French or German. However, such thinking does not seem to be applied consistently, and it is possible that languages that are linguistically close to English may receive different time allocations within the same university. In these cases, decisions about time allocations appear to be made at departmental level, as all languages taught by one department have very similar time allocations, but there may be differences between departments. It is often the case that where languages are grouped in a single department of Modern Languages, all languages have similar time allocations, but where languages are spread between several departments, there may be significant differences in time allocation between the departments, and the range of hours is very large again suggesting that pedagogical needs may not be the driver of decision-making.

Time allocations also vary for languages across institutions. For example, the teaching of Chinese and Japanese varies across the full range of possible hours, with some institutions offering only two hours per week, and others offering up to ten. Such variations occur in other languages, although with a smaller range of variation, with two as a consistent minimum for all languages, and the maximum for languages such as French or Spanish ranging from four to six hours per week. There is an additional complexity added into these time allocations as the number of weeks of study in the academic year can vary significantly between universities.

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[2] Post-A-level programmes are those taking students who have studied and passed an MFL in public examinations at the end of secondary schooling and are continuing to study this language at university level.

Given these differences in time allocations, there may be notable differences in what it means for a student to have completed a sequence in a language in terms of how much time was spent in language learning and the expected exit levels. This would mean that having a major in a language from a UK university will mean different things depending on the institution in which one studied.

Time allocations also vary according to the university groupings. The mode for both ab initio programmes and continuing programmes is consistently greater in Russell Group institutions than in CMU institutions indicating that, overall, Russell Group students spend more time on language learning. However, the range shows that the minimum time allocation of two hours per week is the same across the groupings, although two-hour programmes are the norm in CMU universities, but the exception in Russell Group universities. In fact, in the Russell Group, two-hour programmes for first- and second-year students are found only in specialist universities, showing again that such institutions may not see MFL as central for their students' education.

Study Abroad Requirements

Time allocations are not the only variable in exposure to the language as many language majors have a compulsory intercalated year abroad. In the past it was mandatory for students in MFL degrees to undertake a year abroad as part of their degree programme (Coleman 1998). However, this is no longer the case and the decision about whether study abroad is required or not is left to universities and now there are a number of different policies in place. There are some programmes in Chinese and Japanese that require two compulsory years of study abroad. Programmes that require a year abroad for language study are usually in degrees that have a named Modern Language specialisation (BA French, BA Hispanic Studies, BA Modern Languages, etc.), and such programmes are more common in Russell Group universities. Programmes in which language study is a second major, a minor or an elective in a professionally oriented degree are less likely to have a compulsory year abroad or may require students to focus their study abroad on the professional field rather than

on the language. This means that students exiting from an academic language programme at a Russell Group university may not only have received a greater time allocation for their language study, but have also studied in-country. In contrast, those studying in a professional degree at a CMU university may have had fewer contact hours, and fewer opportunities for in-country study.

The prevalence of programmes of three hours per week would appear to reflect an approach to allocating time that assumes that allocations for language study should reflect the allocations for other curriculum areas where a three-hour model of lectures and seminars has traditionally dominated (Dowling et al. 2003). The convergence of time allocations on a three-hour model appears to assimilate languages to a standardised, generic model of educational provision rather than responding to the distinctiveness of language learning. However, the large variation in time allocations shows that in some institutions different models of provision exist. The existence of two-hour per week programmes, especially at CMU universities, is particularly significant given the prevailing three-hour norm in most other discipline areas. The offering of languages for less time that would be allocated to other disciplines would seem to indicate a low value of language learning and its place in the university curriculum, or a view that high level language abilities were not a requirement for students' future lives.

These substantial HEI differences in programme design show that language learning experiences in UK universities may be very different for different students, and, furthermore, that where students are not studying languages in academically oriented, specialist language programmes, experiences of learning and opportunities for language development tend to be reduced. We can deduce that university language policies for MFL are not necessarily informed by considerations of educational nature, but rather by operational constraints that are in turn influenced by the ideological positioning of languages. The next sections will explore some of these ideological positionings.

Languages as a Professional Skill

To examine how universities represent languages as a part of professional skills for students, this chapter also investigated to what extent universities offered language studies in professional degrees. In the Law sample, degrees that incorporate study of another legal system discussed above have been excluded as the model is very different from other forms of language study in the UK. However, for all other programme types, degrees have been included that have 'international' in the degree title. Only CMU universities offering a language were included, because universities not offering a language—by definition—do not recognise languages as important skills for their students. This means that the results reported below overstate the opportunities for studying languages in professional degree programmes.

Table 3 shows that most professional degree programmes (64%) do not include language study, and it would seem that universities' professional offerings are designed on a belief that languages are not particularly relevant skills for professionals. Many of the programmes require students to study a core programme with no space for electives. Others have electives but these electives must be chosen from a prescribed list that excludes languages. Yet others have free electives, but may not offer enough space for language study, for example, there may be space for an elective for a single term in institutions that offer languages only as year-long modules. More CMU degrees seem to offer the space for an elective major in a language than do Russell Group universities, which are more likely to have space only for a year-long elective, although in other ways the results are similar. Of the remaining degree programmes, the majority

Table 3 Language study in professional degree programmes

	Joint degree		Required study		Elective			No language study
	major	minor	major	minor	major	minor	1 year	study
Total	33	9	2	1	51	23	29	263
Russell group	22	3	1	1	18	13	21	136
CMU	11	6	1	0	33	10	8	127

allow space for students to choose a language as an open elective, and whether they can complete a major sequence in a language depends on the number of electives available in the degree programme. In some cases, the curricula may make explicit reference to language study as a possible elective, but most websites given no advice about what may be chosen. The decision to study a language is thus left to the student.

Languages are available in joint degrees, where students take a professional area and a language as separate majors in the degree. Where this is the case, several combined programmes offering majors in a language are actually languages degrees with a professional area as a minor, rather than professional degrees with a substantial language component. This pattern suggests that universities view professional studies as potentially adding utility to a language degree, but do not view languages as adding utility to a professional degree. Very few degree programmes require language study as part of a professional degree, and these degrees are usually labelled as 'international' degrees.

Overwhelmingly, it would seem that universities' policies in relation to developing languages as a professional skill are based on a view that language abilities play a marginal role in professional practice, and they advertise their offerings in way that communicates this view to prospective students. They are thus constructed as contributing little valuable cultural capital (Coffey 2016), in the form of linguistic capital (Bourdieu 2001), for most learners, and as having more value as cultural capital for middle-class students attending elite institutions than for other students. This situation means that students attending less prestigious institutions will have fewer opportunities to develop linguistic/cultural capital as part of their professional education.

Languages in International Degrees

Internationalisation is a major concern for universities in the UK and they often articulate a view of the university as engaged with the global world. It is, therefore, interesting to test how international education relates to language education. In all 99 degree programmes in the universities which have the word 'international' in their degree titles, 51 were

offered by CMU universities and 48 by Russell group universities. These degrees were mainly in International Relations, variations on international business programmes (e.g. business, finance and management), international tourism and hospitality, international law together with some isolated degrees in other areas such as health, media and communication. The results are shown in Fig. 3.

Figure 3 shows that only a small minority of international programmes required some form of language study. Most 'international' degree programmes exclude languages because they either consist entirely of core modules in the discipline or have electives that must be chosen from a specified list in which languages were not included. The dominant model for such degrees thus excludes a possibility for language learning, with just over half of all degrees having no language study. There is a distinct difference between the two groups with 65% of degrees at CMU universities (33 out of 51) and 38% of Russell Group (18 out of 48) excluding language study.

Where language study is included, this is mostly in joint degree programmes at Russell Group universities in which students study two majors (e.g. International Relations and a Modern Language or International Business and a Modern Language) or in one case a minor in a language. These programmes are organised in different ways in
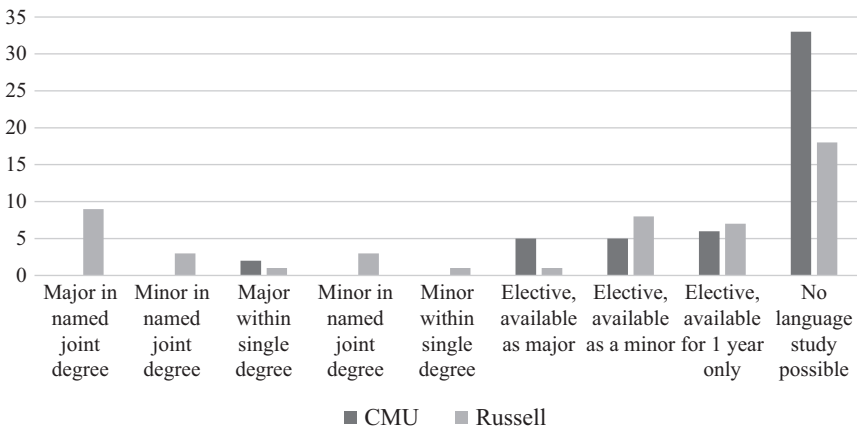
Fig. 3 Language study offerings in 'international' degree programmes

different institutions. In some universities, the degrees exist as combinations with named languages (e.g. International Relations with French, with German), while in other institutions they are packaged as a discipline with 'Modern Languages' (e.g. International Relations with a Modern Language). In Fig. 3, the totals for named languages are grouped as a single programme for comparability across institutions. In many of the institutions, combined degrees with a specific language are only offered for a subset of the languages taught in the university (usually major European languages) but generic 'Modern Languages' combinations usually cover the full range of languages offered.

There were very few programmes that required a language, but they were not constructed as joint degrees, that is, programmes in which one language only is seen as core content for an internationally labelled degree. Where more than one language is available in these degrees, they are usually offered as an elective subject, and the amount of language a student can study is determined by the number of electives available. In some degrees, there may be only enough space for electives to allow a single year of a language, while in others there may be enough space to take a language as a major or a minor. These electives are often presented as a free choice of subjects and give no specific advice about language study. This means that students are not guided to take a language. Thus, whether a student takes a language or not is determined more by students' interests than presentation of languages as parts of international content. In fact, the joint degrees discussed above can also be seen as examples of electivity in students' choices, as the decision to study a language is not represented as having a central role in international degrees, and similar language plus another discipline combinations exist also for other degrees without a specifically international focus.

Conclusion

University websites are a main way of communicating universities' language policies about Modern Language learning to students. This survey of UK universities websites has shown that the practices that are outlined in information for students constitute a highly variable approach to

language policy that shows very different approaches being taken at UK institutions. This variability applies to all aspects of universities' decision-making about language education, including the choice of languages available to students, the ways programmes are structured and the exit levels of students on completing programmes. This variability indicates that there is little that could be called a common understanding of what constitutes tertiary-level language learning that informs decision-making. Hence, there is no reliable or predictable exit level for graduates in MFL, with consequences for their employability. However, there are some patterns that emerge between different types of institutions. Russell Group universities tend to have higher expectations in terms of contact hours, study abroad and the integration of languages into other degree programmes than CMU universities, and evidence suggests that they are likely to have higher exit levels from language programmes. However, even within the two groups there is significant variability. This would suggest a lack of a shared sense of the value and place of languages within UK higher education.

There are nonetheless some commonalities in universities' language policies as revealed by their websites. One commonality found is the selection of languages for study. While the number of languages varies, the choice of languages is focused primarily on foreign language learning, with few community languages spoken in the UK offered in universities. Where these are offered, programmes are not designed for heritage speakers of these languages, unless they have studied the language in an A-level pathway at school or are new learners of the language. This shows that the typical language learner targeted by UK university policies is a (relatively) new learner of the language, and for many programmes a beginning learner. UK universities, therefore, do not seem to be sites where language maintenance is valued and where ongoing learning of a home language to advanced levels is seen as a part of tertiary education. A second commonality can be seen in the separation of language policy from other strategic policies of the university in terms of internationalisation and skills development.

Languages do not seem to be a key feature of internationalisation of the curriculum in most UK universities and internationalisation is commonly constructed as a monolingual, English-speaking endeavour

(compare Liddicoat and Crichton 2008 for Australia), in which languages may perhaps be chosen by interested students, but are rarely presented as a central objective of internationalised education. Languages also do not seem to be understood in university policies as playing a significant role in preparing graduates for professional work, and again languages are presented at best as possible choices for interested students, but often are excluded from the scope of professional capabilities.

While the trends observed here are common across the whole sample of universities studied, there is a significant difference between types of institutions in terms of how language policies are constructed. In elite, academically oriented institutions, languages are much more likely to be present and made available for students than in less prestigious, professionally oriented ones. This reveals an underlying class bias in university language policy in which universities that recruit students mainly from the middle class are more likely to provide language study, and a higher level of language, while universities that recruit students mainly from working-class environments are less likely to include languages in their degrees or provide opportunities for language learning. The value of MFL learning is a discursive construct, and such learning receives value through the ways that universities discursively position languages through their language policies (Coffey 2016). Languages are constructed as presenting some cultural/linguistic capital for some learners, but as contributing little to others through the ways in which they are positioned within university curricula. Lanvers (2017) has observed that the closure of language programmes in many universities in the UK means that students wanting to study a language are increasingly being driven to study in elite universities with all the attendant problems this may bring, such as the need to move far from home and the need to achieve higher entry tariffs.

The fact that universities in English-speaking countries share a very similar context of official monolingualism in a globalised language raises the question of whether the situation observed in the UK is unique to the UK, or whether it exemplifies university language planning in the Anglophone world more generally. A comparative study of elements of UK and Australian language policy (Liddicoat 2020) has shown that there are similarities between university policies in each context when it comes to MFL teaching. In particular, in both countries there is little

consistency in the ways in which languages are offered and a wide divergence in programme types. There is also evidence that universities' language policies represent languages as being of low utility for graduates. However, there are also features of the UK context that seem to be specific. In particular, the class-based distribution of language offerings seems to be much more marked in the UK than in Australia, and most Australian institutions offer languages regardless of their catchment. It would appear that Anglophone universities design language policies according to a monolingual habitus that frames understandings of language and international engagement, and this seems to reflect a generalised complacency of Anglophone institutions in the context of globalised English (see also Lanvers 2011). While the question needs more investigation, it is probable that very similar ideologies shape how Anglophone universities engage with MFL and that it is likely that their policies will reflect a consistent theme, with modifications based on local features of culture and ideology.

Ultimately, it would appear that UK universities are not addressing UK language needs and provide little to overcome the current perceived needs of the country, perpetuating the problem while adhering to a monolingual habitus.

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LOTEs in U.S. Universities: Benefits, Trends, Motivations, and Opportunities

Amy S. Thompson

Introduction

According to the 2017 report from the U.S.-based Commission on Language Learning, although about 20% of the American population speak a language other than English (LOTE) at home, most of those who live in the United States are monolingual. The executive summary of this report points to the need for LOTEs in business, research, and international relations, and to provide social and legal services for those who reside in our borders. Rivers and Robinson (2012) illustrate the need for LOTEs in a U.S. context in the areas of national security, economic competitiveness, and social justice. The aforementioned executive summary also points to enhanced cognitive ability and delays in certain signs of aging. Indeed, the benefits of speaking two or more languages abound—why, then, do Americans tend to favor monolingualism? As Kramsch (2014) indicates, the spread of English as a global language has been both

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advantageous and disadvantageous for the United States, as "it has skewed the playing field in favor of English" (p. 299). Another obstacle, according to the Commission on Language Learning, is the shortage of qualified teachers to teach in the K-12 system, with almost 90% of states reporting that they do not have enough teachers to meet the needs of their schools. As K-12 students feed into the higher education system without some exposure to or awareness of intercultural norms and diverse linguistic systems at an early age, language learning at the post-secondary level becomes more challenging.

This chapter provides an overview of the benefits and current trends in the study of LOTEs, and opportunities for language study at the post-secondary level in the U.S. context. Motivation of students who choose to study a LOTE, despite the perceived lack of necessity, is also be presented. Thoughts about future directions and potential solutions draws the chapter to a close.

LOTEs: Benefits

There are a multitude of publications indicating the benefits of knowing more than one language (Bhattacharjee 2012), such as the cognitive benefits of bilingualism in aging adults, and other cognitive benefits of bilingualism (Bialystok et al. 2012), including higher language aptitude (Thompson 2013) and creativity (Kharkhurin 2012). There are also affective benefits, such as lower levels of language anxiety—both in the first language (Dewaele 2010) and in foreign language study (Thompson and Khawaja 2016)—and higher language learning motivation (Thompson and Erdil-Moody 2016). Studying languages has also been shown to increase tolerance for languages and cultures different from one's own, as well as increasing one's tolerance of ambiguity.

The notion that language learning leads to increased cultural competence is not new, illustrated by perspectives in a multitude of publications, from the hands-on (ACTFL n.d.) to the more theoretical (Byram 2012). But why is it important to have language learning experiences in a university classroom setting? To further understand this query, we will turn to an examination of Sternberg's (2002) triarchic (i.e., three-part)

theory of human intelligence and how the different types of intelligence in his model relate to language learning. All three aspects of Sternberg's triarchic theory of human intelligence—analytical, creative, and practical—have a relationship to language learning in adults, arguably more so than other topics of study, for the reasons delineated below. For example, adult learners can use analytical intelligence to understand the structure of new languages. Creative intelligence is the ability to be able to deal with and have a tolerance for ambiguous situations (Zenasni et al. 2008), and practical intelligence is a sort of social intelligence that helps individuals understand and incorporate tacit information from their environments. The problem-solving facet of analytical intelligence and the relationship to language study are more straightforward; however, the relationship between language learning and creative and practical intelligence is more nuanced.

Language learning inevitably involves learning about different cultures, and students pick up tacit information both in their language classes and with meaningful immersion experiences (practical intelligence). Simply being exposed to a different language or culture will not necessarily increase tolerance, however; having a "cultural interpreter" (i.e., the language instructor) to help people deconstruct the new cultural experiences is crucial. As Sternberg (2002) states, "it is profiting from experience, rather than experience per se, that results in increases in [tacit knowledge]" (p. 31). In some cases, mere exposure without the appropriate tools to understand cultural differences can lead to a greater dislike of a language or culture. As Schwartz (2014) indicates in his research, even people with the best intentions can use "an 'us' vs. 'them' framework" (p. 164) that can be detrimental to cultural understanding. Researchers such as Nguyen and Kellogg (2010) have shown that unpacking cultural stereotypes with the help of an instructor is an important part of instructed language learning and that "learning a second language involves the acquisition not only of linguistic forms but also ways of thinking and behaving in new communities of practice" (p. 1). Even at an early age, explicit instruction about language practices worldwide and benefits of language learning can cause positive change. As Lanvers et al. (2019) indicate, "teaching young language students about multilingualism in the world and cognitive effects of multilingualism *can* help to change

Anglophones' attitudes towards languages" (p. 13, emphasis in original). It has also been shown that those who learn a LOTE in school have a higher than average tolerance of political minority groups (Rivers and Robinson 2012). Additional positive traits also come with language study, as documented in Chen et al. (2016), who examined *global orientation*, a construct that includes learning of and attitudes towards LOTEs. Having a proactive response to global orientation is "positively correlated with the personality traits of openness to experience, extraversion, restraint, and intellect, as well as holistic thinking, multicultural ideology, promotion focus, self-esteem, self-efficacy, cross-cultural efficacy, bicultural identity integration, and liberalism" (p. 325). Instructed language learning, as well as instruction about languages would, therefore, result in an increase in tolerance of the different cultural norms represented in American society, something that is desperately needed in the current political climate (Dreid and Najmabadi 2016).

The second type of tolerance—tolerance of ambiguity—is related to the ability to succeed in unfamiliar situations, including successfully interacting with those from unfamiliar cultures. Budner (1962), one of the first to write about this topic, describes someone with a high tolerance of ambiguity as one who has a "tendency to perceive ambiguous situations as desirable" (p. 29, see also Dewaele and Wei 2013). He describes a number of characteristics of potentially ambiguous situations that can either be novel (completely new), complex (many facets involved), or insoluble (contradictory information to be taken into account). At the very basic level, it is easy to see the connection between language study and an increased tolerance of ambiguity (i.e., creative intelligence). Conversations in a foreign language will inevitably involve unknown words, and it would not be a successful conversation if one of the speakers constantly stopped to look up the meaning of a word. Those with a high tolerance of ambiguity would feel comfortable maintaining the conversation despite the unfamiliar words involved. The benefits of increasing tolerance of ambiguity when learning a LOTE inevitably carry over to situations not involving the LOTE in question.

Ultimately, having a heightened tolerance of ambiguity not only helps students to become less anxious in social interactions or in language learning situations. Those individuals with higher levels of tolerance of

ambiguity have also been found to have higher entrepreneurial intention (higher optimism and positive risk taking). Based on the relationship between tolerance of ambiguity and entrepreneurial intention, increased tolerance of ambiguity could lead to higher salaries for graduates. As cited in Hogan-Brun (2017), the Economist Intelligence Unit report supports the financial benefits of language learning, which includes a higher level of communication skills. Thus, "[t]o mitigate the corporations' risks of language gaps affecting their financial performance, greater investment on language and communication training … are necessary" (p. 87). This report also talks about how success comes about by being able to understand different cultures, which is also a large part of language learning. That is, "[s]uccessful communication in an international environment depends not only on the ability to speak various languages but also to handle cultural differences" (p. 88). Certainly, there are examples of entrepreneurs who do not exhibit language learning acumen; however, on a global scale, these are the exceptions, rather than the rule.

University language students also often understand the economic benefits of learning a LOTE. Several students who took part in the Thompson (2017b) study indicated, in additional data not published in this study, that they were aware of the market incentives of language study. Some students commented about the benefit in general, for example: "I feel that in this day and age it's important to know two languages. In order to make yourself more diverse and to stand out in the job market it's important to be bilingual." Some students talked about a specific language that would help them in their careers, for example: "My family, friends, and professors have very strongly pushed me to study Chinese instead of Japanese because of its 'usefulness' in the job market." Other students talked about specific jobs for which their language study would help: "I have a strong internal desire to travel in Africa, and maybe, hopefully, one day, work with Doctors Without Borders (Médecins Sans Frontières)," and "I am going to be a teacher and most ESOL students in Florida generally have a Spanish speaking background. I would like to be able to communicate with them as well as I can." Students such as these have already identified the benefits of studying a LOTE. Academic leaders and faculty can better help our students by being able to better articulate the

economic benefits of language learning, not only to the students, but also to the broader community.

Trends in Language Learning in the U.S. Context

What are the trends of studying languages other than English (LOTEs) in the context of the United States? This section will provide an overview of the basic trends for representative areas of the country, using data from the Modern Language Association (MLA) Language Map. Looney and Lusin (2019) also provide a summary report on the trends seen in the most recent MLA data collection from 2016. The numbers from this database represent enrollments in language classes at the post-secondary level. The data do not represent the number of speakers in the state, nor do they represent the number of majors or minors in the specific contexts. As the numbers represent course enrollments, if a student is enrolled in more than one language class, the student would be counted more than once in terms of the enrollment data.

Two sets of states were chosen for comparative purposes. The first is a group of three states that are in the east, central, and west regions of the United States, which are of average size, and which have relatively little racial and ethnic diversity within the population, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (n.d.). After each state, three percentages are presented. The first percentages represent "White alone, not Hispanic or Latino," the second percentages represent "Hispanic or Latino," and the third percentages represent "Black or African American": Kansas (75.7%; 12.1%; 6.1%), West Virginia (92.1%; 1.7%; 3.6%), and Idaho (81.7%; 12.7%; 0.9%). This group is compared with a group of four states with the largest population in the United States with considerably more diversity. The same categories and order of percentages are presented: California (36.8%; 39.3%; 6.5%), Texas (41.5%; 39.6%; 12.8%), Florida (53.5%; 26.1%; 16.9%), and New York (55.4%; 19.2%; 17.6%). Eight languages were chosen for comparison: Spanish, which is the most commonly studied language in the United States, French and German, which are also

commonly studied Western European Languages; Italian, a less commonly studied Western European language; and Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Arabic, which are the most frequently studied languages in the "Less Commonly Taught Language" (LCTL) category. The MLA language map gives the option to choose the standard version of a language (i.e., German) or a different dialect (i.e., Pennsylvania German); for all languages, the standard form was chosen, as these are the most commonly taught varieties across contexts. Certainly, there is a much larger variety of languages taught in the U.S. context than the ones indexed in this chapter; these languages were chosen to provide a representative sample for cross-context comparison purposes. In the two sets of graphs, seven of the languages (Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Russian) are compared; Spanish is compared with total enrollment because of the relatively large numbers of enrollees in this language.

Table 1 shows the population of the representative states, the total enrollment in post-secondary language classes, the enrollment/population ratio, and the number of enrollees per 1000 people in each state. The ratio was calculated by dividing the total enrollments in language classes by the total state population and is used to compare the relative LOTE enrollments in states with varying population levels. The number of enrollees per 1000 people was calculated by multiplying the enrollment/population ratio by 1000. For example, West Virginia has a population

Table 1 Overview of population, LOTE enrollment, enrollment/population ratio, and number of enrollees/1000

	Population	Total enrollment	Enroll/pop ratio	Number of enrollees/1000 people
California (CA)	39,512,223	139,790	0.0035	3.5
Texas (TX)	28,995,881	73,074	0.0025	2.5
Florida (FL)	21,477,737	44,422	0.0021	2.1
New York (NY)	19,453,561	111,065	0.0057	5.7
Kansas (KS)	2,913,314	9138	0.0031	3.1
West Virginia (WV)	1,792,147	5809	0.0032	3.2
Idaho (ID)	1,787,065	6121	0.0034	3.4

of 1,792,147 and total LOTE enrollments in the represented languages of 5809. The ratio of 0.0032 was calculated by taking 5809 (enrollment) and dividing it by 1,792,147 (population). Multiplying 0.0032 by 1000 equals 3.2, meaning that for every 1000 people in West Virginia, 3.2 people are enrolled in language classes at the post-secondary level. The implications of these ratios and enrollees per 1000 people will be discussed later in the chapter.

Table 2 is a breakdown of the representative LOTE enrollments by state, along with the total enrollments. Understandably, the states with larger populations have larger enrollments, which is why the enrollment/population ratios paint a clearer picture of trends than do the raw numbers.

Figure 1 illustrates the LOTE enrollment for Kansas, West Virginia, and Idaho for Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Russian. As can be seen in the graph, French is the most commonly studied language after Spanish for these states, followed by German.

Figure 2 illustrates the number of students enrolled in Spanish classes at the post-secondary level as compared to the total enrollment in LOTEs in Kansas, West Virginia, and Idaho. As in all U.S. contexts, the number of students enrolled in Spanish classes is more than all other languages combined.

Figure 3 illustrates the LOTE enrollment for California, Texas, Florida, and New York for Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Russian. Similar to the states represented in Fig. 1, French is the most commonly studied language after Spanish for these states as well. However, Japanese and Chinese are the third and fourth most popular languages in California, likely due to the number of speakers of these languages in this state. Similarly, Italian is the third most popular language in New York, potentially for the same reason.

Figure 4 illustrates enrollment for California, Texas, Florida, and New York for Spanish and total enrollment. Although other LOTEs in these states also have higher enrollments than in other contexts (e.g., Japanese and Chinese for California and Italian for New York), Spanish is still by far the most commonly studied LOTE.

For comparative purposes, Fig. 5 shows the number of enrollees per 1000 people in each of the seven states analyzed.

Table 2 Overview of LOTE enrollment by state

	Arabic	Chinese	French	German	Italian	Japanese	Russian	Spanish	Total
CA	3960	10,079	17,673	6930	6588	15,685	1663	77,212	139,790
TX	1400	2326	8896	3758	1604	2610	1040	51,440	73,074
FL	828	1236	6602	1946	1759	1701	563	29,787	44,422
NY	3080	6231	19,010	5193	13,049	5292	2035	57,175	111,065
KS	142	179	1350	766	324	407	138	5832	9138
WV	95	130	902	481	229	185	115	3672	5809
ID	125	239	856	491	12	237	95	4066	6121
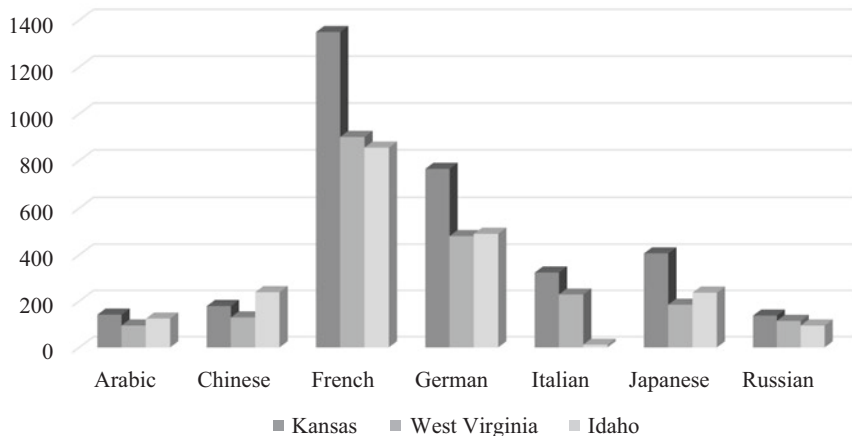
Fig. 1 LOTE enrollment for Kansas, West Virginia, and Idaho for Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Russian
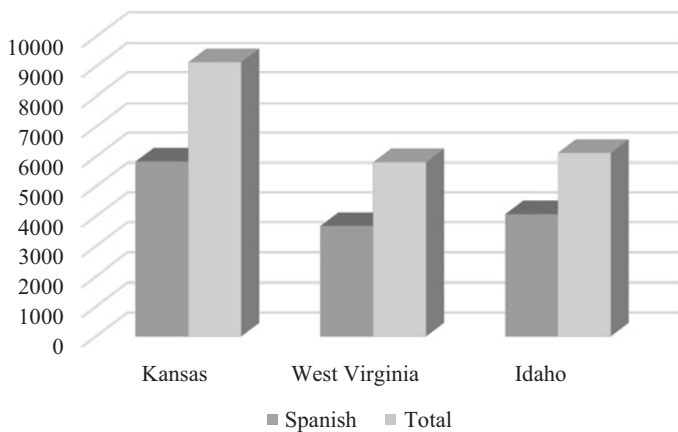
Fig. 2 Enrollment for Kansas, West Virginia, and Idaho for Spanish and total enrollment

As can be seen by the figures and tables presented, four out of the seven states in this sample have more than three, but fewer than four people enrolled in a language class per 1000 people at the post-secondary level. As this is calculated using university data only, it does not reflect the number of students who take LOTEs in the K-12 setting. Though
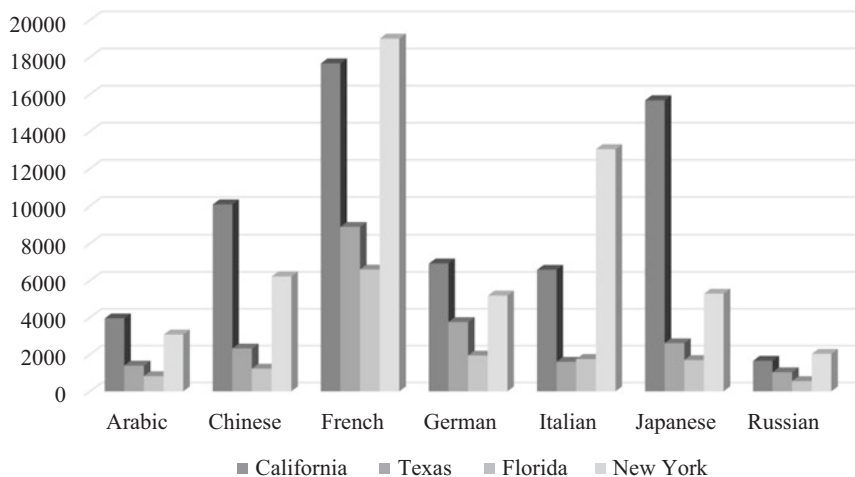
Fig. 3 LOTE enrollment for California, Texas, Florida, and New York for Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Russian
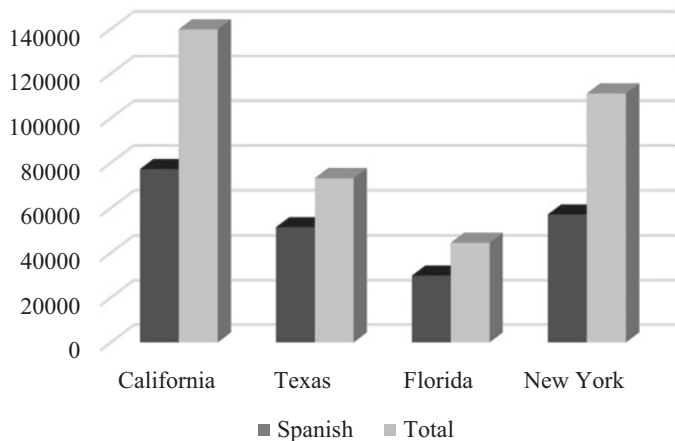
Fig. 4 Enrollment for California, Texas, Florida, and New York for Spanish and total enrollment
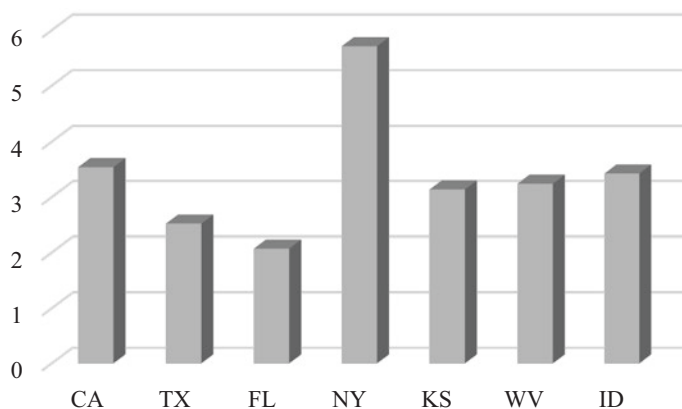
Fig. 5 Enrollment in language courses per 1000 people for the seven representative states

imperfect, these figures provide a broad overview of the relative number of people in a state who have experience with language study at the post-secondary level. It should be noted that this number also does not capture those who speak a LOTE, but who are not enrolled in a language class of those eight languages included in this data collection. As these numbers are of course enrollments, it is possible for one person's experience to be counted more than once in the enrollment figures if that person was enrolled in more than one LOTE class at the same time.

As the data indicate, living in a state with a larger population does not automatically provide more access to or trends of language study at the university level. For example, California, the state with the largest population and whose enrollees per 1000 is 3.5, is most similar to Idaho's enrollees per 1000 at 3.4, although Idaho is 39th in terms of population and has considerably less diversity. In fact, those states with larger populations seem to vary greatly in terms of university language enrollment. As an example, Florida, the third most populated state, and New York, the fourth most populated state, are compared: Florida has an enrollees per 1000 number of 2.1, the lowest of those states surveyed, whereas New York has an enrollees per 1000 number of 5.7, the highest of the states surveyed. In concrete terms, this means that for every 1000 people in New York state, there are more than double the number of people than

in Florida who are enrolled in a language class at the post-secondary level. Why, then, does it seem that relatively more students in New York are enrolled in LOTEs at the university level, whereas relatively fewer students in Florida are enrolled in LOTEs at the university level? One potential reason could have been the aging population in Florida, which meant that fewer people overall were enrolled in university. However, with numbers pulled from the Department of Education websites in Florida and New York, the numbers are more similar that one might think: 801,023 undergraduate students are enrolled full or part time in Florida and 982,784 undergraduate students are enrolled full or part time in New York. This means that there is substantially more enrollment in LOTE courses in New York than there is in Florida when looking at total enrollment in LOTE courses and total enrollment in universities.

To understand this trend, there are certainly too many variables to be considered in this short chapter; however, the following is an example of a potential effect—performance-based funding metrics. Although details of this funding model are beyond the scope of the current chapter, the basic premise is that students are encouraged not to take coursework which is not directly related to their primary field of study; if they do, after a certain number of credits, they would face increased tuition rates in some cases. What does this example of a funding model have to do with enrollments in LOTEs? In our current globalized world, students who want to study a language oftentimes do so in conjunction with another discipline to maximize job potential: German with engineering and Spanish with health sciences are two examples. Double majors inevitably require more credit hours; students who are keen to learn a language are typically able to handle an increased course load. What the students are not able to handle, however, are the increased tuition rates for excess hours. Likewise, in this specific model, university advisors are typically instructed to advise students not to double major, which decreased the overall number of students enrolled in LOTEs, as well as other disciplines in the humanities. Performance-based funding is conceptualized differently in every state, and this example is just that—an example. However, this instance points to how enrollments in LOTEs can be adversely affected by certain types of funding models.

Certainly, there are fluctuations in enrollments over time. Based on the data from the language map, as well as the MLA report (Looney and Lusin 2019), the relative height of LOTE study in the United States was from 1990 to 2009, with declines during the 2016 data collection period. Of course, there are sociopolitical factors at play in terms of enrollments in specific languages. For example, it was not until after the 1980s that Spanish saw a sudden increase in enrollments; previously, French was the most popular language to study in many institutions. And certainly, the time during and shortly after the Cold War (1947–1991) saw an influx of those studying Russian. Similarly, after 9/11, an increase of Arabic study occurred, and since about 2009, Chinese has been on the rise because of the perceived economic benefits that accompany it.

Although a more complete discussion on language attitudes is beyond the scope of this chapter, there are attitudinal issues that could also be affecting enrollment in language classes. Currently, Spanish is the most commonly studied LOTE by far; nonetheless, Americans as a society have a complex relationship with the language (see also Barbosa, this volume). Spanish is oftentimes seen as advantageous in the workplace, but at the same time holds a stigma as a language of poverty (García and Mason 2009). Schwartz (2014) acknowledges that Spanish is familiar, even to monolinguals, and that it is "simultaneously romanticized and belittled in popular media and entertainment" (p. 164), leading to conflicting emotions to students who might want to take Spanish classes at the post-secondary level (see also Pomerantz and Schwartz 2011). In other words, the numbers of students at the post-secondary level taking Spanish classes in the U.S. context is similar to post-secondary students in non-Anglophone contexts who take English classes. Unlike these English classes, however, Spanish lacks some of the social capital afforded to English worldwide, in terms of both attitudes towards the language, and perceptions of the necessity of the language to succeed. While studying a LOTE in an Anglophone context certainly gives someone an advantage over those who do not, it is still possible to be successful in many workplaces as a monolingual.

Motivations of Students to Learn LOTEs

As language learning is not necessarily something that is explicitly encouraged in many Anglophone settings, why would some students persist, nonetheless? There has been relatively little research done on language learning motivation for LOTEs, and when motivation for LOTEs is discussed, it is oftentimes in conjunction with another factor such as the integration of technology into the classroom (Cai and Zhu 2012), heritage language learners (MacIntyre et al. 2017; Oh and Nash 2014; Xie 2014), some specifically with heritage learner identity (Coryell et al. 2010), or study abroad (Hernández 2010; Taylor and Marsden 2014).

In terms of cultural interest for LOTE learners, there has been little work done in this area. Thompson and Vásquez (2015) touch on this issue with one of their participants, Vera, an Anglophone learner of Italian who taught the language for many years. Vera "had this goal in life to be bilingual" (p. 163) and was inspired to spend a summer in Spain studying Spanish after meeting a woman in New York who was "ALL about Spain" (p. 164). Vera was not attracted to a specific language per se, but was interested in the pluralistic notion of becoming bilingual (Ellis 2013). When she ended up spending time in Italy instead of staying in Spain, she really became alive in terms of language learning when she started to be invited into people's homes instead of living like a tourist. In other words, when she started to learn more about Italian culture through the eyes of Italians, her language learning burgeoned. Although Vera did have Italian heritage, this was not her initial motivation for, in her words, becoming bilingual. MacIntyre et al. (2017) also discuss the connection to language learning motivation and culture. In their study, data from ten musicians who were learning Gaelic were analyzed; all but one had a Gaelic speaker in the family. Although studying Gaelic is overall in decline in Nova Scotia, the connection to traditional music was the motivation of these participants to persevere (see also Berardi-Wiltshire 2012).

There has been almost no research on motivation and the culture connection for learners of LOTEs, however. Thompson (2017b), one of the few studies of LOTE motivation in the U.S. context, addresses the language-culture connection in the discussion section, and cites it as an

area for further research. The excerpts cited in Thompson (2017b) were specifically related to heritage learners, which is a strong motivation for many people who study a LOTE in the Anglophone context. Indeed, those with a family connection to a language contribute to the rich linguistic tapestry of the U.S. context; unfortunately, the emphasis of English in the school systems tends to overshadow the plurilingual skills of the student population (see Ortega 2020, for an overview of social justice issues surrounding heritage language learners). Other than those heritage learners, there were additional unpublished data that indicated a desire to learn a language, even with no family connection. For example, one participant indicated, "I currently take Chinese because of my strong desire to learn more about non-western cultures and language and because I am very interested in Chinese politics today." Another indicated a love for Spanish because of cultural issues: "I love Spanish, every bit of it from its vast history, language, and culture. I've always enjoyed learning about important historical figures and political figures and how they played a role in the Spanish culture." A student of Japanese wanted to study it because they "enjoyed the culture and many of the things I like are naturally in Japanese." Yet another was gearing up for a trip to Italy and they "felt a strong desire to study and learn Italian. I am in love with culture, architecture, and food of Italy." These indications of a strong connection to a specific culture of a LOTE differ from much of the work on the study of English (see also Mitchell & Tracy-Ventura, this volume, for LOTE motivation in a UK context). In fact, the proposal of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS, Dörnyei 2009) was, in part, a reaction to idea of integrativeness (Gardner 1985), or the idea that people learn a language specifically to be connected to speakers of that language. As Dörnyei et al. (2006) first postulated, learners might not have the same type of personal or cultural attachment to Global English as those who are learning LOTEs. Indeed, the L2MSS was formed on this premise with a two-part system: one part conceptualizing the psychological aspects of selves and the second part focusing on the learning experience (Thompson 2017a). Since the inception of the L2MSS, more focus has been on the development of the *self* aspect, but recently, the learning experience has also been emphasized (Dörnyei 2019).

The original two selves that were formed as part of the L2MSS were the ideal self, that is, the future self a language learner ideally wants to become (promotion focus), and the ought-to self, that is, the future self a language learner feels pressure to become (prevention focus). However, recent work has proposed that, for Anglophone learners of LOTEs, the ideal and ought-to selves did not quite paint the full picture of the self guides. The first indication of this was in Thompson and Vásquez (2015), where the term "anti-ought-to" self was coined. In the U.S. context, these authors found that their participants had a sense of defiance or determination in the face of language learning challenges. Indeed, why would one spend so much time and effort on a task that is relatively undervalued by a large portion of society? Alex, an Anglophone learner of Chinese, was motivated when his first Chinese instructor told him he was not talented in Chinese and should give up. Joe, a Spanish-English bilingual learner of German, was determined to succeed, even though, in his classes filled with German heritage speakers, he was a "García-speaking German," and he worked hard to prove to everyone he was capable of becoming proficient in German. Thompson (2017a) describes Rachel, a learner of Arabic who started learning Arabic specifically because of its challenging and unique nature and who was somewhat disappointed when the events of 9/11 made it a more popular language to study. Lanvers (2016, 2017) also noticed what she calls a "rebellious self" in her Anglophone context of the UK. Many of her participants wanted to "distance themselves from the negatively perceived British image" (p. 89) of not being able to learn a language, and held those from other countries in high regard in terms of language learning abilities. Thompson (2017b) found that quantitatively, the anti-ought-to self was the self that was able to differentiate the language groups of Spanish, French/German/Italian, and the LCTLs. The Spanish group's anti-ought-to self was significantly lower than both of the other groups. The LCTL group had the highest anti-ought-to self, although it was not significantly higher than the French/German/Italian group. Thus, all students seem have this self to some extent; however, it manifests at different levels.

This anti-ought-to/rebellious self is what drives certain individuals to learn a specific language, despite pressure to learn a different language or to spend time on a different task entirely. Some of the open-ended

comments from the data set from Thompson (2017b) support this notion. For example, some participants were pressured to take Spanish because of the comparative perceived difficulty of other LOTEs: "I have been discouraged to learn Korean or Chinese (Mandarin) because they are 'too difficult,' or because they 'will never help (me) in the future' or because they're 'not beneficial.' " and "When deciding which foreign language to take to satisfy requirements, I briefly considered Japanese. However, most of those in my family whom I told about this said it may not be a good idea to take it, as it would be more difficult to learn than Spanish. This was complemented by the fact that my foreign language requirement would be met faster if I could test into Spanish 2." Some participants were explicitly told that learning anything other than Spanish was not worth the effort: "When I was studying French growing up many people told me it was a waste of time and the only language worth learning is Spanish." Some of the participants commented on the lack of emphasis on language learning in the U.S. context: "Sometimes I feel as if society does not put as much emphasis on learning another language as much as they should." Others more directly shared experiences of explicit resistance towards their language learning: "I have felt strong resistance from family and co-workers to NOT study anything but English. Some of the people closest to me have made fun of my language learning both directly and indirectly. Directly I have been told that 'this is America and we only need to speak English.' "

   What is fascinating is that despite the pressure not to study a certain language, or not to study a language at all, some people have the where-withal to push back. Circling back to the situation described in Florida with advisors discouraging people from studying languages, one of the participants ignored this advice: "My advisor tells me not to study Japanese since it is an extra class every semester but I am passionate about Japanese and I love languages, so I will continue to study." Another participant chose to ignore the pressure and to continue with Arabic: "I was pressured by more ignorant (in regards to other cultures) members of my family to not learn Arabic. But I ignored them." Another indicated that the desire for a challenge is why they chose a "difficult" language: "I have been told not to do Russian, Chinese, or Arabic because of their difficulty and that's why I chose it because I love challenges."

Indeed, the motivations for studying different LOTEs in the context of the United States are complex, and Thompson (2017b) did find that those who studied languages other than Spanish had a stronger anti-ought-to self. It is certainly the case that more information needs to be collected on how to possibly harness the desire to go against the grain in terms of language learning in the U.S. context.

Final Thoughts

Benefits of studying LOTEs abound, and in the U.S. context there are opportunities to do so. As stated in Thompson (2017b), although LOTEs tend to be taught as a separate subject at school in the U.S. context, there are a growing number of immersion language programs as well. Although the highest number of immersion programs is in Spanish, followed by French, immersion programs also exist for less common languages, including indigenous languages and other heritage languages. There are also a growing number of community-based language programs that are open to heritage speakers and the general public, such as the community Chinese program offered by West Virginia University (see also Kim 2017). Although smaller in number, there are also volunteer-based and/or grant-funded programs for children, such as ReDefiners, which is a non-profit language school that provides Arabic, Mandarin, and Spanish language classes to children in the Tampa Bay area regardless of socioeconomic status. The mission of ReDefiners, *to promote social change, create equity in educational opportunities, and provide a competitive advantage for youth and adults*, and their vision, *to see U.S. citizens embrace multilingualism and celebrate multiculturalism*, are enactments of the types of innovations we need in our ever-changing multilingual world.

There are a number of resources available for those who would like to study a language during their post-secondary education via language classes and study abroad experiences for both language and content classes. There are also a number of competitive scholarships available, such as Boren, Critical Language Scholarship, Fulbright, Freeman, Gilman, and others. All of these have specific requirements, but there are usually university offices that can help students navigate applying for

these awards, such as the West Virginia University Aspire office. There is also a wealth of information on the ACTFL-created language advocacy website, Lead with Languages, where information about language programs, careers, success stories, teacher resources, and much more can be found. The economic advantages to breaking out of the monolingualism mold are many, as are the advantages that come with intercultural competence. It has also been documented that some students engage in language study, even with discouragement to do otherwise.

As the world evolves, attitudes towards how we teach languages at the university level also need to evolve. Language department leaders need to take part in new student orientations and university-wide advising sessions to be sure that students are getting the correct information about language courses. Everyone who supports LOTE education needs to closely follow legislation that could limit access and funding to language learning. University LOTE faculty need to support K-12 teacher certification and instruction however they can, as these K-12 students are those who will subsequently become university students. Curricular changes, both with coursework and interdisciplinary changes, need to be made to help students concretely see the connection between language and society, including in connection to their future professions. Additionally, those involved in the LOTE profession need to be able to articulate why language study is imperative to living in our world today. Helping students see concrete connections between language study and their future career goals will not only help language programs to thrive but will also produce more articulate and savvy global citizens. Thus, language educators and researchers, I challenge you to think about what role you can play in promoting language study. I hope that many of you will accept this challenge.

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Learning Japanese as a Foreign Language in New Zealand: Questioning the Basic Assumptions

Harumi Minagawa and Dallas Nesbitt

Introduction

Japanese is listed as a Category IV language by the School of Language Studies site of the US Department of State, that is, a language that is "exceptionally difficult for native English speakers" (U.S. Department of State n.d.). The difficulties can be attributed to its complicated writing system and highly elaborate honorific speech patterns (see, e.g., McLauchlan 2007, pp. 54–56 and pp. 81–85; Oshima 2012, p. 55). Despite these difficulties, the study of Japanese as an additional language (L2) is popular, and New Zealand maintains its place as having the eleventh largest number of Japanese learners in the world. Per 10,000

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population, Japanese is ranked as seventh in the world and second among Anglophone countries (The Japan Foundation 2015).[1]

Despite New Zealand's high ranking internationally with regard to learning Japanese as L2, the number of learners of Japanese has been declining since 2005, in line with the decrease of all foreign language learners in New Zealand at both secondary and tertiary levels (Corder et al. 2018; Ministry of Education 2019a). In response to the decline, the Sasakawa Fellowship Fund for Japanese Language Education in New Zealand (established in 1995 at Massey University, New Zealand, by endowment from the Nippon Foundation Fund for Japanese Language Education programme) has commissioned investigative reports (McLauchlan 2007; McGee et al. 2013; Corder et al. 2018). The reports have attributed the fall in Japanese learners to multiple factors: the lack of a national language learning policy, a government-led focus on the STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics), and the fact that languages other than English are not required subjects in New Zealand's high school assessment system, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA), for admission into tertiary study. Corder et al. (2018) suggest that another problem is "complacency stemming from the fact that English is a global lingua franca, and the lack of value being placed on language capabilities" (p. 64). They argue that the decline in New Zealand can be attributed to "societal values and attitude" and is "not just the result of a lack of interest on the part of students" (p. 3).

Two nationwide surveys, one of tertiary Japanese students in New Zealand (Minagawa et al. 2019), and the other of secondary students in the Canterbury region of New Zealand's South Island (Ogino et al. 2016), revealed that intrinsic motivations such as love of the language and the desire to communicate are strong reasons for choosing to study Japanese. However, Oshima and Harvey (2017a, b) report that structural impediments at tertiary level, such as timetable clashes and limited timetabled space for optional subjects, can discourage secondary school leavers from continuing to study Japanese at university level.

The New Zealand government has recognised the strategic importance of the Asian region through initiatives such as prime minister's

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[1] The 2015 report is the most recent survey result available at the time of writing this chapter.

scholarships, which fund undergraduate or postgraduate programmes, internships, and research projects completed in Asian countries. A further initiative, the Asian Language Learning in Schools (ALLiS) programme, which ran from 2015 to 2018, focused on increasing the number of students learning Asian languages in schools by providing start-up funding for programmes that ensured participating students developed Asian language communication skills and cultural awareness (see Tolosa et al., this volume, for a presentation of a primary school-level project funded through this initiative). Nonetheless Corder et al. (2018, p. 3) note that, while there is a common awareness of the "economic and social implications of a deficit in language and intercultural capabilities" in other Anglophone countries such as the UK, USA and Australia, the New Zealand government does not appear to share the "same level of concern" and its approach to language policy is "fragmented and uncoordinated" (p. 25).

What we have presented above is what is 'visible' regarding Japanese language education in New Zealand. The study presented in this chapter offers insights into the less visible and less discussed realities of the Japanese as Foreign Language (JFL) situation at tertiary level in New Zealand. That is, this chapter questions the basic assumptions that Japanese is taught in an Anglophone context and that the learning of Japanese occurs in a formal educational environment. In this chapter we present another dimension of learning JFL through two perspectives that are not normally adopted: (a) a close-up perspective discussing the particular nature of the JFL teaching and learning community within the monolingual Anglophone context; and (b) a wider perspective discussing JFL learning experiences beyond the confines of formal language education. We will argue that JFL learning occurs in a particular micro-linguistic, culturally diverse environment within the tertiary context of New Zealand, where the status and power of English as the mainstream language do not persist, and where non-native speakers of English with Asian backgrounds are less disadvantaged by their lack of English proficiency. Some, conversely, find that the Asian cultural and linguistic knowledge they bring with them provides an advantage when they learn Japanese. We will also argue that there is a largely invisible population of

informal JFL learners in New Zealand, only some of whom would take up learning Japanese formally if an opportunity arose.

The study presented in this chapter draws on publicly available statistical data and information obtained from six major universities in New Zealand which offer relatively large programmes which include a major in Japanese. It also uses data from projects in which both of the authors were and are currently involved: (a) the nationwide survey we have already referred to that investigated tertiary students' reasons for studying Japanese in New Zealand, which included an online questionnaire of 348 participants and 25 further sets of written comments; and (b) a study of the linguistic identity of Japanese as first language (L1) JFL teachers at universities in New Zealand and Australia, which included an online survey with 51 participants and 12 follow-up interviews. The major findings of the first project were reported in Minagawa et al. (2019). The present study uses some data which were not presented in that publication. Out of the data collected for the second project, this study uses some interview data concerning the teachers' perceptions about non-native English-speaking students in their courses, limiting the reference only to New Zealand participants.

Micro-communities of JFL Learners in New Zealand Universities

A multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic educational environment is now assumed in Anglophone countries. As Wei, Yuan, and Zhao (2019) put it, "English-speaking countries are among the largest hosts of international students … approximately 37.67 percent of all international students enroll in four Anglophone countries (Australia, Canada, the UK and the US)" (pp. 28–29). New Zealand is no exception. The broader setting of the New Zealand university system is a Western Anglophone environment where English is the medium of study. Japanese, however, is not only taught in an environment where, in reality, there is ethnic diversity among learners; it is also taught in a micro-linguistic and cultural environment where English is only a second language for a substantial

proportion of the students. Tertiary Japanese language programmes also have a strong presence of students with an East Asian cultural and linguistic background.

We look firstly at the broader context of student composition in New Zealand universities in light of the domestic/international student divide, ethnic composition and the reported linguistic identity of students.[2] According to the New Zealand Ministry of Education, data on the total number of Equivalent Full Time Students (EFTS) in New Zealand indicate that international EFTS increased from 21,310 in 2016 to 24,760 in 2018 (Ministry of Education 2019b). The increase in the ratio of international students at the six major universities under consideration is summarised in Table 1. (The figures are based on information provided in the 2018 annual reports or an equivalent document from each university. The URL for each report is listed in the references.) While the University of Canterbury and the University of Otago have a relatively low ratio, in the other four universities 17–19% of the student population is now international students.

From the data available from the annual report of each institution, the People's Republic of China (PRC) is the region from which most international students come. For example, the Asian region comprises 71% at the University of Auckland, and PRC is predominant: PRC (48%), India (7%), Malaysia (6%), Republic of Korea (3%), followed by Indonesia, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and Japan. Similarly, at the Auckland University

Table 1 Ratio of international students at six major universities in New Zealand

	2016	2017	2018	Notes
The University of Auckland (2018)	15.5%	17.6%	18.8%	Headcount
Auckland University of Technology (2018)	17.3%	17.3%	17.8%	EFTS based
Massey University (2018)	15.6%	16.7%	17.6%	EFTS based
Victoria University of Wellington (2018)	Not available	Not available	16.8%	Headcount
The University of Canterbury (2018)	9.1%	11%	12%	EFTS based
The University of Otago (2018)	7.8%	8.1%	9.1%	EFTS based

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[2] 'International students' in this study refers to those who are categorised as international fee-paying students.

of Technology (AUT) in 2018, PRC comprised 48%, followed by India (14%). However, the University of Otago, in New Zealand's South Island, shows a different composition. International students from the United States rank at the top (27%), followed by China (17%), Malaysia (10%) and India (5%).

Some of the reports provide ethnic composition as well. At the University of Auckland, inclusive of international students, students with an Asian background represent the most dominant (44%), followed by European (35%), Pacific Island (9%) and Māori (7%) (based on head-count). Exclusive of international students, the ethnic distribution of students at AUT is New Zealand European/Pākehā[3] (41%), Asian (25%), followed by Māori (11%). Exclusive of international students, the University of Otago has a high rate of "European/Pākehā" (71%), then Asian (21%), followed by Māori (10%).[4] The composition of students at Massey University, inclusive of international students by citizenship, is New Zealand (71%), then China (12%), followed by UK (2.5%).

Although patterns of increase in the ratio of international students in Japanese programmes are not linked to the overall trend at university level in terms of the steady pattern of increase, the ratio of international students in the Japanese programmes offered at the six major universities indicates a much higher proportion compared to the university-level ratio—a distinctly different micro-linguistic community of learning within the universities (see Table 2).

In line with the high proportion of international students in the beginners' Japanese language programmes in these institutions, the background data of the national survey collected by Minagawa et al. (2019) inform us that 36% of respondents said English is *not* their first language. Sixty-six percent of those respondents who said that English is not their first language were speakers of Mandarin, Taiwanese, Cantonese and Korean. These figures confirm that the tertiary environment where Japanese language learning occurs has a particular mix of students where, for many,

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[3] The Māori word Pākehā is a commonly used term to refer to European New Zealanders.

[4] Although not specified in the document, students at Otago must have been allowed to list more than one ethnic group as their ethnic identity.

Table 2 Ratio of international students in beginners' Japanese courses at six major universities in New Zealand

	2017	2018	2019	Notes
The University of Auckland	37.7% (40/106)[a]	25.2% (25/99)	40.7% (55/135)	Excluding the General Education cohort[b]
Auckland University of Technology	69.2% (72/104)	34% (28/82)	45% (57/117)	The first of two beginners' courses offered annually (one each semester)
Massey University	68.7% (79/115)	76.6% (82/107)	85.2% (133/156)	Beginners' courses offered in semester 1 at two campuses, excluding distance education students
Victoria University of Wellington	36.8% (45/122)	32% (34/106)	31.9% (30/94)	
The University of Canterbury	60.0% (27/77)	35.1% (27/77)	50.7% (69/136)	
The University of Otago	32.2% 20/62	40.8% 29/71	26.2% 17/65	

[a]40/106 means that there were 40 international students out of a total of 106 students enrolled

[b]Taking two courses listed under 'General Education' is a requirement for undergraduate students, only offered at the University of Auckland, so that they can expand their learning outside of their specialised field of study. A range of beginners' language courses are listed as General Education courses. We have excluded General Education enrolment numbers from this comparison as this is taken as a one-off course

the first language is not English (the national survey did not ask participants' international/domestic status).

The fact that English is not the first language for many students in the Japanese programmes is confirmed by the teachers as well. Of 22 tertiary-level L1 JFL teachers teaching Japanese at universities in New Zealand, 96% agreed with the statement "there are many non-native (English) speakers among the students".[5]

What factors contribute to the formation of a JFL community with a high proportion of international students and students with an East

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[5] In a larger survey, which included teachers from Australia, this proportion persisted: 100% agreed to the statement "there are many non-native speakers among the students".

Asian background? We will discuss this by drawing insights from JFL teachers' accounts. Firstly, it was reported that some teachers feel that the learning of Japanese does not demand as much extensive discussion, reading and writing in academic English as might be the case in other subjects. Therefore, the linguistic dominance of English as the main-stream language is diminished. As one respondent put it:

> For international students, the Japanese language learning environment seems to provide them with a platform where they are on equal grounds with students whose native language is English and thus they do not feel so disadvantaged in the local language. (Int. I)[6]

A personal communication from a JFL teacher which we received during the process of writing this chapter echoes a similar sentiment:

> I feel that the balance of linguistic power is equalised within the JFL situation. Students stop being either a native English speaker or a non-native English speaker and they simply become learners of Japanese. I think such a situation is giving non-native speakers of English quite a strong motivation to learn.

Secondly, Asian ethnic background students, in general, have an advantage in the Japanese classroom due to their geographical closeness to, and thus familiarity with, the language and culture of Japan (Matsumoto 2009, p. 10.3). For example, Japanese written language predominantly consists of logographic script for most of the lexical words, which was borrowed from Chinese. (The native syllabic scripts are used for grammatical word inflection.) As one interviewee put it, "in the JFL situation, monolingual New Zealand students are less advantaged because students with the knowledge of Chinese characters are more advantaged" (Int. Q). There is a high degree of similarity in grammar to Korean, and the highly elaborate honorific language in Japanese, as well as the social system that is reflected in such expressions, is shared

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[6] The quotes used in this study are from the larger data source collected for a study on JFL teachers' linguistic identity. "Int I" means that the quote was extracted from an interview with a person using the pseudonym I.

by Korean speakers—"although we don't have many Korean students in recent years, the similarity of grammar makes it easier for them to learn Japanese" (Int. B). Furthermore, aspects of Asian educational practice such as strong reliance on rote memorisation can also be advantageous in language learning (Nesbitt 2009)—"although we give instructions and explain grammar in English in our Japanese course, I think language learning is suited to Asian students who are so used to rote memory" (Int. E).

Conversely, while English-speaking background students have the advantage that grammar explanations in textbooks (and in class) are in English, they are disadvantaged when learning Japanese in New Zealand for the reasons stated above, as well as their perception (in light of the disadvantages) that it is challenging for them to achieve high grades when learning Japanese alongside students from East-Asian backgrounds. The number of Asian students in the Japanese courses and the apparent ease with which they can learn Japanese (a language that initially can be overwhelmingly difficult for English background learners) acts as a "deterrent for students concerned about the ability to achieve good grades, particularly at NCEA level in New Zealand" (McGee et al. 2013).

The 'non-nativeness' in English of the L1 JFL *teachers* at New Zealand universities further contributes to the distinct micro-linguistic environment where for many members English is not their first language. JFL teachers do not feel under pressure about the fact that English is L2 because many of their students are also non-native speakers of English. One interview respondent brought out these points:

> There are many students for whom English is a second language in our course. So at times, they say that my English is easier for them to comprehend. … So there it benefits both the students and myself [to be non-native speakers of English to each other]. (Int. B)

The perceived benefits of being a Japanese as L1 teacher of JFL were also underscored in responses to our questionnaire:

The ratio of English native speakers at the university that I currently work at is low so that weakness [as a non-native speaker of English] is less prominent. (Quest. 29)[7]

I think I could give more accurate and effective explanations of Japanese if I had stronger English proficiency. But if the students themselves do not have a very good command of English, my lack of English shouldn't affect my teaching so much. (Quest. 17)

The atypical linguistic environment for JFL within the Anglophone university seems to be helping to build confidence for learning among non-native English-speaking students, as one interviewee put it: "I think that it is a community reflecting a global world, in a way, where students who come from non-Anglophone countries can study without feeling disadvantaged and where they can flourish" (Int. E). Another commented, "in the Japanese class English is the second language for us teachers and there are many other international students. So it may be providing international students a place where they feel less threatened and can learn with ease" (Int. I).

The interviews also revealed that some teachers feel that international students in the Japanese programmes are motivated by more than just learning Japanese:

I hear that international students have difficulty expressing themselves in other subject courses at university but many come to the Japanese classes not only to learn the language but [also] to satisfy their needs that cannot be met elsewhere in the university learning situation. (Int. I)

It is important to note that not only international students but also some domestic students with an Asian ethnic origin lack confidence in English and the JFL environment appears to give them an opportunity to do well at university despite their perceived poor English:

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[7] "Quest. 29" refers to Questionnaire Participant number 29, collected for the linguistic identity of the native JFL teacher research project.

Especially in Japanese where we don't progress fast to a level where we can discuss complex issues in the target language, Asian students, not necessarily international students, who may not be able to do well in other subject areas where a high level of English is required, have a chance to do well and even achieve an A. (Int. G)

In summary, the assumption that English is the dominant language that defines the learning context within an Anglophone country needs to be reconsidered when we acknowledge the micro-linguistic community in the New Zealand JFL learning situation at tertiary level.

An Invisible Population of JFL Learners

While the number of students formally studying Japanese at university is in decline, the amount of interest in the Japanese language and the number of actual users of JFL cannot simply be measured by student enrolments at schools or universities. The preamble of the 2015 Japan Foundation's triennial survey acknowledges the existence of learners who are studying Japanese *informally*:

Learners who are studying Japanese personally through television, radio, books and magazines, and the internet are not included in the total count of Japanese language learners. If we include these figures, it is speculated that people who are learning Japanese well exceed the total number of learners reported in this survey. (The Japan Foundation 2015, p. 7)

The acknowledgement of a below-the-surface population of informal learners or users of Japanese is the second focus of our discussion. It is well documented that interest in popular culture such as *anime*, *manga* and computer games can be a motivation for many to take up Japanese formally (Armour and Iida 2016, Minagawa et al. 2019; Northwood and Thomson 2012; The Japan Foundation 2015; William-Prince 2009). Armour and Iida (2016) investigated whether there was any correlation between consumers of pop culture and learning of the Japanese language. They report that among the 446 *anime* and/or *manga* fans between the

ages 17 and 32, 45% have not studied Japanese formally and only indicated that they are "intending to learn Japanese sometime in the future". Their study did not answer "why some get involved in Japanese language study, while others do not" (p. 39). The exact size and spread of this invisible population are difficult to capture. However, evidence for the existence of the below-the-surface population is available from what can be observed to be happening in classrooms.

The first piece of evidence that this population exists lies in the popularity of short university Japanese courses taken as electives or optional subjects, separate from a major within a degree. These students may represent a portion of what Armour and Iida (2016) describe as those who "get involved in Japanese study" (p. 39). We have noted that, rather than the lack of interest in Japanese itself, both timetable constraints and STEM-oriented choices of study at university keep potential learners of Japanese at bay. However, some of those learners seem to be seizing opportunities. Ashton and Shino (2016) and Ogino and Kawai (2017) argue that there is a general tendency at New Zealand tertiary institutions for fewer students to be majoring in Japanese; however, more are taking the language as a minor or as an elective. Minagawa et al. (2019, p. 5) also report that, in the nationwide survey, 30% of enrolled students were studying Japanese as an elective of some kind. For example, AUT made an institutional decision to ease timetable constraints by timetabling the course outside of the hours normally dedicated to the study of the major as well as by splitting the beginners' course into two less demanding courses. This was done so that students who may not choose to take Japanese as a major could experience the beginners' courses at times and in ways that might be more accessible for them. This initiative resulted in a substantial increase in student numbers.[8] A further example of interest in Japanese, by those who may not choose to study it formally, is the overwhelming numbers taking one-off General Education beginners' Japanese courses at the University of Auckland.[9] These courses attract

[8] Since these initiatives were implemented as a trial in Semester 1 2018 with an enrolment of 82, the numbers increased to 101 (Semester 2 2018), 117 (Semester 1 2019), 107 (Semester 2 2019) and 139 (Semester 1 2020).

[9] General Education beginners' Japanese courses are offered twice a year in both summer school and Semester 1. The total number of General Education enrolments from 2017 to 2019 was 200, 198

students from other faculties such as Engineering, Science, Business and Law, disciplines that represent or reflect STEM-focused study.

Recent initiatives such as the introduction of a new Global Studies degree at the University of Auckland and the International Business major in the Bachelor of Commerce degree at the University of Canterbury have also had an impact. Both these degrees have languages as a compulsory component, and are providing opportunities that did not exist hitherto. For example, at the University of Canterbury, the enrolments in a Japanese beginners' course dramatically increased from 77 (2018) to 136 (2019). Out of 69 international students of the total enrolment of 136 in 2019, 49 (68.1%) are from Commerce, suggesting that the increase is the result of the Commerce initiative. The influence of Japanese modern culture and, as pointed out in the previous section, the perceived advantage of linguistic proximity to the Japanese language may be factors in the students' choice of a Japanese language paper.

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the students discussed above represent an invisible cohort of learners, surfacing through pockets of formal language learning opportunities outside of a dedicated major. This group would include many who have opted to study STEM subjects while having an *interest* in Japanese (Corder et al. 2018) and who would not have been able to take Japanese as a major because of structural constraints at university (Oshima and Harvey 2017a, b). Courses that do not demand a full-scale commitment to language learning such as a one-off General Education course and other elective courses appear to be providing opportunities for the potentially invisible cohort to take up learning Japanese formally.

Further evidence of a below-the-surface population of JFL learners or users is the casual or informal way of learning Japanese being widely adopted. Armour and Iida (2016) report that 27% of their 446 participants said that they were 'self-taught'. The background data of the national survey of tertiary Japanese students echoes this. It informs us that there is a group of students who elected "self-taught" as a way of learning Japanese before taking up study formally at university. Of the

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and 220. These numbers compare with the number of students in the non-General Education course which is only offered in Semester 1 in these years, that is, 106, 99, 135. Please see Table 2.

70% of total respondents who had studied Japanese either formally or informally before enrolling in Japanese courses at university, 63% said that they studied Japanese at high school formally. Fifty-three percent also said that they "self-taught" Japanese, and 19% chose "other". "Other" included opportunities such as "a gap year in Japan", "Japanese friends in New Zealand", "through books and internet", "*anime*", "family", "night/community classes" and "a short trip in Japan". Self-teaching and other informal language experiences continue for some students who are also formally enrolled in university courses. Tertiary students commented that they autonomously seek opportunities for real communication outside the classroom and do not expect a university to be their only source of learning (Minagawa et al. 2019, p. 11).

Receptive virtual entertainment such as *anime and manga* is not the only medium for youth to access the language. We cannot underestimate the popularity of easily available authentic experiences, such as engaging with Japanese friends, and being tourists in Japan, as informal opportunities for language learning and use. Minagawa et al. (2019) report that half of their total respondents had already been to Japan before studying Japanese at university. Indeed, "travel to Japan for sightseeing" ranked highly in the reasons for studying Japanese in their study. We expect that many others learn Japanese in such informal ways and do not end up enrolling in a formal course at any stage. This phenomenon seems to support the views expressed in the Japan Foundation Survey as well as by Armour and Iida's (2016) assessment of the population of informal learners of Japanese as potential learners who may take up formal study if given the opportunity.

While many students may not end up enrolling in a formal language learning situation, those who choose to study Japanese do mention the clear benefits of formal language learning. Minagawa et al. (2019, p. 12) report that formal learning encourages commitment to continue studying and helps systematic understanding through a structured course. There are peers with whom they can study and interact, and feedback can be received from teachers.

It is worth mentioning that, while interest in pop culture may motivate some to take up Japanese formally, many students want to keep their consumption of pop culture separate from formal learning (Minagawa

et al. 2019, p. 11) such that it should be an incentive but not be included in the course. This finding contradicts suggestions made in previous studies (Matsumoto 2007; Ushioda 2011) that it is beneficial to incorporate elements of pop culture into formal language teaching.

Foreign language teaching has conventionally relied on formal instruction with limited input from outside the classroom. However, even in a place where the target language is not spoken outside of the class, learners can now access multiple types of input and engage in multiple types of interaction that might suit their preferences at a particular time and be at a pace they prefer. Learners themselves seem to have widened the scope of language learning beyond effort and initiatives introduced by their teachers, and, in many cases, there is now a distinct divergence between content and methodology offered by formal language courses, and content and methodologies selected, and shared, by a large group of people learning informally.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented dimensions of the realities of the JFL learning situation at tertiary level in New Zealand from two perspectives which are not normally adopted. First, the chapter has presented a focused view of the particular micro-linguistic environment where the teaching and learning of JFL is taking place within the larger linguistic context of an Anglophone university system. We have argued that, within the context of the JFL learning situation, the power balance of English as the mainstream language is diminished when its role as the medium of study becomes less relevant. In this linguistic environment, the usually less advantaged L2 speakers of English, either international or domestic, without a good command of English, feel less threatened and seem to participate in the learning with more confidence. Furthermore, while Japanese is a difficult language to learn for monolingual English speakers (see Thompson, this volume, for examples of students who are motivated by challenging languages), students with Asian backgrounds can benefit from their Asian linguistic knowledge.

The chapter then examined JFL learning outside formal language education. We argued that, if we expand our understanding of 'JFL learners' beyond the concept of 'receivers of formal language teaching', the interest in Japanese and the number of informal learners may be much healthier than the 'visible reality' represented in the count of students enrolled at institutions.

It is important to acknowledge the serious situation of a decline in the number of *enrolled* students in Japanese and the need to advocate for policymakers to place more importance on foreign language learning. However, it is hoped that the discussion presented here will help JFL teachers to look at the visible reality from fresh perspectives. Firstly we hope that these teachers can recognise and embrace the special role that Japanese courses, and classrooms can play in making the university a less challenging space for international (especially Asian) students. Secondly, we hope that those with an interest in the teaching and learning of JFL will recognise that the 'formal' numbers of Japanese enrolments do not take account of the greater numbers of informal learners which represent a much bigger and nebulous population of people who, similarly to the students in formal classes, are interested in Japanese and Japanese culture.

The above assertions turn the assumption that Japanese is in decline on its head. It is hoped that the two illustrations of the JFL learning situation in New Zealand will contribute to the broader discussion of 'foreign language learning' beyond the commonly accepted concepts of formal language instruction in Anglophone countries.

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Part III

Ways Forward Through Immersion, Lifelong Learning and CLIL

Study Abroad for Anglophones: Language Learning Through Multilingual Practices

Rosamond Mitchell and Nicole Tracy-Ventura

Introduction

The "third year abroad" is a traditional component of Modern Languages degrees in UK universities, and great expectations attach to it among all stakeholders including students, concerning the development of second language (L2) proficiency and intercultural competence relating to a particular target language such as Spanish, German, or French. However, in the context of contemporary Europe, study abroad destinations are typically multilingual, and the experience of international students involves widespread and increasing use of English, both as medium of instruction in many higher education programmes and also as the pre-eminent

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lingua franca for socialising within the international student community (Dafouz and Smit 2019; Kalocsai 2013; Geoghegan and Pérez-Vidal 2019; Mas Alcolea 2018).

This state of affairs poses considerable challenges for Anglophone students specialising in languages, who sojourn abroad with the aim of developing advanced L2 proficiency. As has been documented for student temporary sojourners in general (Murphy-Lejeune 2002), they are likely to develop support and friendship networks when abroad, among co-nationals and other international students (Meier and Daniels 2011). Alongside their participation in English-using networks among international students, Anglophone sojourners in Europe are also likely to meet with English use from locals, whether in service encounters or in informal leisure settings; additionally, the internet provides an easy means for maintaining home and family networks, once again through English, as well as a further channel for L2 use (Durbidge 2019; Hofer et al. 2016; Martinez-Arbelaiz et al. 2017). Anglophone students aiming to develop advanced proficiency in languages such as French or Spanish, therefore, face considerable challenges and must navigate a complex multilingual environment, in order to access sufficiently rich input and interaction opportunities to support their linguistic development in a desired target language.

This chapter draws on a longitudinal study of the year abroad (YA) experience of British university students specialising in French or Spanish and later outcomes (Huensch et al. 2019; Mitchell et al. 2017, 2020; Tracy-Ventura et al. 2016). The participants spent two semesters abroad, either as Erasmus students following courses at European universities, as language teaching assistants, or as workplace interns. Data on linguistic development, on social integration and on language use was collected from the participants through a range of language tests, questionnaires and interviews at eight time points before, during and after their YA.

For all of the participants, the YA was a bilingual or multilingual experience, including substantial and varied use of English throughout, alongside the target language. However, participants generally succeeded in making important L2 proficiency gains, and in this chapter we aim to explain how this was achieved, but also the ways in which multilingual practices limited L2 experience and learning. Through consideration of

two case studies of successful L2 learners, we review the types of L2 input and interaction most consistently accessible to YA sojourners, and the strategies employed by participants to enter, or create, L2-using or multi-lingual networks. Finally, we explore the role of sojourner identity in shaping language learning goals and L2 practices when abroad.

Overall the chapter contributes to our understanding of study abroad in a multilingual world as currently experienced by British students spe-cialising in languages, and how far it shapes their developing L2 profi-ciency, their linguistic identity, and their career prospects.

Literature Review

It is well known that a small and diminishing cohort of young British people choose educational paths leading towards an eventual specialism in languages (Tinsley 2019), and this decline is of long-standing concern to policymakers (British Academy 2019). The characteristics and motiva-tions of those students who do make a positive choice to study languages have, therefore, been a special focus of study. Vidal Rodeiro (2007) pro-vides background information; students choosing languages at A Level (the school leaving examination), and therefore qualified to become lan-guage specialists at university, generally come from socially advantaged family backgrounds and schools, and have already done well at the 16+ national examination (GCSE). When choosing to progress to languages at university, British students are primarily motivated by a desire for high L2 proficiency, a vision of the self as an effective speaker of L2, and intrin-sic enjoyment of language learning, as well as acknowledgement of the likely usefulness of languages (Busse and Walter 2013; Busse and Williams 2010, see also Thompson, this volume, for similar themes in the U.S. con-text). They may come from homes with some multilingual heritage, and may have already spent time in L2-using countries; they are likely to reject the view that monoglot proficiency in global English is sufficient for their life aspirations, enjoy developing distinctive skills rare among their peers, and generally have a positive "international orientation" (Lanvers 2016, 2017; Oakes 2013).

A stay abroad forms a long-standing part of the UK university curriculum in languages (Nott 1996; Rowles and Rowles 2005). The sojourn is most usually spent as an exchange student at a partner university (most recently, through the EU Erasmus+ scheme), as a language assistant in a school, or as a workplace intern. Institutions and students have high expectations for the stay abroad: that it will result in greater L2 proficiency, personal independence and heightened intercultural understanding (Coleman 1996). Empirical research in Europe shows generally positive outcomes for key dimensions of L2 proficiency, though with considerable variability (Borràs and Llanes 2019; Llanes 2011), as well as for personal development (Krzaklewska and Krupnik 2005); however, findings regarding intercultural competence are more mixed (Mas Alcolea 2019; Schartner 2016).

Throughout the history of study abroad research, efforts have been made to explain the persistent variability in L2 development by factors connected to the social context of SA, and to sojourners' agency in developing L2 social networks and L2 practices (Coleman 2015). For example, Baker-Smemoe et al. (2014) surveyed Anglophone participants in six different SA programmes, finding that the strongest predictors of L2 gain were initial L2 proficiency, "cultural sensitivity" and social networking factors. In the UK, Klapper and Rees (2012) compared high and low L2 achievers among sojourners in Germany. The high achievers lived and socialised with German flatmates, actively pursued German language courses, used German as lingua franca with other international students, read and practised German independently, and remained in Germany during study breaks. The low achievers were much more likely to live and socialise with English speakers, and took few individual initiatives to learn, that is, clear differences emerged in sojourner agency. In a study of German students sojourning in the UK, Hessel (2017) showed similarly that sojourners' sense of self-efficacy in using L2 was a statistically significant predictor of L2 gain.

In turn, differences in agency and self-efficacy can be related to levels of sojourner motivation and variation in language identity. The latter has recently received greatly increased attention in applied linguistics (McEntee-Atalianis 2018), where poststructuralist frameworks have generally been adopted, and identity is seen as dynamic and performative

rather than fixed. Study abroad researchers have described in some detail how different aspects of identity are disrupted by the SA experience (Block 2007; Kinginger 2013; Tullock 2018). Benson et al. (2013) have proposed a framework for conceptualising L2 identity and its development in study abroad, with three main strands:

1. "Identity-related L2 proficiency" refers to the development of the linguistic, sociopragmatic and interactional competence which will allow sojourners to project a desired identity.
2. The "linguistic self-concept" is close to the "ideal L2 self" proposed by motivation theorists (Dörnyei 2009); it includes one's sense of status as an L2 user, language affiliations, beliefs and emotional factors.
3. "L2-related personal competence" captures sojourners' sense of independence and agency, for example, as a problem-solver and intercultural actor.

This framework will be used to interpret the "identity" dimension of the case study data presented in this chapter, drawn from an ongoing longitudinal project investigating the sojourn abroad and its long-term impact.

The LANGSNAP Project

The original project "Languages and Social Networks Abroad" (LANGSNAP) was funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council from 2011 to 2013.[1] All LANGSNAP participants completed a range of measures in their principal target language (French or Spanish) on six occasions, Presojourn (× 1), Insojourn (× 3) and Postsojourn (× 2). These L2 measures comprised an individual oral interview exploring daily life and plans, a picture-based oral narrative, an argumentative writing task, a test of receptive vocabulary (X-Lex), and an elicited imitation task (for details of all tasks, see Mitchell et al. 2017). Differences between the

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[1] The LANGSNAP project was funded from 2011 to 2013 by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (Grant no. RES-062-23-2996).

sets of presojourn and end-sojourn L2 data were drawn upon and combined to calculate overall "gain scores", so that participants could be identified as "high gainers" or "low gainers" in terms of their L2 development during SA.

While abroad the participants also completed on three occasions two specially designed questionnaires, the Social Networks Questionnaire (SNQ) and Language Engagement Questionnaire (LEQ). These instruments were designed to gather self-report data on the people with whom participants spent their time and the quality of those relationships (SNQ), and also the uses being made by participants of all of the languages they knew, over a range of academic, social and individual leisure activities (LEQ); they are available through the IRIS repository (Marsden et al. 2016). The questionnaire data were used to calculate overall scores for high/low social networking in L1 and in L2, and also for language engagement in L1 and in L2. Finally the participants completed a reflective interview in English at Insojourn 3, regarding language learning processes when abroad.

In addition to the original LANGSNAP project, continuation studies have been carried out. In 2016, participants were re-contacted, and 33 of them agreed to take part. They completed the same target language tasks as before, plus a further reflective interview in English, and a background questionnaire to capture personal and career history, language attitudes and social networking since graduation; LEQ was also re-administered. When quoted here, data from this (first) continuation study are coded "Postsojourn 3". This continuation study has been reported by Huensch et al. (2019) and by Mitchell et al. (2020).

Case Studies

For discussion in this chapter, we have selected two LANGSNAP participants, both of them "high gainers", that is, among the top 20 per cent of the group in terms of linguistic progression during the stay abroad, as measured on a (largely oral) subset of our tests. We have chosen these participants in order to explore how they navigated the multilingual SA environment including ever-present global English, so as to engage in

rich target language activity and achieve highly in their desired target language. They represent two of the main placement options available for Anglophone SA participants: a workplace internship (participant 102, here called "Joyce"), and a student placement (participant 156, here called "Stephen"). The overall scores they achieved on the Social Networking Questionnaire ("Social Network Index", L1 and L2), and the Language Engagement Questionnaire (L1 and L2) at Insojourn 3 (the final data collection session abroad) are shown in Table 1.

The scores shown in Table 1 provide an initial impression of social networking and language engagement in both L1 and L2 by the two target case study participants, compared to the overall mean scores for these factors of the French and Spanish groups overall. The Social Networking Index (SNI) is an integrated measure which represents both the size and the strength of participants' networks in each language. It is striking that both Joyce and Stephen are clearly above-average networkers, in both languages, that is, they do not exclude L1 users from their social networks. However, when it comes to language engagement in L1 and L2, that is, the extent of reported use of each language in a range of settings, both Joyce and Stephen have lower than average L1 engagement scores, but higher than average L2 engagement scores. The narrative accounts provided below draw on all interviews conducted with Joyce and Stephen from Presojourn to Postsojourn 3 (the continuation study), plus their open-ended responses to SNQ and LEQ and to the Background Questionnaire of the continuation study, in order to explain how these behavioural patterns were initiated and sustained during the sojourn abroad.

Case Study 1: Joyce

At the home university, Joyce studied French only (she had not been accepted for a French + Drama degree, her original choice). In her pre-sojourn interview, she already described strong affiliations to the French language and to France: her family was of Mauritian heritage and she had heard Mauritian Creole spoken among family members, she had had an inspirational French teacher at school, and she had enjoyed different

Table 1 Joyce and Stephen insojourn: Social networking and language engagement at Insojourn 3

Participant	Language	Achievement pre-sojourn	Social networking index score (L1)	Social networking index score (L2)	Language engagement score (L1)	Language engagement score (L2)
Joyce (F)	French	High	2.7	3.0	62.7	75.0
Group means for L2 French cohort			*2.3*	*2.6*	*69.1*	*69.9*
Stephen (M)	Spanish	High	2.7	4.3	55.3	92.7
Group means for L2 Spanish cohort			*2.1*	*3.5*	*64.1*	*73.9*

school trips to France, as well as regular family camping holidays there. She was strongly motivated to spend her year abroad in Paris, listing its attractions:

> les croissants, ehm les promenades, ehm c' est euh la Seine, ehm la mode et faire du course avec ehm les magasins de Chanel et Dior, ehm oui et la vie nocturne c' est très ehm (.) amusant et divertissant, ehm les bistros les bars où on peut bavarder et prendre une cocktail ou choses comme ça.[the croissants, the walks, ehm its euh the river Seine, ehm fashion and shopping with Chanel and Dior, ehm yes and the night life is very ehm (.) amusing and fun, ehm the bistros the bars where you can chat and have a cocktail or things like that.] (Presojourn)[2]

For her SA placement, Joyce chose an internship, on grounds that she would have the best opportunities to speak French. However, in practice her placement was in the library of a prestigious higher education institution on the outskirts of Paris, with many international students, so that some of her workplace interaction was in English (e.g. when she staffed the library issues desk).

Joyce was already a high achiever pre-departure, and her middling SNI scores throughout the sojourn did not suggest she would be a high gainer. However her LEQL2 score was consistently above average and her LEQL1 score was below average (as shown in Table 1).

Joyce got on well with her workplace colleagues, and socialised with them during the working day; her role in the library was anyhow very social as she regularly worked at the issues desk. She shared campus living accommodation with another English woman intern, who became a close friend, and they undertook varied leisure activities together. Joyce complained about the poor social amenities of the suburban setting and its distance from central Paris (Insojourn 1), but got involved in a range of activities nonetheless, joining a choir and a dance group, attending a bible study group, and training for a half marathon. At Insojourn 1 she was taking part in an informal language exchange, but when this faded

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[2] The excerpts from interviews in French and Spanish have been transcribed using standard orthography but conserving language errors. Filled pauses are indicated with "ehm", "euh" and significant unfilled pauses with (.).

out she did not pursue any others. Increasingly, however, her social life centred around her French boyfriend, whom she met by chance in week 2 of the sojourn (when opening a bank account). She spent increasing amounts of time with this man during the year, staying over in his apartment regularly, visiting his family, and having him visit her family in England as well. By end sojourn he had displaced Joyce's English flatmate as her most regular social contact. This relationship was conducted in English and French, with the boyfriend playing something of a 'teacher' role. (He corrected her texts and introduced her to aspects of French cultural and social life: "even breakfast is a proper meal with him".)

Overall it is clear that Joyce led a bilingual existence throughout her sojourn, maintaining some important relationships in English (with her flatmate, with other Home City friends, with family), but developing others largely in French (with work colleagues and with her boyfriend). She filled spare time at work by reading French women's magazines and watching TV, but otherwise was not especially strategic about initiating language learning opportunities (e.g. she did not sustain her interest in language exchanges). However, she showed considerable agency socially, finding a range of local activities to engage in, and above all conducting an emotionally significant relationship mainly through French. It seems likely that the intensity of this particular relationship was a major driver for Joyce, in terms of learning gain.

Her SA experience had a considerable influence on Joyce's subsequent life and identity development. In the continuation study, she reported having returned to Paris for a year upon graduation, to work as an au pair and in office administration. This was partly because of her continuing love of Paris, partly because she wanted to further improve her language skills to become a French/English interpreter. After her year in Paris, she completed a Masters qualification in translation and interpreting in the UK. She struggled academically with this course and could not immediately find relevant employment, though she filled in her time with short-term jobs offering opportunities to use her French. At the time of the continuation interview in 2016, she was doing a further internship in translation, at the EU headquarters in Brussels.

Regarding identity development, Joyce's affiliation with French remained strong throughout. She embarked on her year abroad with

intentions to learn informal spoken French, and also "professional" French relevant for the workplace: "je voudrais ehm bénéficier d'une haute niveau linguistique pour ma français ehm apprendre le français familier et aussi le français professionnel" [I would like to benefit from a high language level for my French, ehm to learn both informal French and also professional French] (Presojourn). In practice, she mainly prioritised the former, reverting in several interviews to early frustrations and later successes in being a competent and entertaining conversationalist in French. Concerning "professional" French, she spoke primarily about her struggle to acquire telephone skills; in her leisure time she consumed French entertainment media (TV, films, women's magazines: reported at Insojourn 3), but she did little other reading and very little writing (confirmed in her detailed LEQ responses) and believed at end sojourn that her spoken French had developed most (Postsojourn 2). However, her commitment to "professional" French clearly re-surfaced post-graduation, in her continuing struggle to become a translator/interpreter. In the continuation interview she confirmed her goal of mastering French well enough to return to Paris: "je pense sérieusement à retourner à Paris pour m'installer et travailler donc" [so I am thinking seriously of going back to Paris to live and to work] (Postsojourn 3).

The evolving linguistic identity of Joyce was consistent with this goal. During the stay abroad she transitioned from being an unconfident learner of French to become a confident user:

> quand je suis arrivée en France j' avais peur parce que je ne pouvais pas parler le français um très couramment et j' ai du mal (.) à commencer à lancer une conversation, et j' avais toujours peur de parler aux gens. mais pendant mon année à l' étranger je soutiens que mon français a vraiment amélioré, um je suis plus sûre de moi de parler en français, et je n' hésite jamais à commencer une conversation ou à poser une question à quelqu'un même si je les connais pas. [When I arrived in France I was scared because I could not talk French um very fluently and I have trouble (.) in starting in beginning a conversation, and I was always scared of speaking to people. But during my year abroad I believe that my French has really improved, I am more sure of myself in speaking in French, and I never hesitate to start a conversation or to ask someone a question even if I don't know them.] (Postsojourn 2)

As already indicated, Joyce's strong affiliation with French meant that she could be described as a "contented bilingual" (Henry 2017) in French and English; her aspirations to learn other languages were limited by comparison (e.g. "Spanish because I am going [on holiday] to Cuba!": Background Questionnaire). She also attributed to SA a strong sense of increased L2-related personal competence:

> I learned to just take risks now and just go for it and grab an opportunity when you can […] the fact that I now have knowledge of two languages just gives me that bit more confidence in general, […] and I do feel like I have developed like a person in a good way, and I am just doing things which I never would have done before, for example going on rides, I would never do that before, just letting go a bit, because I think you have to, you can't stay at home and be isolated, you have to let go. (Insojourn 3, Reflective Interview in English)

She sustained similar views four years later in the continuation study: "I still now even feel around my friendship group back home from school, I just feel slightly more kind of mature, experienced, cultured, that kind of thing, so yeah I think it's benefited me personally" (Postsojourn 3).

Case Study 2: Stephen

Stephen was a male student of both French and Spanish at the home university. He had achieved highly in languages at school, and though his first preference was to study only Spanish at university, he was persuaded by his schoolteachers to study two languages (Presojourn). Before SA, Stephen had made two brief visits to Spain with his school, and had never visited France. Already a high achiever predeparture, Stephen was also a high gainer when abroad. During the year abroad, he opted to study at a new university in a medium-sized Spanish city (in the province of Valencia). When abroad, his SNIL2 score was very high, his SNIL1 score was slightly above average, his LEQL2 score was well above average and his LEQL1 score was below average (see Table 1).

Stephen started the sojourn in a flatshare with three local female students, but found them unfriendly, and looked for a more sociable flat

(eventually settling with a group of local male students, who became his friends: Insojourn 2). On campus, he found it easiest initially to make friends with other international students, from Latin America as well as from other European countries, and he initially used Spanish as a lingua franca with them, alongside some English (Insojourn 1). Later however he reported trying to avoid Erasmus students, because of their general preference for speaking English (Insojourn 2). He also quickly got involved in a local student football group, and played regularly with them in the early months of the sojourn, though again he reported using both Spanish and English in this setting. In spring he went running and swimming, usually with Joseph, a French language assistant in a local school, who appeared in his network from Insojourn 2 onwards. On campus, he continued studying French, his other degree subject, but found that English–Spanish translation classes were the best places to make friends with local students, because his English language skills were in demand in that setting (Insojourn 1, 2). From among his local classmates, Stephen identified several tandem conversation partners (Insojourn 2, 3), and continued this practice throughout the year, as he found it the most productive setting to develop his own speaking ability. He found two long-term male friends through tandems, one a Spanish classmate, another his French friend Joseph; he was still in touch with the Spanish friend at Postsojourn 3. Ambitious to do well in his Spanish-medium courses, he consistently attended class, and his LEQ returns show that he was regularly writing academic papers, and doing some academic reading in Spanish. At Insojourn 3, he reported studying hard as exam time approached; nonetheless there was time for continuing socialising with a stable group of friends, primarily in Spanish, including evenings out and a memorable party on the beach. Throughout, Stephen made clear his growing enjoyment of the local "lifestyle" and the general rhythm of his studies and leisure pursuits.

Stephen was strategic in his choice of flatmates, and also in his pursuit of tandem partners for both Spanish and French; he monitored his own language usage and took small initiatives to make sure he spoke Spanish every day (Insojourn 2), and was keen to use Spanish as a lingua franca with Erasmus friends where possible. However in practice he used English regularly with the Erasmus group and also to maintain regular contact

with his family and long-term girlfriend in England. He sustained his French through formal study and his friendship with Joseph, with whom he regularly used both French and English.

Upon graduation, Stephen returned to Spain to spend a further year as an English language assistant in Granada (also teaching in a private language college). He worked for two successive summers in an English summer camp, using some Spanish when offering pastoral care to Spanish teenagers, and in between spent four months travelling in Latin America. He then found (monolingual) work in a department store, which he found unrewarding; at the time of the Postsojourn 3 interview, he was about to emigrate to Canada, to join a Canadian girlfriend.

Stephen's main goal in terms of L2 proficiency was to be able to communicate fluently, correctly and idiomatically in oral Castilian Spanish, that is, to "sound authentic" (Insojourn 3). He saw this as key to improvement in written Spanish also:

> y eso ha mejorado mi español escrito también (.) pero indirectamente, más que la práctica ha sido como resultado de un mejoramiento del español hablado. [and I have improved my written Spanish as well (.) But indirectly, more than practice this took place as a result of an improvement in spoken Spanish.] (Insojourn 3)

It was largely in pursuit of this goal that he decided to spend a further year in Spain upon graduation: "another year like this would hopefully put me on the right track to be there or thereabouts" (Insojourn 3). By Postsojourn 3, he believed that his Spanish "could be used at a professional grade" (unlike his French, described at that point as "dying slowly").

An added dimension to Stephen's experience during SA was the widespread presence of Valencian Catalan in the university (where it was the language of administration and communication with students) and in the community. From this extensive exposure, he did develop fairly good comprehension of Catalan during the year, but made no attempt to learn to speak it. Indeed, he consistently expressed irritation about local bilingualism and the use of Catalan, for example, by his football team (Insojourn 2) and by his flatmates (Insojourn 3), which he viewed as reducing his own opportunities to hear and to speak Castilian, his main proficiency goal.

Stephen began his university studies with a strong sense of self-efficacy as a language learner, and his interviews showed considerable self-awareness of his own L2 strengths and weaknesses, and reflections on learning strategies. In the course of the SA year, he shifted from the identity of a self-conscious learner of Spanish agonising over mistakes to that of a fluent user: "I think that's the main thing, being able to have a conversation at a normal pace" (Insojourn 3, Reflective Interview). As we have seen, his ideal linguistic self-concept was that of a near-native speaker of Castilian Spanish, and he consistently self-assessed against that goal: "antes de ir yo pensaba que iba a volver a Inglaterra como español" [before going I thought that I was going to return to England like a Spanish person]. He became increasingly conscious of links between cultural and linguistic knowledge, and felt his growing understanding of Spanish lifestyle enriched his capacity as a user (Insojourn 3). As for the place of French in his linguistic self-concept, Stephen engaged in learning activities throughout the year (attending classes and taking part in conversational exchanges). However, there is no evidence that he made any real transition from learner to user as far as French was concerned; his travels and work placements post-graduation took him to Spanish-using environments, never to France. His affiliation to French seemed to weaken post-SA, so that by the time of the follow-up study, he could be described (like Joyce) as a "contented bilingual" in English and Spanish.

Regarding his L2-mediated personal competence, Stephen clearly felt that moving from home to university had already been a big step towards personal independence. His transition into the SA environment seemed smooth and trouble-free, and from the beginning he adopted a strategic approach, for example, to developing and evaluating new social networks, which reflected established maturity and problem-solving ability. However, he did acknowledge some additional personal gains, though in quite general terms:

> living away from home at university is one thing, it's still your own country, your own language, but doing it in a different country is euh it's just builds you up a little bit, there's definitely things I've learnt to do, you have to so, yeah I guess so. (Insojourn 3, Reflective Interview)

More concretely, his personal competence and related international orientation were reflected in his post-graduation four months' solo travelling in Latin America (where he spoke English and Spanish), and in his move to Canada reported in the continuation study.

Discussion and Conclusion

In developing their L2 identity and agency, these two case study individuals took distinctive paths. Both of them had been well supported by their schools in terms of developing a positive attitude towards languages, including organised opportunities to visit target countries. They had then each made a positive choice to become a languages specialist at university, though for somewhat different reasons; Joyce was already familiar with France and with French for heritage reasons, as well as because of her school success, while Stephen was motivated by a strong sense of self-efficacy as a language learner, unsupported by much cultural knowledge. During SA, they both enjoyed and engaged with the social and cultural opportunities available to them, though Stephen was more systematic in evaluating these in terms of language learning opportunity, and where practicable, adapting his networks and activities to support this better. In terms of their linguistic self-concept, they both reinforced their affiliation to the dominant language in the SA setting, French for Joyce, and Spanish for Stephen, evolving towards the "contented bilingual" identity discussed by Henry ([2017](#)). They both developed confident "user" identities in their chosen language, though it is striking that both felt a need to spend further time in the country of their SA, and returned for a further full year post-graduation, in order to further develop their L2 proficiency to meet professional aspirations. Regarding their desired L2 proficiency, spoken language was prioritised in both cases; the SA experience was consistently evaluated in terms of the opportunity it provided to become an effective conversationalist (and for Stephen, near-native speaker). While Joyce reported extensive leisure reading, and Stephen took his academic programme in translation seriously, their personal investment in academic/professional genres other than speech was limited at that time. It may be that Joyce's subsequent goal of training as a translator/interpreter was somewhat restricted by this lack of investment, despite her

further post-graduation year in France; while she succeeded in passing her MA course, at the time of the continuation study this had not (yet) led to professional employment. Regarding L2-related personal competence, Joyce believed that SA had supported her to develop very strongly as a mature and confident adult, with lasting distinctive effects; Stephen viewed SA more conservatively, as just one step in an incremental process. However, both these participants clearly consolidated and developed a positive, rounded L2 identity, from their entry to university through the SA experience and beyond into the early post-graduate years. Like many other Humanities graduates (Piróg 2016), however, both Joyce and Stephen spent the first few post-graduation years undertaking a mix of further education, travel (in Stephen's case) and short-term sub-professional jobs.

It seems from these examples that the educational experience of languages in the UK, including a significant stay abroad, can support the emergence of committed "languages people", with strong affiliations to L2 and sufficient agency to profit substantially from a stay abroad in a multilingual environment, and to build an identity as an effective bilingual user in the key domain of oral language. Both Joyce and Stephen conducted important aspects of their life through English, during the stay abroad, most obviously when interacting with family back home, with fellow nationals abroad, and with other international students. They also regularly spoke English with locals when abroad, typically however in language exchange settings, which allowed them to use their English— at times at least—as a tool to access target language networks. However, their strongly developed L2 affiliations led them also to seek and sustain active and varied patterns of L2 use, though in very different ways. For Joyce, this centred on her in-depth relationship with her French romantic partner. While Stephen sustained a home relationship with an English partner throughout the sojourn, he was active and strategic when abroad in seeking Spanish-using networks in his living accommodation, in class, and at leisure, expressing frustration only when Castilian Spanish was not immediately available. Together, these cases demonstrate the special importance of individual motivation and agency for Anglophone learners, in seeking to develop advanced L2 proficiency through an SA experience which is inevitably multilingual, and in which English in particular is in wide use as lingua franca.

It is also striking, however, that the agency exercised by both these "high gainers" during study abroad gave priority to the development of L2 oral fluency, over the development of advanced academic or "professional" L2 proficiency. This was especially true of Joyce, who had opted for a workplace internship at least partly to step away temporarily from a "student" identity. As an exchange student, Stephen was conscientious about his academic studies, but in all of his self-evaluations and in his accounts of learning experiences, offered in interview, he concentrated on oral fluency and those activities which supported this. The fact that both of these well-motivated "high-gain" individuals found it desirable to return abroad after graduation, to invest at least one more year in proficiency development, seemed to reflect awareness that their competence in "professional" registers in particular could be developed further.

Between them, these two case studies of individual "high gainers" offer insights into how well-motivated English-speaking students can navigate the multilingual study abroad environment in different ways, to develop desired aspects of advanced L2 proficiency, in particular oral fluency. However, they also suggest some imbalance in the experience and in particular raise questions as to how far the stay abroad contributes to the advanced professional literacy desirable for specialist language-related careers. In particular, the workplace routes open to English speakers (including language teaching assistantships) may be problematic from this point of view. Further research is needed focussing in more depth on the literacy gains attaching to study abroad, how these relate to ongoing advanced instruction in the home institution, and how far student specialists in languages are equipped to enter professional careers to do with languages, of the type which policy bodies perceive to be particularly needed in the Anglophone world (British Academy 2019).

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Learn from the Experts: Collaborative Language Learning and Language Ideology Awareness

Mara R. Barbosa

Background

Despite the strong presence of Spanish speakers in the United States, especially in the Southwest, the language classroom is the only place in which many college students learning Spanish have access to the target language. Moreover, due to linguistic ideologies portraying languages other than English as antagonistic to the US national identity (Aceves et al. 2012; Achúgar and Oteíza 2009; Pavlenko 2002), these languages are not deemed as essential, nor is their use deemed as natural. Often, these harmful linguistic ideologies are disseminated by the very school system that teaches these languages, delegitimization of the use and knowledge of these languages (McCollum 1999). In the case of Spanish in the United States, it is crucial to find opportunities for Spanish learners to engage in meaningful ways with members of the Spanish-speaking

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community so that they have more opportunities to learn Spanish and develop a more objective view of the language through such contact.

Drawing on insights from the literature on service-learning (SL), language ideologies, and the teaching of Spanish in the United States, as well as from the author's ongoing experiences, this chapter presents the program *Learn from the Experts.* The program is an example of how universities may form partnerships with schools in their communities to foster collaboration between Spanish and English learners. In this program, Spanish learners from a university in South Texas collaborated with English learners from a high school in the community in classes designed to develop each of the participants' skills in the language they are learning. The chapter focuses specifically on the two main principles followed in the program design and explains how the program addressed the needs of the served population, as these needs were identified in the literature about Spanish language learners in the United States. The two main principles of the program were (1) the demystification of ideologies portraying Spanish as inferior to English and (2) the application of an SL approach as a form of fostering collaboration between experts in different languages.

The SL program *Learn from the Experts* was a partnership between a Hispanic-Serving university in South Texas and a public high school in the same community. In the program, each participant contributed their own expertise, which are their linguistic practices. The goals of the program were to promote proficiency in academic Spanish and English through collaborative learning processes between college students learning Spanish and high school students learning English, while at the same time demystifying ideologies portraying Spanish as inferior to English. Thus, lessons in the program were built around themes concerning language ideologies, language and power, and language policy. In this program, high school English learners met one-on-one once a week for ten weeks with Spanish learners from the university to help each other with their needs in learning English and Spanish. Spanish majors also participated in designing and teaching lessons and monitoring the interactions among the members of each group to guarantee smooth communications and collaborations. These participants are labeled monitors in the

program because of the role they play in monitoring interactions and learning processes.

Learn from the Experts provided English-speaking college students and Spanish-speaking high school students with an environment in which they must communicate using whatever resources they have. Participants worked in pairs with a speaker of the language they are learning to complete projects, such as bilingual posters, videos, interviews, and short stories, with the help of the more experienced partner. They worked on one project per meeting. The projects in which the participants engaged required them to rely on each other's linguistic knowledge while they also developed academic language. The themes of the projects related to aspects of languages, such as language myths, language policy, language and identity, and language ideologies. *Learn from the Experts*' first goal was to raise awareness about the relationship between language and power, a goal it shared with programs such as SKILLS (Bucholtz et al. 2015) and citizen sociolinguistics (Rymes et al. 2017). At the same time, it aimed at promoting language learning for different groups, a goal it shared with other SL programs (Cabo et al. 2017; Jorge 2006; Petrov 2013). However, *Learn from the Experts* combined these two goals, thus promoting language learning for different groups while educating its participants concerning the relationship between language and power and how beliefs about a language generally reflect beliefs about its speakers.

Demystifying Language Ideologies

In educational settings, ideologies depicting some linguistic practices as more appropriate or superior to others may undermine some students' linguistic practices in favor of assimilation (Cross et al. 2001), as well as the learning opportunities provided to them (Nieto 2000; Walker et al. 2004). Therefore, in the program *Learn from the Experts*, teaching students the value of different linguistic practices can be viewed as a matter of social justice. Although there is nothing intrinsic to a language that makes it superior to or more appropriate than other languages in certain places or situations, the systems of values and beliefs governing each society lead speakers to deem languages as of differing importance (Gal and

Woolard 2001; Woolard 1998). Uncovering these systems of values, or language ideologies, is crucial to understanding human interaction because these systems mediate between social structure and forms of talk (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). In other words, language ideologies determine substantially not only which linguistic practices a society favors, but also which speakers are deemed as worthy to be heard (Lippi-Green 2012). Therefore, language ideologies regulate not only which linguistic practices are more acceptable and which speakers have more rights to discourse, but also which languages are more desirable to learn.

The attaching of different values to different linguistic practices may also influence speakers' desire to learn and use different languages. In the United States, for example, although 22.8% of all students in public schools speak a language other than English at home (Center for Immigration Studies 2016), these languages are not seen as natural or desirable in the nation. This multilingual society faces issues regarding the acceptance of the different languages that make up its linguistic repertoire, as evidenced in the narratives of groups who are the target of language-based prejudice in different environments (Aceves et al. 2012; Ura et al. 2015; Valdés 2001). In the United States, language ideologies depict languages other than English as problematic and a symbol of non-conformity (Achúgar 2008; Achúgar and Oteíza 2009; García and Torres-Guevara 2010; Pavlenko 2002; Ricento 2005). Languages other than English are only seen as an asset when they represent the practices of White Americans, and monolingualism is only right when it is monolingualism in English (Flores and Rosa 2015, 2019; Schwartz and Boovy 2017). As a result, not only do Spanish speakers have inhibited opportunities to use Spanish, but also learners of Spanish have inhibited opportunities to be exposed to the language, from which they could benefit.

At school, the effects of language ideologies negatively portraying Spanish are further damaging to students. As a result of hegemonic language ideologies in the United States, according to which English is the natural choice in the country (Achúgar 2008), the educational system in Texas encourages the abandonment of Spanish and transition to English (Palmer 2011). Speakers have abandoned the use of Spanish even in bilingual programs as a result of teachers punishing students for using the language in class (Aceves et al. 2012), correcting their variety of Spanish

(McCollum 1999), or limiting opportunities for developing their home language. All of these actions may hinder academic success (Carreira 2013). The presence of ideologies depicting Spanish as deviant may result in several negative consequences for Spanish-speaking students and Spanish learners. For example, speakers of stigmatized languages are often seen as less intelligent (Giles et al. 1992). Another problem is that teachers may fail to provide speakers of languages other than English with the same opportunities as they provide other students, believing these speakers will not be able to take advantage of such opportunities (Walker et al. 2004). Language ideologies portraying Spanish negatively or English as superior to Spanish may have severe consequences for Spanish speakers and learners, especially in educational settings. Non-Spanish speaking students may not feel they can learn from such speakers or may think that their stigmatized language does not have any value. Therefore, educators must find ways to mitigate the effects of these language ideologies.

The portrayal of Spanish as inferior and its abandonment in the United States are not only detrimental for heritage Spanish speakers, but for English-dominant speakers as well. These ideologies may portray English as the only necessary language a speaker needs, which may lead students to forfeit language learning opportunities. Learning a second language has been linked to several advantages, from higher academic achievement (Cunningham and Graham 2000; Thomas et al. 1993) to more positive attitudes towards other languages and their speakers (McKenzie and Carrie 2018; Zeinivanda et al. 2015). Students may never achieve these benefits due to language ideologies portraying Spanish as unnecessary and inferior. Therefore, it is critical to find ways for students to question long-held language ideologies that lead them to neglect opportunities to learn Spanish in the United States (see also Thompson, this volume).

Unquestionably, educators must find ways to approach the issue of language ideologies portraying languages other than English negatively. They must find ways of exposing students to different realities and the characterization of languages other than English as positive and desirable. Through such efforts, Spanish-speaking students and Spanish learners can be allowed to understand the value of different linguistic practices, instead of acting according to harmful language ideologies and missing opportunities for language learning and maintenance. Programs like

Learn from the Experts teach students the value of different linguistic practices not only by legitimizing those practices through their adoption at school but also by presenting Spanish learners with facts about language that they can use to confront the language ideologies they have uncritically acquired throughout their lives.

Fostering Collaboration Between Experts in Different Languages

The program *Learn from the Experts* utilized service-learning (SL) methodology as a way to foster collaboration between English and Spanish learners while they also developed academic language. SL is a method of incorporating community outreach into educational experiences. Through SL, students may gain further understanding of and experience in their fields of study at the same time that they address needs identified in their communities and increase awareness of social responsibility through guided reflections of their experiences (Barreneche and Ramos-Flores 2013; Bringle and Hatcher 2000). According to the National Service-Learning Clearing House, SL programs have the potential to enrich the learning experience, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities (Ryan 2012). In sum, SL programs are an educational experience through which students develop a deeper comprehension of the class content at the same time that they develop social responsibility.

When applied to language programs, SL approaches may provide students with opportunities to engage with language users in different contexts, and, as a result, develop language skills that would be harder to acquire in traditional classrooms. Therefore, several programs all over the United States, as well as in other countries implement different forms of SL (Bringle et al. 2006; Cabo et al. 2017; Pellettieri 2011; Petrov 2013). Jorge (2006), for example, designed and implemented a language and culture learning program in which non-heritage language learners would visit Latinx families in a nearby community and engage in different conversations and activities with them. For the students, it allowed for language development and an enhanced understanding of sociocultural

issues. Families receiving students benefited from the broadening of their social relations with people from outside of their communities, the development of their self-worth and esteem, and financial compensation. In such programs, there are both short-term and long-term benefits for the university and the community. In SL programs, students serve the community, gain experience, and potentially become more aware of and engaged with finding solutions for the needs of their communities.

In an SL program designed for heritage language learners enrolled in a Spanish program, Cabo et al. (2017) had college students, following a previously designed lesson plan, teach Spanish to children in after-school programs. As a result of the program, some of the college students were able to ascertain their desire to become teachers, and all of the students gained experience as instructors. This program provided the college students with more opportunities to use Spanish outside of their homes, something they declared they did not do before, and boosted their linguistic confidence, particularly in public spaces. For the community, the benefits included learning Spanish and finding role models who are pursuing higher education. Petrov (2013) also reports on the teaching experiences her students, Spanish learners enrolled in a university, were able to achieve in an SL program in which the students served in different agencies that provide services for the Latinx community in Chicago. The author found that the students were able to practice their language and gain networking and interpersonal skills. The students in this program also reported that they were able to provide role models for other Latinxs in their community and act as evidence that Latinx students can go to college, which benefited the community. These programs are an essential source of development of a wide range of skills that students need to become global citizens engaged with the transformation of their communities into more socially just places.

Nevertheless, Leeman et al. (2013) have warned about a tendency of some SL programs to treat the community as a simple commodity to serve the interests of the language learners. In this commodification process, communities are interpreted as resources for language practice, rather than places with needs and aspirations. In this way, only students can benefit from such a relationship, and the benefits are not as robust as they can be in two-way relationships. Educators must avoid these types of

SL as they do not have the potential to promote sustainable community engagement. Burgo (2016) presented an exemplary illustration of how universities can implement SL programs to strengthen the connection of the university with the community by implementing a reciprocal model of tutoring. In this project, students enrolled in a US institution visited a Latinx community center once a week to teach English and American culture and, in exchange, learn the language and culture of Spanish speakers. This project, as well as others previously mentioned, models an effective way to exchange resources with the community, instead of treating it simply as a resource for language practice.

Many of the SL models developed so far that value Spanish speakers' linguistic practices lead the speakers to deem their language practices as assets, while also providing them with opportunities to practice the language and reflect on their role in the community. However, these SL models lack fundamental principles that are crucial for developing a more objective view of language and gaining a more critical view of how speakers' linguistic practices may be used for the discrimination and exclusion of certain groups. Most of the current models of SL for language teaching focus either on language learning or on sociocultural awareness. For some communities, however, this may not be feasible since school personnel may not understand the importance of a program whose goal is to raise speakers' objective view of language. The program *Learn from the Experts* offered academic language development for English and Spanish learners, while also creating conditions for language learners to understand and criticize relationships between different linguistic practices and power in our society. The following section presents how the program *Learn from the Experts* led participants to the demystification of long-held linguistic ideologies portraying Spanish as inferior to English while serving the community's language learning needs by applying an SL approach as a form of fostering collaboration between experts in different languages.

The Program

In the fall semester of 2018, the SL program *Learn from the Experts* was implemented as a partnership between a Hispanic-Serving university in South Texas and a public high school in the same community. In the program, each participant contributed with their expertise (i.e., their linguistic practices). Besides the advantage of having students being tutored by more experienced speakers, this practice also served as a way to bolster a traditionally marginalized group by showing them how university students need and want to learn something in which they are the experts. The goals of the program were to promote proficiency in academic Spanish and English through collaborative learning processes between college students learning Spanish and high school students learning English, while also demystifying ideologies portraying Spanish as inferior to English. Thus, lessons in the program were built around themes concerning language ideologies, language and power, and language policy.

In this program, high school English learners met one-on-one once a week for ten weeks with novice-low Spanish students (ACTFL 2012) from the university to help each other with their needs in learning English and Spanish. The program also included monitors, that is, Spanish majors who participated in designing and teaching lessons and monitoring the interactions among the members of each group to guarantee smooth communications and collaborations. While all Spanish learners in the program were novice-low, having no functional ability or communication skills in the language, (ACTFL 2012), the group of English learners was heterogeneous in their English speaking and writing and Spanish writing proficiency, as displayed in a pre-assessment conducted with each student individually.

The program was an extra credit opportunity for all students involved. Non-Spanish-speaking university students received extra credit towards their Spanish class, while Spanish-speaking high school students received additional credit towards the English classes in which they were enrolled. Each semester, the Spanish instructors at the university advertised the program in their classes and explained that enrollment and participation

were voluntary and that they could earn up to 15% of the course grade from participating in the program. The teachers at the high school identified the English learners they believed could benefit from the program. Then, the *Learn from the Experts* program coordinator, who is also the author, had a one-on-one meeting with each of the students to explain how the program works, ask if they wanted to participate, and, if they indicated that they wanted to participate, assess their speaking and writing skills.

The students were constantly encouraged to communicate using whatever linguistic practices with which they were comfortable, while they also expanded their linguistic repertoire. Appreciation for the minoritized language was a crucial goal of the program. Because the heritage speakers were speakers of Spanish, having them as the experts teaching university students Spanish fostered appreciation for the linguistic practices of a traditionally marginalized group. At the same time, English-speaking Spanish learners used their developing resources in Spanish to communicate with Spanish speakers. This way, they were exposed to new practices in Spanish while they were also asked to confront facts about language with their long-held language ideologies.

The Spanish-speaking English learners were late arrivals to the United States from different Spanish-speaking countries. The program was built to support their bilingual development by recognizing the linguistic assets they brought with them and to help them understand the value of the linguistic assets they had to offer to the program. The program also considered the translanguaging nature of their linguistic practices. In other words, the program applied a pedagogy that allows students to deploy and leverage their full linguistic repertoire. The decision to apply the translanguaging pedagogy to the program was based on the fact that, besides speaking Spanish from birth, the heritage Spanish-speaking students live in a city where 36.9% of the population speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census 2018). Additionally, these students are exposed to English at school, adding to their linguistic repertoire.

Lessons in Action

The lessons focused primarily on leading participants to contest prejudices students may have about their own and others' linguistic practices. The themes for most lessons came from monitors' suggestions after working with the students and encountering specific issues about which they wish students were more critical. One example is present in the lesson *Language Myths We Live By*, a lesson developed by the author with the help of the monitors. In this lesson, each Spanish learner received a piece of paper with a language myth such as: *"Young people are destroying proper English and proper Spanish," "You need to study grammar to claim you know a language,"* and *"Some languages have no grammar."* Each English learner received a fact about language contrasting one of the myths the Spanish learners received, such as *"Languages change all the time, and different generations use different variations of the same ever-evolving language," "All speakers of a language have intrinsic and implicit knowledge about how it works,"* and *"Every language has its own grammar or set of rules and speakers' linguistic practices follow those rules."* The program coordinator asked each student to write if they agreed or disagreed with the statement they had and to think of an example that proved or disproved it. The program coordinator and the monitors walked around the room, asking if students needed any help understanding the sentences or writing their opinions and examples.

When students were done, the program coordinator, who is also the author, explained that in our society, we have ideas in which most speakers believe and that guide how we think and act concerning other speakers and their ways of speaking, but that these ideas are not necessarily correct. She gave an example of how Spanish in the United States is considered a foreign language even though it is the home language of around 13% of the population. She then asked students to decide if the statements they received in the beginning of the class were language myths or language facts. Students were then asked to find the statement that contradicted the statement they had. In other words, if they were given a myth, they needed to find the student who had the fact contraposing their statement. When they found their partner, they were asked to work

with that partner and explain what a language myth was and why the specific myth they had was not a fact. They were also asked to think about how believing in such a myth could be harmful to some speakers. During the activity, Spanish learners needed to rely on the Spanish speaker's linguistic knowledge to complete the task. In addition, English learners needed to rely on the English speaker's linguistic knowledge to write in English. Monitors walked around the room, offering help and making sure students were not merely completing the task in the language with which they were more comfortable.

In all activities, each member of the group had shared responsibility with and was dependent on others to complete their tasks. As students worked on the project, they needed to discuss and plan what they wanted to write in Spanish and English. While they wrote the Spanish portion, college students needed the help of the high school students' linguistic knowledge. Since the experts in this situation were the high school students, this interaction may have demonstrated to all involved the value of Spanish.

Because several of the university students mentioned to the program coordinator that several of the high school students had been victims of linguistic prejudice at school, the coordinator and monitors designed a lesson based on the short story "Es que duele" (It's that it hurts) from the book *Y no se lo tragó la tierra* (And the Earth did not Devour Him) by Tomás Rivera. The lesson included an activity in which the groups read the adapted short story with the help of each other (since it is a bilingual short story) and then participated in a guided discussion. The discussion was guided with questions such as, "Is the problem that the main character is facing one that students from schools in our community face?" and "Who decides who has an accent or which language is appropriate in each situation?"

After some discussion, the students concluded that accents and language conventions are arbitrary and do not respect matters of social justice. As the students discussed the short story, the monitor in charge of the lesson, a Spanish major from the university, wrote the keywords and expressions students mentioned on the board. The students were then given informative flyers from different programs whose objective was to inform the population and solve or prevent a problem. For example, one

of the brochures informed the reader about workers' rights. Another one of the flyers brought information about LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer or questioning) rights. The program coordinator asked students to describe the structure of the texts they saw. They mentioned that all of the flyers brought concise details on what the problem was, as well as suggestions of what victims could do. The program coordinator then asked students to design a bilingual flyer raising awareness of language prejudice.

As illustrated, all lessons in the program followed the principles of valuing Spanish, teaching participants to appreciate the language, and promoting collaboration between learners and experts in a language. The practices rooted in the principles of the program offered support to the students' linguistic development, which is likely to advance their linguistic and academic achievement (Cummins 2000). Students in the program had the opportunity to develop not only skills in another language but also to develop as bilingual speakers who can efficiently communicate in the different contexts in which they socialize and understand language variation and ideologies. Through programs such as *Learn from the Experts*, emerging bilinguals receive support in the language that they are learning, while also understanding that their linguistic knowledge is necessary for other students.

Conclusion

This chapter presents a model for an SL program that can be implemented in partnerships between universities and high schools to support academic language development and foster a more critical view of language ideologies and appreciation for Spanish among the participants. The decision to design and implement the program *Learn from the Experts* resulted from the observation that college students learning Spanish had limited or no opportunities to develop their skills in Spanish outside of the classroom despite living in communities with high percentages of Spanish speakers, as is the case for many cities in Texas. At the same time, high school students learning English in those same communities could also benefit from more exposition to English. Moreover, previous

literature has reported on the negative impact that language ideologies may have on languages and its speakers and learners. In the face of the opportunities such reality offers, this chapter presented a program model through which students learning different languages could collaborate as experts in their own languages, acquire an additional language, and be guided through questioning their own language ideologies.

The program was designed based on the goals of demystifying long-held linguistic ideologies portraying Spanish as inferior to English in the United States and applying an SL approach as a form of fostering collaboration between experts in different languages. Language ideologies, the systems of values that lead speakers to assign different levels of importance to different linguistic practices, may influence which opportunities learners decide to use. In the United States, learners may forfeit opportunities to learn Spanish due to ubiquitous ideologies according to which English is the only language speakers need to know (Achúgar and Oteíza 2009; Pavlenko 2002). In the program, lessons were planned so that participants understood the bias and prejudice behind these language ideologies and the benefits of knowing more than one language. This was implemented through activities that fostered participants' critical view of language ideologies.

Another principle the program followed is the application of an SL approach. College students who participated in the program had the opportunity to serve English learners in their community and reflect on the importance of such work. They took on the role of language experts who taught English to English learners, while also being learners benefiting from experts in another language. The collaboration between the groups learning different languages also helped the Spanish speakers understand the value of their language to others in the community.

Programs like *Learn from the Experts* have the potential to not only benefit college students learning Spanish but also support schools in addressing emerging bilinguals' linguistic and academic needs, which should enable them to benefit more from their schooling experience. Because this model places Spanish speakers learning English as language experts and presents them with university students who want or need to learn their language, it raises awareness about and appreciation for their linguistic practices. The university students who engage in this model of

learning can also benefit since participation provides them with exposure to and tutoring in the language that they are learning. The process also exposes them to a reality with which they may not have been familiar and, thus, fosters civic responsibility. Moreover, programs like *Learn from the Experts* have the potential to make students aware that Spanish is an essential linguistic practice, and this understanding has the potential to lead society to view this practice as an asset in the education of English and Spanish speakers in the United States.

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Content and Language Integrated Learning in England: Missed Opportunities and Ways Forward

Kim Bower

Content and Language Integrated Learning in England: Looking Back, Looking Forward

Globally, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) has seen a rapid expansion in the last two decades, predominantly in contexts where the foreign language of instruction is a global language, such as English, to the extent that CLIL is treated as synonymous to learning English via CLIL (Graddol 2006). In Anglophone contexts, CLIL is much less used to teach languages other than English, and also less researched (e.g. Lasagabaster 2019), reflecting the extremely small proportion of CLIL practice globally. This chapter presents an overview of CLIL in context of England, a country which despite being at the epicentre of the evolution of CLIL in the 1980s and 1990s, and having experienced some good practice over time, has not yet seen widespread embedding of CLIL in schools. The chapter begins by reviewing what CLIL is, why it works, and

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the impact it can have on learner gains, based on existing UK research, before considering the development of CLIL in England, in comparison to Europe, and explores possible reasons why CLIL has been inhibited in England. It then contextualises the development of CLIL in England, which differs considerably to that of European countries in which this pedagogical approach has been widely adopted. The chapter will present one case study that exemplifies learner gains in a curriculum strand model and will conclude by reviewing current initiatives and looking forward to the potential for wider application of CLIL in England, and Anglophone contexts more widely.

What Is CLIL?

CLIL, widely understood to be 'a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language' (Coyle et al. 2010, p1), can take many different forms (Coyle 2007a, b). Although the CLIL pedagogical approach can be employed in a range of contexts including bilingual and immersion settings (e.g. Bower 2019b), it remains a distinct approach to teaching: it is distinguished by common tools such as the 4Cs Framework, the Language Triptych and the Seven Principles (Coyle et al. 2010) that support the teacher in developing high-quality teaching of both content and language. The tools are reviewed briefly here, with signposts to support further exploration in order to highlight its distinctive features.

The 4Cs Framework and the Language Triptych

The 4Cs Framework provides an instrument for mapping integration of the four elements of content, communication, cognition and culture to CLIL teaching. Content relates not only to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, but to supporting learners in the creation of their own 'knowledge and understanding and developing skills' (Coyle et al. 2010, p. 42). Content and language are both related to cognition; when learners are learning and thinking in a foreign language, linguistic demands need to

be carefully considered. Communication and language are used interchangeably in the CLIL context and are explored below. The development of intercultural understanding and global citizenship is a fundamental to CLIL.

The Language Triptych (Fig. 1) is a tool for considering and addressing different types of language involved in the learning process. It defines three kinds of language that are needed in CLIL lessons: the language *of* the content being taught, the language needed *for* talk and learning and thirdly, the language that develops *through* learning. This third kind of language cannot be planned for in advance, for example, the language learners need to articulate or to *language* their understanding about what they are learning to their peers and teachers.

For further illumination of the pedagogical approach, Coyle et al. (2010) set out seven shared principles as a guide for teachers seeking to successfully integrate language and content to support learning—(p. 42). CLIL, therefore, is distinguished by these common tools that support the teacher in developing high-quality teaching of both content and language. Although highly flexible, CLIL is not a 'pick-and-mix' system. An approach that focuses on a single element of the 4Cs, for example, culture, rather than integrating all four aspects, may be well suited to the context and produce high-quality teaching and learning, but is not likely to be CLIL. The CLIL approach draws on a range of pedagogies—those
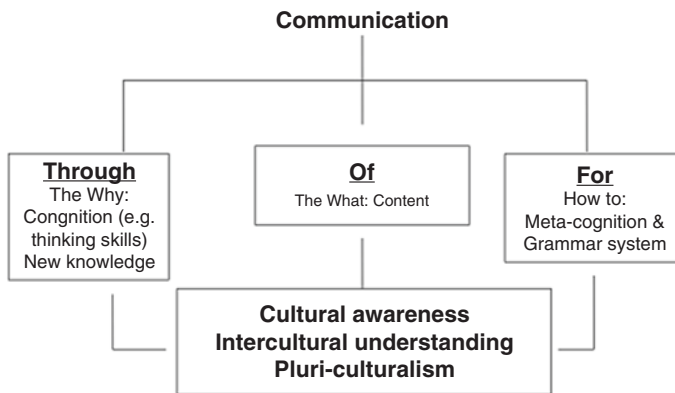

Fig. 1 The Language Triptych (Coyle 2007a, p. 522)

relating to communication are explored in Llinares et al. (2012) and to the conceptualisation of integration, in Nikula et al. (2016).

Language Learning in England: Current Context

In the UK, education is devolved to its four nations: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This chapter will report on England. In common with other Anglophone-dominant contexts, motivation to learn a language in England has been in a state of crisis for some time now (Bower 2019b; Lanvers 2017), and uptake post the compulsory age of 14 is low. A key factor is that learning a foreign language in the UK, the Antipodes or USA, presents significantly different challenges to learning a global language such as English (see Introduction, this volume). Thus, in Anglophone contexts such as the UK, learners prevailing demotivation for language learning and its lack of perceived relevance in Anglophone settings present a challenge, a context where the innovative CLIL pedagogy might offer new incentives for learners. Furthermore, unlike in the other UK nations (Welsh in Wales, Gaelic in parts of Scotland), there are no bilingual heritage learning contexts in England. In England, a governmental decision, in 2004, to make languages optional from age 14, caused an unprecedented decline of numbers studying modern foreign languages after age 14, and even within the 11–14 compulsory stage, to decrease at an alarming rate (Bower 2019b). An attempt to increase uptake again, via the introduction of the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) in 2011, a performance measure in which languages is one of five subjects studied, has failed to lead to a significant upturn (Lanvers and Martin, this volume). Disadvantaged learners and boys are least likely to learn a language (Tinsley and Doležal 2018); indeed, girls are more than twice as likely as boys to achieve a good pass grade (Level 4) (Mills and Tinsley 2020). Further problems around the delivery of language tuition in England concern primary school delivery, both the level of proficiency achieved by students, lack of teacher proficiency in the target language and teacher expertise, lack of coherent curriculum approach (Evans 2007; Macaro

2008), and especially the transition from primary to secondary schools (Tinsley 2019; see also Collen, this volume). Today, many learners perceive languages to be irrelevant, boring (Bell 2004; Coyle 2000) and difficult (Dearing and King 2007).

However, a small number of schools have bucked the trend, some of them using CLIL pedagogy, enabling language learners to thrive (Coyle 2011). The small examples of CLIL practice show overall positive results (e.g. Coyle 2011, 2013; Bower 2006; 2019a, b), suggesting that CLIL has the potential to improve learner motivation and ensure learner progress and attainment. Over time, successive English governments have demonstrated interest in supporting innovative approaches to languages education in schools. For example, the 2000 national review of modern language teaching (Nuffield Foundation 2000), and resulting National Strategy for languages in England (DfES 2002), recommended support for a range of bilingual education approaches, and a number of projects were implemented. One such initiative was the establishment of Language Colleges (1995–2010), a joint private and government scheme, which allowed schools to choose to specialise in modern foreign languages. These became a national vehicle for supporting language education innovations, including the support and development of CLIL. Throughout this period, CLIL had continued to grow and by 2011 the Interacting for Teaching and Learning in CLIL (ITALIC) longitudinal study of CLIL in primary and secondary sectors in the UK: "Several (schools)[…] have an established […] CLIL programme with over 50 schools piloting the approach and 100s [of] schools watching the developments with interest" (Coyle 2011, p. 10). Government support for CLIL ended with the demise of the Language Colleges as a specialist school form, and number of schools involved in CLIL has since been reducing. Nevertheless, subsequent empirical research study undertaken in established CLIL programmes in three state secondary schools in England to investigate the extent to which CLIL promoted pupil motivation in the teaching of modern foreign languages reported positive learner gains including high levels of concentration, effort, enjoyment and progress (Bower 2019b). However, research also reports on the difficulties school leaders face when implementing CLIL, such as a strong focus on learner attainment (Bower 2019a). Bower (2019a) found, interviewing school leaders, that they

perceived CLIL to make a positive contribution to learner progress, effort and enjoyment.

Regarding governmental language education policy, the last three decades are characterised by mixed messages about language learning. On the one hand, annual reviews (e.g. Tinsley 2019) report on the steady decline, whilst on the other, high levels of individual schools' accountability, performance measures, and a stringent inspection regime (Greany and Waterhouse 2016) have made schools understandably risk-averse towards innovation (Bower 2019a, 2020). The 'mixed message' can be exemplified by the direction the government has taken on the issue of the above-mentioned Ebacc: In 2010, the government declared that 90% of students should attain this qualification, which means—in practice—they need to continue with their language study from age 14 to 16. In 2018 only 33% of learners attained a pass in a modern language, with those from disadvantaged backgrounds least likely to study a language, and in 2019, the Ebacc target was reduced to 75% of pupils by 2022 but retained the target of 90%, to be achieved by 2025. The 'mixed message' can also be exemplified by looking at the provision in the primary sector: on the one hand, it is now a compulsory subject from age 7, on the other, teaching, curriculum, and learning outcomes, all remain problematic (Tinsley and Doležal 2018). A recent government-commissioned review of Modern Foreign Languages Pedagogy (Bauckham 2016) proposed a traditional approach to the teaching and learning of languages promoting a focus on grammar, phonics and vocabulary. The subsequent government-funded National Centre for Excellence for Language Pedagogy (NCELP) is briefed to exclusively support this single approach to language learning, and makes no provision for bilingual learning and other approaches such as CLIL, or indeed any innovative approaches for languages education. To conclude, despite evidence that CLIL improves motivation and aids learner attainment (Coyle 2013; Hunt 2011), CLIL practice in England remains limited to a few institutions in both the primary and secondary sectors.

Origins of CLIL in the UK

In the UK, bilingual education preceded CLIL. Teaching in minority and heritage languages in Wales, Ireland and Scotland developed from 1944. The 1944 Education Act allowed local authorities to create Welsh-medium schools, leading to the opening of the first Welsh-medium state primary school in 1947. Irish-medium schools and units began in the 1980s, and in 1998, a statutory duty was placed on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate Irish-medium education. The first Gaelic-medium primary schools began in Scotland in 1985 (Eurydice 2006). In England, pioneers of bilingual education for foreign languages began in the 1970s and 1980s by introducing an immersion approach to the teaching of modern foreign languages based on the Canadian model, for example, at Goff's and Mill Hill schools, where 10–50% of the school curriculum was taught in a foreign language (Coyle 2007b). Against this background, the CLIL evolved in the 1980s and 1990s alongside the distinct bilingual education settings and immersion approaches. For these reasons, the labels 'CLIL' and 'bilingual education' are sometimes missed, or used synonymously (Bower 2019b; Zindler 2013).

CLIL in Europe

The genesis of CLIL occurred in the 1980s when a University of Nottingham educator began to explore the questions 'what is content?' and 'what is language? with Spanish teachers. Subsequent work within the Nottingham partnership of teachers and teacher educators led to the development of the 4Cs and Language Triptych frameworks. A succession of four major projects from the 1990s funded by the European Commission impacted the development of CLIL in England in teacher training, multilingual education, curriculum and competences (Coyle 2007b). The years 2006–2010 saw wider developments in the form of the CLIL Initial Teacher Training programme in 2006 and the EU-funded Project e-based Content and Language Integrated Learning Training in 2007–2009. During this period, National CLIL Guidelines were published (Coyle et al. 2009). Further evidence that CLIL in England was

gaining momentum was the establishment of a nationally co-ordinated three-year pilot study programme of CLIL in England (DfES 2002). Fifteen schools, of which eight were secondary participated: the content and language-integrated project (CLIP) 2002–2005, which aimed to develop a range of CLIL approaches to increase motivation and citizenship, to develop an integrated approach to the curriculum and to raise attainment (Wiesemes 2005). Findings were positive and attracted further support from the Languages Review (Dearing and King 2007).

The CLIL pedagogical approach then emerged from Europe with English teacher educators amongst others playing a leading role. However, CLIL has spread more rapidly in the European Union than in the UK, in line with European policy (Commission of the European Communities 2003) and is currently evident in 29 states (EuropeanCommission/ EACEA/Eurydice 2017). CLIL's more recent application to teaching English as a foreign language in the global context—for example, throughout South America (e.g. Siqueira, Landau and Paraná 2018), Asia (e.g. Ito 2018; Yang 2015) and the Middle East (e.g. Riddlebarger 2013)—has increased the use of English as the main language of instruction in CLIL contexts, to the extent that CLIL has become almost synonymous with the teaching of English and other global languages. It should be noted, however, that the definition of CLIL varies from context to context; for example, in some contexts, CLIL is used to describe communicative language teaching with the focus remaining on the language, rather than on the content and the language.

European CLIL research studies reflect the proliferation of practice and foci in wider Europe (for overviews, see, e.g. Pérez-Cañado 2012, and Lasagabaster 2019). In contrast to the prevailing demotivation for language learning in the UK, in many European contexts such as Spain and Germany (Breidbach and Viebrock 2012; Llinares et al. 2012; Nikula et al. 2013), CLIL with English as target language is often seen as desirable (Linn et al. 2015; Pennycook 2012) and the broader sociolinguistic setting values plurilingual competence as a meaning-making resource within everyday life (Byram and Wagner, 2018). In many European countries, CLIL forms part of the curriculum. For example, CLIL has grown quickly in Spain, especially in the six autonomous communities, in which Basque, Catalan and Galician share co-official status with

Spanish. Here, the need to learn English alongside co-official languages has led to multilingual school programmes, in which different languages are used as the means of instruction (Lasagabaster 2017; San Isidro and Lasagabaster 2020). In contrast to many other European contexts, these Spanish state school CLIL programmes are not elitist (Lasagabaster 2019). In Italy, final year students in secondary schools learn a curriculum subject through a foreign language (EuropeanCommission/EACEA/ Eurydice 2017). There are many CLIL programmes in northern Europe as well, such as in Sweden (i.e. Sylvén 2019). However, in England, the focus of this chapter, although empirical research suggests a positive impact on motivation, progress and attainment in schools with established projects, practice remains limited to a few institutions in both primary and secondary state sectors (Bower 2019b) - the widespread embedding of CLIL in the school curriculum lags well behind.

CLIL Benefits for Anglophone Language Learners

CLIL is particularly attractive in Anglophone contexts because of the potential learner gains it can bring to learners of all abilities (e.g. Bower 2019b; Coyle 2011; Hunt 2011). Reported benefits include the promotion of cognitive flexibility, intercultural awareness, preparation for future studies and working life as well as linguistic competence (e.g. Coyle et al. 2010). Within the few studies undertaken in England, the potential for increased motivation for languages for the majority of learners is noted. For example, Coyle (2011) and Hunt (2011) report positive attitudes towards CLIL experiences by approximately two-thirds of learners. Coyle (2011) and Bower's (2019a, b) report that most learners preferred CLIL lessons to conventional modern language lessons, and enjoyment and confidence can also increase (Zindler 2013).

Nonetheless, CLIL also presents a number of challenges. In England, CLIL tends to be language teacher initiated and led, with teachers needing high degrees of self-motivation to implement it, and confidence and cooperation from colleagues of other disciplines; as such, it remains an

ad-hoc solution to the current language crisis. CLIL critics (e.g. Bruton 2011, 2015) have also questioned the extent to which CLIL may be responsible for reported learner gains. Where the lesson becomes too demanding, learners may disengage and become demotivated (e.g. Bower 2019b). Furthermore, learner gains may be the result of positive self-selection: Van Mensel, Hiligsmann, Mettewie and Galand (2019) found students from advantaged socio-economic background much more likely to enrol in CLIL lessons, and Paran (2013) questions the suitability of CLIL for learners of all abilities. Pérez Cañado (2012) challenges such concerns. In the context of otherwise elitist language education in the UK (Lanvers 2017), it is encouraging that the very limited number of successful CLIL project in England are found predominantly in the state sector and in all kinds of schools including some with above average numbers of disadvantaged students (Bower 2006, 2019a, b; Coyle 2013.

In sum, although issues concerning ultimate learning outcomes via CLIL remain, there is strong evidence that CLIL can be implemented in a variety of models, including isolated lessons, short modules in language lessons, and curriculum strands within the school's curriculum (Eurydice at NFER 2005). Using this flexible understanding of CLIL, Hüttner and Smit (2014) argue that CLIL can constitute as a series of local responses to the global status of English, and help addressing the problem of language learners in Anglophone contexts. The following case study, extrapolated from a larger study reported by Bower (2019a, b), reports on one such CLIL use. Participant feedback is reported under the themes: learner engagement, cognitive challenge and attitudes towards language learning.

Ash* School Case Study

The context for the study in Ash school is illustrated in Table 1. The school is a large state school for learners aged 11–16, with socio-economic circumstances below the national average. The school offers a curriculum strand for one group in each of the first three years of secondary education involving about 90 children. The CLIL programme had been embedded in the school's curriculum for about eight years at the time of data collection. Each CLIL class studies personal, social and health education,

Table 1   Case study context and research instruments

School	Project type	Curriculum	Research instruments
Ash School 11–16 Inner city, high FSM (25%), EAL (40%), 90%+ ethnic minority heritage	Curriculum Strand	ICT, PSHE and tutor group for three years in French Group of 28 Age 12–13	2 student focus groups 4 x interviews with leaders: Headteacher (HT); vice principal (VP); head of dept. (HOD); lead CLIL teacher (LT)

Notes: FSM: Free School Meals (deprivation indicator); EAL: English as an Additional Language; ICT: Information Technology; PSHE: Personal Social Health Education (PSHE); *Pseudonyms have been used

information technology and French with the same teacher in French throughout the first three years of secondary education. Learners and parents are invited to an information meeting in the final year of primary school, after which they can choose to opt in. Where the programme is oversubscribed, places are allocated to ensure a true representation of the mixed ability cohort on the basis of school data which covers a range of socio-economic indicators.

Method

A qualitative case study approach was used to gain rich, intense, thick descriptions (Geertz 1973). Learners, teachers and school leaders were asked: 'in what ways does CLIL impact on learner motivation?' Focus group questions were developed from the process motivation model (PMM) (Bower 2017), designed for the larger case study research project of different CLIL models. The discussions and interviews were recorded, the recordings transcribed and an interpretive analysis by themes derived from the PMM theoretical framework employed. The school selected a focus class of learners (N = 28) aged 12–13, and a representative sample of learners, taking ability and gender into account for two learner focus groups (N = 8 and 8). The small size of the student cohort is limited by the paucity of practice of CLIL in England. Four leaders were interviewed

for up to 60 minutes: the headteacher (HT), vice principal (VP), head of department (HOD) and lead CLIL teacher (LT) (Bower 2019b). Data relating to learner motivation, such as learner engagement, cognitive challenge and attitudes, were the focus of this case study. Some of the data were originally published in Bower (2019a) and Bower (2019b).

Findings

Learner Engagement

The importance of providing a curriculum to engage disadvantaged learners of all abilities underpinned the school's rationale for the project. As the vice principal (7.11.12) explained:

> they're students from totally mixed ability groups, very deprived backgrounds in many cases, and that is what I find so exciting, that we're giving children who haven't got all of these advantages, a real advantage in life.

Learners demonstrated a particularly deep intercultural understanding, often absent in traditional language lessons. However, in this study, views about content and intercultural awareness, such as "learning French is like stepping into a whole other world", are perceived by learners as a motivating factor that helps them engage in language learning as the following extract from a focus group demonstrates.

> L1: … in our form room there are a couple of quotes and stuff, … one quote … said "for every language you learn, you learn a new life or something." And I can sort of relate to that because French is really different from English and learning French is like stepping into a whole other world.
>   L2: I think we have achieved a better understanding of the language and the country and stuff. (Bower 2019b, p. 53)

Cognitive Challenge

Participants identified cognitive challenge as a key aspect of this approach to learning. Aspects of cognitive challenge reported by interviewees included the increased concentration and listening skills required for comprehension and communicating in the target language (HOD, 6.11.12; LT, 7.11.12); well-developed thinking skills enabling them to understand for gist (LT, 7.11.12) and the challenge of preparing for early entry GCSE; both the level of language and level of maturity. Interviewees reported a more positive approach in CLIL classes, at least in part due to the challenge (VP, 7.11.12; LT, 7.11.12). Furthermore, the VP (7.11.12) suggested that CLIL students are:

> in general, more focussed, they listen more carefully … they're listening constantly for content. Consequently … they're listening more carefully for content across the school. So I think they're more focussed, they're in general more enthusiastic about learning.

Learners also appear confident about the challenge of hearing and understanding the target language. Referring to an introduction I made to the group in French, one learner explained:

> I'm proud that I can understand what people are saying, like the first day when you [researcher] came in, which was yesterday, you talked about how you were going to record us, and don't panic. I never understood the whole thing that you said, but a few words, I put them together and I was able to understand what you were saying. (Bower 2019b, p. 54)

Attitudes Towards Language Learning

Learners commended how they enjoyed the additional cognitive challenge:

> Yeah, because it makes you work harder … so I think that we are putting more effort towards learning French, it means concentrating a bit more.

Well, I'm kind of proud that I can talk about different matters and argue about different things that don't really have much to do with French … in French. (Bower 2019b, p. 54)

When reflecting on the impact of skill development, learners suggested that they had improved speaking and listening skills and improved concentration. Students noted the following: "being able to speak and have good pronunciation", "how much we are learning throughout this past year", "… now I can go on in sentences", "higher listening skills" and "writing French", "cooperating", "communicating" and "learning to cope with other cultures" and "confidence".

School leaders perceived that the increased cognitive challenge generated by CLIL contributes towards learners' generally positive attitudes towards learning languages. The head of department noted, "I think the CLIL [class] do enjoy the challenge of being in there" (HOD, 6.11.12). Summing up why the CLIL project is worthwhile, the vice principal (7.11.12) also described an intangible quality of atmosphere and learning that went beyond attainment, reflecting:

It's not easy, definitely not, you've seen that, and there's a lot of hard work and dedication goes into it, but it's well worth it in the end, because the children do make amazing progress; you'll see that. And it's something intangible as well, and because it's intangible you can't describe it, but you feel that, you feel the atmosphere and the enthusiasm and the progress. (Bower 2019a, p. 9)

Discussion

This case study was selected because findings illustrate the kind of benefits that CLIL can bring, to learners' attitudes, progress, cognitive challenges, and enjoyment of lessons. In spite of the staff dedication that the programme demands, the CLIL curriculum strand in Ash School was perceived positively in almost every aspect, by both learners and staff. For these reasons, this CLIL imitative exemplifies a good response to the overall UK landscape of language learning demotivation (e.g. Tinsley and Doležal 2018). Moreover, this case study succeeded in reaching mixed

ability and disadvantaged learners. The school reported that their own data demonstrated higher outcomes for individuals in the CLIL groups across the curriculum, compared with the individual's expected outcomes on entry and that of comparable non-CLIL students with similar data on entry (Bower 2019b). The fact that the CLIL strand in this school was routinely oversubscribed is further testimony to its success.

However, this CLIL model, with over students and teachers spending six hours per week together for three years, is unusual. A cohort of one class only also yields little data, but from a school perspective, presents relatively low risk to leaders wishing to introduce CLIL into the curriculum (e.g. Bower 2019a). Further research is needed on the extent to which these contribute to its success.

Increasing CLIL in England, and Anglophone Contexts

In England, progress in CLIL delivery has been slow, partly as a result of lack of teacher training, and suitable resources. However, two current Erasmus+ projects, Embedding Languages across Primary and Secondary Education (ELAPSE) and Attention to Diversity in Bilingual Education (ADiBE) are currently developing expertise and materials for CLIL in languages other than English (LOTE), although CLIL is located under the umbrella of bilingual education here. ELAPSE is producing resources for CLIL teachers in literacy, numeracy, STEM subjects and health and well-being in a number of LOTE languages. The ADiBE project focuses on promoting and facilitating CLIL for diverse learners. By the end of 2021, ADiBE aims to provide units of work for CLIL content subjects, predominantly for LOTE in addition to a teacher training module— freely available online. Looking beyond the UK, resources are also being produced in other Anglophone contexts such as Australia, where CLIL is growing rapidly in comparison to the UK, and with more distinct boundaries (Bower, et al. 2020; Cross and Gearon 2013). For example, in 2018, *Fuse*, a bank of freely available resources to support six months of science teaching in the first year of secondary education was released on the Victorian Government's state website in seven LOTEs. This involved the government, modern language associations, academics, schools and

teachers working together to support a systematic introduction of CLIL from primary level upwards, supported by funding, targeted professional learning and the development of a network launched by through the Modern Language Teacher Association Victoria (MLTAV): the MLTAV CLIL Language Teachers' Professional Network (2013).

Conclusion

CLIL continues to evolve globally as a vehicle for teaching World languages. In the LOTE context of England, where CLIL has proved to be one successful approach to language learning in the few schools that have adopted it (e.g. Coyle 2011), support is currently limited to non-government agencies such as language associations and international projects in the broader context of variable and fragmented language provision. The Australian systemic approach, involving all stakeholders may hold potential ways forward for all language learning in Anglophone contexts. For CLIL in Anglophone contexts, it is not merely a question of addressing practical issues such as appropriate teacher supply (e.g. Zindler 2013), but of a paradigm shift in the way language learning is approached. In England school leaders and teachers are grappling with a new political emphasis on curriculum enrichment, characterised by deeper cognitive challenge and learning, that is characteristic of CLIL (Spielman 2019). Potentially, then, this current climate offers new opportunities for the CLIL pedagogical approach and tools to be employed more widely. As Hagger-Vaughan (2020) argues, there is a "need for action at all levels to improve participation and to raise confidence in the endeavour of language learning in schools"—including in CLIL (p. 12).

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Heritage Language Maintenance in New Zealand

Louisa Buckingham

Introduction

The introduction of a skills-based immigration policy for New Zealand in 1986 indirectly contributed to profound and lasting changes to the country's ethnolinguistic profile. While migration to New Zealand has always been of diverse origin (see, for instance, Ip 1996; Leckie 2007), exclusivist immigration policies prior to 1986 resulted in a marginal proportion of migrants from locations other than the British Isles. New Zealand's contemporary ethnolinguistic diversity is evident both in terms of breadth (number of different languages or places of birth) and also depth (number of people in each ethnolinguistic community). This was first demonstrated by Bryant and Law (2004), who identified a surge in the number of ethnic groups with over 10,000 members (measured by place of birth data) from five in 1981 to sixteen in 2001. Confirming this trend is the rise in the number of non-official languages with over 10,000

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speakers from 8 to 21 between the census years 1996 and 2018 (Statistics New Zealand n.d.)—see Table 1. Recent policies have aimed at attracting migrants to New Zealand's regions (in contrast to major cities), and increases in the possible settlement locations for incoming refugees have led to an extension of the growing ethnolinguistic diversity from Auckland, the international gateway city, to the regions.[1]

Despite the importance of particular languages at the community level, and the growth of some speaker communities through targeted migration schemes (e.g., the Pacific Island quotas), New Zealand has never had an official language strategy for the maintenance or support of migrant languages. Although preliminary work acknowledges New Zealand's growing cultural and linguistic diversity (Royal Society 2012)

Table 1 Non-official languages with >10,000 speakers in 2018[a] (n = 21)

	1996	2013	2018
Samoan	69,240	86,430	101,988
Chinese	17,811	52,263	95,310
Hindi	12,648	66,312	69,507
French	45,014	49,125	55,497
Cantonese	32,775	44,642	52,830
Tagalog	5,517	29,016	43,320
German	30,501	36,645	41,844
Spanish	10,221	26,982	39,009
Afrikaans	4,917	27,387	36,978
Tongan	18,663	31,839	35,859
Panjabi	2,877	19,752	34,242
Korean	10,752	26,376	31,383
Fijian Hindi	597	1,674	26,802
Japanese	17,556	20,148	24,945
Dutch	26,598	24,006	23,436
Gujarati	8,640	17,505	22,209
Russian	3,282	9,426	12,570
Arabic	3,990	10,749	12,411
Portuguese	1,284	5,625	10,590
Tamil	2,370	6,837	10,110
Italian	6,291	8,214	9,966

[a]Based on census data from Statistics New Zealand (n.d.). Italian was included in this Table on account of its close proximity to the figure 10,000

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[1] Media reports note concentrations of, for instance, Brazilians, Syrians, Filipinos and Colombians in specific South Island cities.

and identifies the need for such a policy (e.g., Waite 1992), migrant language maintenance has relied on intergenerational transmission in families and community-led initiatives in localities with a specific ethnolinguistic residential concentration.

In this chapter, I examine the prospects for heritage and community language maintenance of selected migrant languages in New Zealand from the perspective of the Graded Intergeneration Disruption Scale (GIDS) proposed by Fishman (1991). I consider micro- and meso-level factors that favour or jeopardise the maintenance speaker numbers at Levels 5 and 6 of the Scale. Owing to space limitations, I limit my focus to two languages that I believe present circumstances favourable to intergenerational maintenance beyond the second generation within the respective community (Samoan and Korean), and two languages with less favourable prospects (Tagalog and Afrikaans). In my analysis, I draw on a customised dataset from Statistics New Zealand, public sector reporting, and previous research on the maintenance of each language.

Contexts of Language Maintenance

Language development (whether acquisition or maintenance) occurs through exposure to or interaction with the environment. As explored by Bronfenbrenner (1979) and later the Douglas Fir Group (2016) with respect to human development and language acquisition, the environment comprises multiple levels of context. The ensuing discussion will be limited to the micro and meso levels.[2]

From the perspective of language maintenance, the micro-level corresponds to the use of the heritage language within the family context. This is understood as the primary parent-child relationship, but it also encompasses the wider familial relationships important in the domestic setting, best understood in the New Zealand context as *whānau*. It comprises caregivers and persons with affective, and thus (linguistically) influential

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[2] The overarching macro-level constitutes belief systems, or sets of cultural, religious, economic or political values; these help articulate the broader context in which decisions at the micro and meso levels are taken (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Douglas Fir Group, 2016).

bonds to the younger generation. Stage 6 in Fishman's GIDS gives primacy to this micro-level context, dominated by familial interactions (in the remaining two stages, 7 and 8, familial intergenerational transmission does not occur).

According to Fishman's conceptualisation of familial intergenerational language transmission, the domestic domain comprises interactions that entail "conversation, games, stories, songs, proverbs and felicitous expressions, verbalized emotion, verbal ritual and verbal play" (Fishman 1991, p. 409). Empirical research, as described by Döpke (1988) and Guardado (2002) with regard to German and Spanish, has demonstrated that ideal forms of language input that promote intergenerational transmission involve techniques that offer concentrated language-focused input which have the function of modelling and raising awareness of linguistic forms, and which provide opportunities to rehearse and expand the young learner's repertoire. Essentially, these are similar to forms of input and practice provided in instructed learning contexts, but occur in domestic settings as part of a routinised form of communication between caregivers and children. Such forms of attention to language-rich interaction can contribute to strengthening the affective link to the language. Guardado (2002), for instance, describes the positive emotions linked to forms of language-rich interaction involving songs and stories. This form of input serves to build durable connections to the language that can withstand identity explorations typical of the adolescent years, during which time the younger generation may avoid using the heritage language.

The expertise and commitment required to undertake the form of intensive and creative verbal input described in these studies cannot be assumed, however, as Fishman (1991, p. 409) himself concedes. For instance, in Thompson's (2016) study of Kiribati-New Zealand migrants, all 14 participants placed high importance on their children's maintenance of Kiribati language (and culture), but only one participant employed an approach to support his children's language maintenance that involved purposeful attention to language and literacy. Engagement with books, as one example of verbal interaction, cannot be assumed, as the study by Thomas et al. (2019) into mother-child literacy practices in New Zealand revealed. Rather, it is influenced by the mother's education level, occupational status and ethnicity.

Minority language communities are often disadvantaged socioeconomically when compared to households that solely or primarily employ the majority language (see Buckingham 2020). First-generation migrants may struggle to progress beyond the low-wage service sector, as described, for instance, in Thompson (2016), where employment conditions (e.g., long hours, shifts, or nocturnal work) put pressures on family life. This has implications for the ability and the availability of parents to assist actively with their children's heritage language maintenance.

Socioeconomic deprivation can, nevertheless, interact with other factors to result in favourable learning outcomes. For instance, in Reese et al.'s (2015) study of Samoan and Tongan children's vocabulary development, area-level deprivation (together with mother's place of birth) was a positive predictor of greater vocabulary development among Samoan children, a factor the authors attribute to the possible effects of multi-generational household living arrangements and resultant opportunities for target language interactions involving grandparents.

As a final consideration, cultural mores influence forms of communicative interaction, and not all cultures value or would naturally engage in the type of repertoire-extending interaction recommended in Döpke (1988), Guardado (2002) or Fishman (1991). Reese et al. (2015), for instance, mention the more directive form of parent-child communication common in Pacific Island families.

In recognition of the unviability of designating principal responsibility for language maintenance to the family, Fishman (1991) acknowledges the importance of the meso-level domains. This involves community contexts, such as interactions in religious, cultural, commercial and educational settings, and is captured in Stage 5 of GIDS. Meso-level interactions often enable "repertoire expansion" (p. 372), as they typically entail factors that contribute to register variance (e.g., differences in gender, age, social status, social role, formality) and may be more likely to include language-specific literacy skills.

The most salient form of meso-level language maintenance involves instructed learning contexts (whether the school system or community courses). Fishman (1991) is nevertheless doubtful of the effectiveness of schooling (if not supported by parental input at home) and, indeed, empirical research (both state sponsored and academic) has identified

challenges in regard to the delivery of effective language instruction in New Zealand schools, in particular with respect to the curriculum and teacher preparation (see, for example, East, this volume).

Other than English, languages are not offered with continuity across primary, intermediate and secondary years in the New Zealand school system. This means that learners do not progress efficiently through proficiency levels to reach an objectively established level. Recommendations call for well-articulated, sequenced instruction, and the expectation that learners remain committed to a language for a number of years (East, et al. 2012; Gibbs and Holt 2003). With the exception of te reo Māori, which is now expected to be offered as a subject by schools upon request (New Zealand Government 2017), languages are non-compulsory and their inclusion is at each school's discretion. According to a recent report on student achievement in language learning, the availability of existing staff to teach the language was the most commonly cited reason for offering a particular language to Year 8 students (ages 11–12), while the reason that it represented many students' heritage cultures was rated as very low (NMSSA 2018). These results reflect the resource constraints described in Gibbs and Holt (2003), and the difficulty of securing qualified staff with proficient language skills.

Although the most commonly selected languages (French, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese and German) are usually studied as an L2 rather than as heritage languages, the availability of heritage languages in the school curriculum is an important form of structured support for language acquisition and maintenance. Currently, several Pacific Island languages are used as the medium of instruction in bilingual or immersion programmes (most commonly Samoan, with more limited provision for Tongan and Cook Island Māori); and Early Childhood Education (ECE) providers may offer bilingual or immersion experiences, most commonly for Chinese and Samoan (Ministry of Education 2019). The opportunity to study a heritage language and culture as a subject in the school system is not only important for socio-cultural reasons, but it can also contribute to the confidence of learners who otherwise may be disadvantaged in the education system (see NMSSA 2018, and Tuafuti and McCaffery 2005).

The importance of a language and its resultant inclusion in the school curriculum may also be primarily on account of its cultural-religious

importance. This has been the main motivation behind the emergence of provision for learning Arabic at both primary and secondary levels at three Auckland schools in South and West Auckland.[3] These privately funded but state-integrated schools draw students from the very multi-ethnic and multilingual Muslim communities in these specific districts. The sustained interest in Arabic has led to the granting of permission to one school to include the language as a subject in the national assessment framework (in Years 11 and 12) (NZQA n.d.).

Religious affiliation is viewed as an 'ambivalent factor' in meso-level language maintenance by Clyne and Kipp (2006, p. 115). The use of the target language for liturgical purposes and the cohesive nature of the religious community can promote language maintenance. The ability to sustain this level of cultural institutionalisation presupposes a large language-specific community, consistently high levels of religious affiliation and residential concentration. While the two Pacific Island language speaker communities in Table 1, Samoan and Tongan, fulfil these requirements, most do not. As a result, smaller Pacific Island language communities, such as the Kiribati community (as documented in Thompson 2016), or communities with lower levels of population density (such as Dutch or Russian), are not usually sufficiently large or cohesive to support an ethnolinguistic-specific church, or even language-specific services at a shared institution.

Community Languages and Maintenance Prospects

As signalled in the preceding discussion, an interplay of circumstantial factors contributes to migrant language maintenance, the constellation of which varies according to language, ethnic group and specific host community context. To illustrate this, I consider two languages with circumstances favourable to maintenance in the second generation: Samoan and Korean; and two languages that display weaker maintenance prospects:

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[3] Zayed College, Medinah School, and Iqra Elementary School.

Tagalog and Afrikaans. I draw on census data from 1996 to 2018 to support this discussion.[4]

Samoan

Samoan is the most commonly spoken non-official language in New Zealand. The population is heavily concentrated in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city (around 67% of Samoan speakers), and displays a population density far greater than that of any other non-official language (over 4000 per 100,000 inhabitants across all five census years). Speakers identify overwhelmingly as Pacific Islanders (around 93%) and as Christian (around 90%). Just under half of all Samoan speakers are born in New Zealand (around 43%), and the population is both young and ageing: 14% were aged ≤10 (down from 21% in 1996) and 24% was aged ≥51 in 2018; these indicators suggest the likelihood of opportunities for intergenerational interaction in the heritage language.

Enrolments in Samoan as a school subject have remained consistent across an extended time period (Ministry of Education 2019) and, on account of steady immigration levels,[5] the demand for Samoan in schools is unlikely to fall. Samoan is the most commonly offered language in bilingual and immersion units in schools[6] and is the second most common non-official language in ECE centres (Ministry of Education 2019). In the Auckland context, the Samoan language thus has a sufficient concentration of speakers (distributed across the critical age periods) to facilitate contexts (neighbourhood, religious, educational, cultural and commercial) for naturalised intergenerational language use.

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[4] This is a customised dataset provided by Statistics New Zealand to the author.

[5] Established in 1970, the Samoan Quota ballot has been heavily oversubscribed in recent years and may, as a result, be increased (RNZ 2018).

[6] A recent review of the provision of Pacific languages identified 30 schools offering Pacific languages (with a concentration in Auckland), among which were 10 immersion units (offering over 50% of tuition in the language) and 22 bilingual units (with around 50% of tuition in the language and 50% in English) for Samoan (ERO 2019).

Korean

The Korean-speaking population experienced a three-fold increase from 1996 to 2018. The majority are born in Asia, although this proportion declined steadily from 97% to 86% between 1996 and 2018, and a steadily increasing number are born in New Zealand (reaching around 13% in 2018).[7] The proportion of speakers in the ≤10-year old age group declined from a substantial 16% in 1996 to around 9% in 2018. The population is ageing, with the proportion aged ≥51 rising from 4% to 24% in this period. Selected ECE providers offer opportunities for early Korean language exposure (Ministry of Education 2019), and Korean is offered as a secondary school subject.

In 2018, over 70% of Korean speakers resided in Auckland and the population density is moderately high (1404 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018). The North Shore district, located to the north of Auckland's harbour, is particularly favoured (see Johnston et al. 2008; Manley et al. 2015; Maré et al. 2012). This concentration has enabled the formation of small enterprises catering to local Koreans and Korean churches. The majority of Koreans still identify as Christian (58% in 2018), although this orientation has weakened over the years (down from 73% in 1996). Korean churches have played an important role in the social integration of recent Korean migrants and in the social network of established Korean heritage residents (Butcher and Wieland 2013). Similarities can be drawn between the Korean-speaking and the Samoan (and Tongan) communities with respect to the importance of language-specific churches and the influence of church-related activities and networks on the broader settlement experience of first-generation migrants. Opportunities for pastoral-related visits from the home country reinvigorate this ongoing contact with the heritage language (Butcher and Wieland 2013).

Auckland's concentration of often well-qualified, highly skilled Korean individuals who are well connected to the home country has enabled Korean entrepreneurs to pursue transnational professional activities (Hong and Yoon 2014). Cain and Spoonley (2013), in their study of Auckland's migrant entrepreneurs, noted that the employment of

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[7] Some of these will be non-heritage language speakers who learn Korean at school.

co-ethnic workers and suppliers was relatively common among Koreans, and the use of Korean to communicate with customers locally, and to maintain business relationships in Korea, was important. In consequence, the ethnic, cultural and economic vitality of this speaker group is bolstered by the tangible economic advantages of maintaining and performing a Korean identity locally and transnationally.

Tagalog

Between 1996 and 2018, New Zealand experienced an almost eight-fold increase in the number of Tagalog speakers owing, primarily, to continuing skill shortages in professions that have typically employed Filipinos, and the relative ease with which Filipinos integrate into the local labour force (due to qualifications and English language competence). Tagalog speakers are primarily first-generation migrants (between 1996 and 2018, around 94% were born in Asia). The population is ageing slowly, with the proportion of speakers aged ≤10 in decline (at around 6% in 2018) and the proportion aged ≥51 rising to 16% in 2018.

Of the first generation migrant languages in Table 1, Tagalog is the only language with a female dominant gender imbalance: in 1996, 71% of Tagalog speakers were female. The gendered nature of Filipino migration was a consequence of the employment of Filipino healthcare workers and the high level of exogamous marriages among Filipino women (Lawton and Callister 2011), a tendency also noted in Clyne and Kipp's (2006) fieldwork in Australia. The proportion of females had dropped to 57% by 2013, which can be explained by the growth of Filipino employment in the male-dominated construction, trade and agricultural sectors (Friesen 2017).

Despite strong migration, evidence of sustained intergenerational transmission of Tagalog is not compelling. Umali and Bell's (2017) study of language choices among Filipinos resident in Auckland found a tendency to shift to English from the first generation. The retention of Tagalog competence was particularly valued for social networking in co-ethnic cultural events, but pre-migration competence in English and the status of English in the Philippines contributed to English being the preferred language for many more formal co-ethic encounters and to

accommodate non-Filipino interlocutors. Adding to this is the tendency of the majority language to dominate in exogamous marriages involving a proficient speaker of the majority language, thereby limiting children's exposure to Tagalog (Clyne and Kipp 2006), and the absence of Tagalog as a subject in the school system, beyond the very limited availability of the language in ECE centres (Ministry of Education 2019). Around 47% of speakers resided in Auckland in 2018 (population density: 1295 speakers per 100,000 inhabitants), and there is litle evidence of residential concentration. Tagalog-speaker communities are distributed throughout the country (8 of New Zealand's 16 local government regions display population densities of >500 speakers per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018, up from five in 2013), a reflection of both exogamous marriages and very high rates of employment (second only to Afrikaans speakers).

Whilst religious affiliation is consistently strong (around 96% of Tagalog speakers identified as Christian between 1996 and 2018), Filipinos are likely to be integrated into mainstream (English-medium) religious institutions, and their presence has contributed to a regeneration of the previously dwindling Catholic congregations. Tagalog-language church services occur at selected locations in Auckland but remain uncommon elsewhere.

The relinquishing of Tagalog within the family to English may also be influenced by the status of Tagalog within the speaker's own linguistic repertoire. As Clyne and Kipp (2006) note, many Filipinos are L1 speakers of a regional language (Ilocano and Cebuano are the regional languages with the highest speaker numbers in New Zealand), and their intra-ethnic communication may not be primarily in Tagalog.

Afrikaans

A seven-fold increase in the number of Afrikaans speakers occurred between 1996 and 2018, with fairly even increases between each census year. The recency of this migrant group is illustrated by the short period of residence; in 1996 just under 70% had resided in New Zealand for ≤4 years (this had fallen around 27% by 2018). The vast majority are African-born (between 88% and 94%). The age structure of the Afrikaans

speaker group is strongly skewed towards the middle-aged and older, and is ageing: 30% were in the ≥51 age group by 2018, while the ≤ 10-year-old age group usually comprised less than 5% of individuals between 1996 and 2018. Consequently, the regeneration of this language community through 'new' speakers raised in the language will remain marginal.

South African migrants are usually readily integrated into the local labour market across a wide range of skilled professions (Trlin 2012). Between 1996 and 2018, the Afrikaans-speaker group displayed the highest employment rates (and income levels) of all non-official language groups in Table 1 (between 70% and 80% of were in paid employment). Unlike many Asian ethnic groups, Cain and Spoonley (2013) did not find before evidence of South African small entrepreneurs relying on co-ethics in business-related activities.

Around 46% of Afrikaans speakers resided in Auckland in 2018. Maré et al. (2012) note that levels of South African residential concentration are low.[8] Support for this can be found in the 2018 census that records a population density of 1080 speakers per 100,000 inhabitants in Auckland and an even distribution of Afrikaans speakers throughout the country: 10 local government regions (of 16) displayed population densities of >500 per 100,000 in 2018, up from 7 in 2013. Only in the case of widely taught school languages (French, German and Spanish), and Dutch, a language with a long history in the country, do speaker numbers display this level of country-wide distribution.

Religious affiliation is strong and stable: around 80% of Afrikaans speakers identified as Christian between 1994 and 2018. While specific Afrikaans-language churches can be found, many Afrikaans-speakers join mainstream (English-medium) services (Winbush and Selby 2015). Religious institutions do not, therefore, constitute a significant contributor to language maintenance.

Afrikaans is not available as a school subject, and selected ECE centres provide only very limited provision (Ministry of Education 2019). Pre-migration exposure to English is also a factor contributing to the unlikely

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[8] The study did not distinguish individuals with regard to language, however, and may have included non-Afrikaans-speaking individuals in the South African cohort.

intergenerational maintenance of Afrikaans beyond the second generation. South Africans have been found to prepare for a context of language shift at the pre-migration stage (De Klerk and Barkhuizen 2005) and experience as inevitable a rapid shift to English among their children once in New Zealand (Barkhuizen 2006).

Discussion

The maintenance of minority languages in the New Zealand context is challenged by the relatively low level of resourcing for foreign language provision in the state school system, and the reality that regular exposure to linguistically rich input in the home remains, in most cases, an unreachable ideal. The vast majority of studies examining parents' attitudes towards heritage language use in the home describe the importance parents place on heritage language intergenerational transmission, but the descriptions of actual language use in the home provided by parents do not reflect the type of linguistically rich and expressive input that Fishman (1991) envisaged in his promotion of the home as the central locus of language transmission, and as described in studies of successful transmission in Döpke (1988) and Guardado (2002).

Exhortations by linguists for families to take responsibility for heritage language maintenance (e.g., Starks 2005) are insensitive to the existential struggles that confront many migrant families and overlook the need for parents (and children) to prioritise activities perceived to facilitate their socioeconomic mobility in the majority culture context. Fishman (1991, p. 411) alluded to this in saying that minority groups typically have to direct the brunt of their cultural and attentional resources to existential concerns and possess little agentive power to alter their circumstances. Moreover, recent changes in the immigration policy to restrict the immigration of elderly parents do not bode well for minority language maintenance at the micro-level, since this age group has traditionally fulfilled the role of caregivers and transmitters of heritage language and culture to children in migrant families.

The languages discussed in this chapter which displayed the strongest prospects for maintenance, Samoan and Korean, exhibited a

constellation of advantageous circumstantial factors. They received meso-level institutional support through instructed language learning (immersion, bilingual or as a subject), and through the provision of language-specific religious services (important for these language speaker groups due to strong religious affiliation). The high levels of residential concentration of these speaker groups facilitated this meso-level support. Additionally, the age distribution of speakers included a substantial proportion of both youthful and ageing individuals.

Despite the important contribution the school system can make, the provision of instructed language learning in schools remains vulnerable to the same challenges (e.g., resource constraints, and low proficiency outcomes) that have been described in research spanning nearly two decades (e.g., Gibbs and Holt 2003; East et al. 2012; and ERO 2019). Due to the prioritisation of resources for subject areas with severe teacher shortages and which are more highly valued in the New Zealand education system (mathematics, sciences, ICT and te reo Māori), the predicament of heritage and international languages is unlikely to change. Community courses face similar resource constraints including the shortage of appropriate materials, qualified language teachers and curricula that may be at odds with the learner-centred pedagogical approach commonly experienced by students in mainstream schools. Such courses are only a viable (and sustainable) option where a residential concentration of the respective ethnolinguistic (or religious) group exists.

To conclude this discussion, I consider alternative channels of support for language transmission at the micro- and meso-levels. Firstly, familial ties are not a pre-requisite for intergenerational language transmission and, as discussed earlier, it can be unrealistic (and unfair) to place this responsibility on *whānau*. As New Zealand's population ages, the ethnolinguistic diversity hitherto found in earlier life stages is now beginning to be apparent in the post-65 age group. As described in Nayar and Wright-St-Claire (2018), civic participation is strongly valued in some ethno-cultural groups and this may include activities that promote 'cultural connectedness', as the authors explain, and benefit intergenerational linguistic and cultural maintenance. This has been explored in the context of the acquisition of Chinese as a second language by Xu and Huang (2019), who describe the pairing of an elderly (unrelated) first language

speaker migrant with a young learner for personalised tuition. While the importance of language input from the grandparents is well established in literature on heritage language maintenance, the systematic collaboration of (unrelated) elderly heritage language speakers in the language maintenance endeavours of young learners has not been explored.

While the immediate environment (i.e., the home, community and national contexts) has usually been the primary (and often exclusive) focus of early language maintenance studies, current analyses also need to account for the transnational interconnectedness inherent in the social, educational and professional experiences of many individuals, particularly the youth. This, understandably, was not foreseen in Fishman's (1991) GIDs model, and has received only passing mention in early studies on migrant language maintenance. Thus, while the importance of local media broadcasts in Australian migrant languages is considered by Clyne and Kipp (2006), accessing media resources delivered by the respective heritage language country was not explored. Lotherington's (2008) survey of language maintenance in Fiji makes only passing mention of interest in accessing content produced in India and China by sectors of Fiji's multilingual population.

Finally, to date the integration of heritage language home country support for the teaching of the respective language has been underexplored. Pedagogical units in the home country could provide support to the development and delivery of language learning materials for instruction in heritage language contexts. To provide equitable access to learners independent of location, high-quality distance mode learning should be prioritised, with audio-visual materials produced by language pedagogues in the home country in collaboration with counterparts in migrants' host countries. The integration of home country support can be found, for instance, in the language programme at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji (see https://www.usp.ac.fj), which offers a range of community languages (e.g., Hindi, Chinese, Cook Island Māori) with the support of the respective home country government and with, in some cases, the option of distance learning. This approach can both overcome the shortage of quality learning materials and expert teachers and also enable the development of a dynamic, communicative curriculum that enables learners to explore topics of contemporary transnational interest.

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Part IV

Ways Forward Through Online and Virtual Activities

Online Language Learning in New Zealand's Primary Schools: Exploring the Impact of One Initiative

Constanza Tolosa, Martin East, and Michael Barbour

Introduction

According to East (this volume), the learning of international languages in the Anglophone context of New Zealand has been fraught with challenges over a number of years. Despite the introduction of a new learning area (*Learning Languages*) as part of a revised national curriculum (Ministry of Education 2007), school statistics demonstrate that, at least in the secondary school sector (Years 9 to 13, 13+ to 17+ years of age), the take-up of languages is on the decline. East acknowledges, however, that the primary/intermediate sectors (Years 1 to 6, 5+ to 10+ years of age; and Years 7 and 8, 11+ to 12+ years of age) demonstrate a contrasting success story of substantial growth. This growth is to be welcomed as

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evidence that increasing numbers of students are being given opportunities to access language learning programmes, even if these programmes can only develop a basic level of proficiency.

The most phenomenal growth in the primary/intermediate sectors has been the take-up of Mandarin Chinese (up from less than 1% in 2000 to just over 8% in 2016 in the primary sector; and up from 1% in 2000 to 19% in 2016 in the intermediate sector). Among factors contributing to this growth has been an initiative of New Zealand's Government called the Asian Language Learning in Schools (ALLiS) programme. Announced in 2014, the programme allocated NZ$10 million to support schools to set up new or strengthen existing Asian language learning programmes (New Zealand Government 2014). This was a time-limited fund, available until the end of 2018, after which time schools which had accessed the funding in one of two funding rounds were required to have established programmes that could be self-sustaining. The fund targeted Chinese, Japanese and Korean.

This chapter presents the case of one initiative that successfully secured a proportion of ALLiS funding—the Virtual Learning Network Primary (hereafter VLNP). The VLNP is a collaboration of schools throughout New Zealand that has been established to support students of primary school age, from larger city primary schools to small and rural primary schools, through online learning opportunities facilitated by teachers in schools. In 2015, the VLNP applied for ALLiS funding in Round One (2015–2017) to enhance the work it was doing to deliver effective online language learning programmes, with particular focus on Chinese, Japanese and Korean (VLNP 2017). A proportion of the funding was set aside for a two-year research project (2016–2017) that examined, among a wide range of outcomes from the VLNP, the online languages programme. Our focus was on perceptions of the initiative from two key groups of stakeholders—learners and teachers.

The study was carried out in two stages. Stage I, framed as a preliminary exploratory study, was conducted in the second half of 2016, with findings reported in Tolosa et al. (2017). This chapter reports findings from the larger-scale Stage II study, undertaken in the first half of 2017.

The languages represented among the students in Stage II were Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, and also included Tagalog, the native language of the Philippines (see Buckingham, this volume, for a discussion on support for Tagalog in the New Zealand context).

Background

Powell and Barbour (2011) made the claim that countries across the globe have been "embracing online delivery of education as a central strategy for enabling reform, modernising schools, and increasing access to a world-class education" (p. 77). Applying this principle to the learning of languages, Blake (2011) argued that "[g]iven the enthusiasm with which today's young people engage in social networking, it is quite possible that language students feel particularly comfortable connecting digitally with members of the target culture." He suggested that this would "enhance their *digital* communicative competence at the very least" (p. 30, our emphasis).

The last few years have witnessed growing numbers of online language courses being offered by both educational institutions and commercial organisations (see, e.g., Lin and Warschauer 2015). For example, telecollaboration and virtual exchanges across different sites are rapidly growing phenomena for language learning from pre-primary to further and higher education (see, e.g., Feick and Knorr, this volume). Dooly and O'Dowd (2018) provided a recent collection of exemplars from telecollaborative projects between primary and early secondary education classes. They presented teachers' perspectives on their experiences with telecollaboration, providing a platform of ideas for others who may wish to establish their own telecollaborative exchanges. Depending on the geographical locations of the collaborators, such telecollaborations can take place synchronously (in real time) or asynchronously (not in real time).

Substantial benefits have been identified for e-learning initiatives. Gee (2007) argued that technology can extend students' authentic language learning experiences in terms of motivation, negotiation tactics, and

greater immersion in the target language. Online e-learning also puts students more in control of the pace of their own learning, leading to enhanced skills of self-direction (White 2008). As Lai (2013) put it, "language learners' self-directed use of technology for learning purposes" (p. 1) maximises its potential. A benefit of e-learning noted by Chapelle (2010) was that it enhances students' ability to access learning material remotely and outside of the classroom, providing a flexible approach to learning from which many learners might benefit. According to Martin and Parker (2014), online e-learning also provides teachers with opportunities for professional development, due to interactions with other colleagues about their online classrooms and sharing knowledge and experiences.

In the New Zealand context, the lead researchers of the VLNP project reported in this chapter undertook an earlier four-year project (2009–2012), situated in an intermediate (Years 7 and 8) school, that explored an asynchronous telecollaboration between New Zealand students learning Spanish, and students in Colombia learning English. The study revealed that, given New Zealand's geographical isolation, the telecollaboration provided important opportunities for connection with first language (L1) speakers that could not be attained in the traditional face-to-face environment. It was found that asynchronous online interactions enhanced New Zealand language learners' opportunities to use language in authentic contexts and be exposed to authentic intercultural experiences. Students were able to develop autonomous learning skills, and experienced enhanced motivation and engagement (East et al. 2012; Tolosa et al. 2013; Tolosa et al. 2015).

Despite the articulated benefits of e-learning initiatives, barriers to successful implementation have been identified. These include, for example, technical difficulties, such as students struggling to make out unclear voices, and muffled microphones (Jennings and Bronack 2001) or teachers having to take on different roles in an online environment "in which traditional hierarchies and relationships between teachers and learners are shifting" (Sun 2014, p. 18).

Other challenges include limited spoken interaction between learners, peers and teachers that can hinder the development of oral proficiency. Learners also need to be supported to develop the skills of learning

autonomously over an extended period of time. Those who are more likely to demonstrate success in learning online are highly motivated and with good self-regulation skills (Lin and Warschauer 2015; Lin et al. 2017).

The VLNP Initiative

According to its website (VLN Primary, 2017), the 2015–2017 ALLiS programme was seen as "a great initiative for the VLN Primary that enabled us to further develop our programmes" (para. 1). Ten schools across New Zealand became part of what became the *VLN Primary Asian Language Project*. The schools "collaborated to develop a programme that provided for face to face as well as virtual learning (blended learning)" (para. 3). In particular, "eTeachers of Chinese Mandarin, Japanese and Korean were employed and shared across participating schools" (para. 4). In the VLNP set-up, learning could take place in several ways: students from several schools, whether individually or in small groups, worked with an eTeacher; larger groups of students or whole classes worked with an eTeacher together with a teacher based in the school; older students tutored younger students (this was the case for Tagalog). The online learning took place synchronously each week through short webinars led by the eTeachers. Students would withdraw from their regular classes for about 30 minutes to access the webinars in a different classroom that was set up with the appropriate technology. Additional learning support was provided through email communication or through schools' learning management systems. A Lead Teacher situated in each school, who might not be a language specialist, facilitated the programmes at a local level.

As previously stated, a two-year research project (2016–2017) was established to examine the online languages programme, in two stages: Stage I (second half of 2016) and Stage II (first half of 2017). Both stages addressed the following research question:

What do teachers and students involved with Asian language learning through the VLNP perceive as the benefits and challenges of learning languages online?

The two-stage project was situated within an interpretivist research paradigm (Lincoln and Guba 1985). A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was selected (Creswell 2014). Data instruments included an online student survey, student focus groups, and interviews with teachers working in different ways in the programme. Survey responses were transferred to a spreadsheet, and interview/focus group data were digitally recorded and transcribed to facilitate a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

Stage I of the project, reported in Tolosa et al. (2017), was a small-scale exploratory study that acted as a pilot for the main study. In the pilot, twenty-five students in three schools completed an online survey administered through *Google Forms*, and two focus groups (each with three students) took place in one school. Additionally, seven teachers were surveyed, and two were interviewed. Stage II utilised the same data collection instruments as the pilot study, but broadened the number of participants and schools. In what follows we report findings from Stage II.

Student Survey

The student survey was completed by seventy-nine students. The survey was developed with a user-friendly design. The majority of the questions asked students to respond to a series of Likert-scale statements. To help students to complete the survey, the range of responses was illustrated graphically, using 'smiley face' emojis with different expressions to illustrate strength of opinion from strong agreement to strong disagreement.

The survey included several reverse-polarity statements to ensure that students were paying adequate attention and responding as genuinely as possible. Students were also asked to respond briefly to two open-ended questions:

1. Write down a few things that you LIKE about learning an Asian language online.
2. Write down a few things that you FIND HARD about learning an Asian language online.

Table 1 presents descriptive data from the survey.

Statements 1–12 focused on attitudes towards language learning, whereas Statements 13–20 were concerned with the online experience. The quantitative data indicate that students were enjoying the experience of learning an Asian language online. They perceived the study of the language to be worthwhile, and the online course to be enjoyable and motivating. Statements that received the most positive responses included (Section 1) 'I really like learning an Asian language' (66% strongly agree and 28% agree) and 'it will help me to learn about a different culture' (66% strongly agree and 27% agree); and (Section 2) 'the online class is fun and interesting' (72% strongly agree and 20% agree).

The two open-ended questions yielded valuable perceptual information (quoted statements are recorded verbatim and uncorrected).

In summary, perceived positive benefits focused on the 'interesting and fun' online learning environment and the advantages of learning an Asian language. Indeed, 'interesting' and 'fun' were motifs that wove their way through the data. Typical comments in this regard included "it is very interesting and fun I like to learn new languages online"; "It teaches me in a fun way"; "It is fun because I can talk to other people in a different language."

Across all the languages, the main identified *linguistic* challenges were with aspects of character writing and pronunciation. It was also apparent that *technical* difficulties could hinder the experience. Comments in this regard included: "Sometimes there can be technical issues that stop you from learning, like audio"; "the internet is sometimes glitchy and it breaks out sometimes"; "the screen is small and on the big screen its faded and blurry"; "Sometimes the computer goes slow and you don't know if the teacher is talking."

Student Focus Groups

Focus group interviews took place in two different schools. At one site twelve students participated in one of four groups; at the other, nine students participated in one of three groups. In total, therefore, twenty-one students took part. The focus groups lasted about 45 minutes. Themes

Table 1 Responses to the student survey

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No response
Attitudes towards language learning						
1. I really like learning an Asian language	52 (66%)	22 (28%)	5 (6%)	0	0	
2. I would prefer to spend my time on other subjects	3 (4%)	10 (13%)	36 (46%)	13 (16%)	16 (20%)	1 (1%)
3. The more I learn about the language the more I like it	46 (58%)	24 (31%)	8 (10%)	1 (1%)	0	
4. The more I learn about people who speak that language, the more I like them	18 (23%)	32 (41%)	23 (29%)	5 (6%)	0	1 (1%)
5. The more I learn about the culture of the people who speak the language, the more I like it	41 (52%)	21 (27%)	15 (19%)	1 (1%)	0	1 (1%)
6. I do not like learning this Asian language	2 (3%)	1 (1%)	6 (8%)	13 (16%)	57 (72%)	
7. I would like to make friends with people from the Asian language country	42 (53%)	19 (24%)	14 (18%)	3 (4%)	1 (1%)	
8. It will help me to get to know new people from around the world	48 (61%)	22 (28%)	5 (6%)	1 (1%)	3 (4%)	
9. It will help me when I travel	47 (60%)	22 (28%)	8 (10%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	
10. It will help me to learn about a different culture	52 (66%)	21 (27%)	4 (5%)	2 (2%)	0	

Table 1 (continued)

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No response
11. I may need to know this language in the future	37 (47%)	20 (25%)	19 (24%)	3 (4%)	0	
12. I would like to travel to countries where this language is spoken	44 (56%)	24 (30%)	9 (11%)	2 (3%)	0	
Attitudes towards language learning online						
13. The online class is fun and interesting	57 (72%)	16 (20%)	5 (7%)	1 (1%)	0	
14. I enjoy learning a new language through the online course	55 (69%)	18 (23%)	3 (4%)	3 (4%)	0	
15. My teacher is very helpful and helps me understand the work	53 (67%)	17 (22%)	8 (10%)	1 (1%)	0	
16. The course is easy to follow (organised)	36 (46%)	32 (40%)	11 (14%)	0	0	
17. I have opportunities to work with other students	37 (47%)	25 (32%)	9 (11%)	8 (10%)	0	
18. I get regular feedback on how I am doing	26 (33%)	22 (28%)	24 (30%)	7 (9%)	0	
19. I can get resources that help me to work well	27 (34%)	32 (40%)	16 (20%)	2 (2%)	0	2 (2%)

(*continued*)

Table 1 (continued)

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No response
20. There are lots of different learning activities/tasks (I can learn in different ways)	42 (53%)	22 (28%)	14 (18%)	0	0	1 (1%)

explored with the participants included levels of enjoyment with learning an Asian language online, perceptions of effective tasks and activities, and changes that students perceived could be made to create a more engaging learning experience.

The breakdown of languages across the groups was as follows: Chinese Mandarin (n = 11); Japanese (n = 4); Korean (n = 3); Tagalog (n = 3). The following section presents some key insights as derived from the group interviews. Individual responses are indicated by language (M, J, K, T) and participant number (1, 2, 3, etc.)

As with the open-ended survey responses, fun and enjoyment were two reported positives of the online experience. M7, for example, commented, "it's really fun … I've always been interested in Mandarin … it's … just been one of my favourite languages so far." M8 ventured, "I really enjoy doing Mandarin because I can learn new things and have another experience in a different language." For M11 it was a question of "I just like everything about it." J4 noted "you get to learn in a different environment" as a reason for liking the programme.

Negative or challenging dimensions of the experience focused principally on problems with technology and lack of time. With regard to technology, J2 did not like it "when … the whole thing freezes." M6 similarly noted, "sometimes [the] connection is off and, kind of blue, and [it] freezes a little bit." M10 commented that "sometimes, like, the audio of the computer … I can't really make out what she [the teacher] is saying clearly."

Limited access to some computer equipment was an issue for M8, who noted, "it's just a little difficult when, because we use the microphone, we pass it around when someone talks." Because of how the seating was

arranged in her class, she noted that "it's hard to pass to the front person if it is at the back." She proposed "maybe we can just have a table with [a] microphone" as a possible solution.

With regard to time limitation, J4 commented that the input sessions in her school were "half an hour, Thursday, once a week." The fact that "you have to, like, time manage, like, rush to class" to get to the technology-equipped room was a consequence of the limited time.

When asked to compare the online language course with an ordinary (face-to-face) class, several participants highlighted the comparative advantages of the online environment. M7 liked working online because "they have actual things to show you, like videos and stuff about language and slides on Google." T2 could see equal benefits. She was positive about face-to-face learning "because it's much easier than having to set up all the gear, and also the internet connection, it might not work," but also saw drawbacks to the face-to-face environment "because, if you are uncomfortable … I just think it's much easier to talk to them online. Sometimes, you can get shy." M8 similarly saw complementary advantages. She ventured, "I like the online teaching as well as the face-to-face teaching." With online teaching, the teacher could "bring up stuff so easily, so everything is ready and on [a] new TV [it] is easier, and we've got new cameras as well." Nevertheless, with face-to-face "you can go to ask her questions if you feel [that's] necessary." She concluded, "I guess both styles of teaching I do enjoy."

Despite the identification of equal advantages between online and face-to-face, there was also strong support for a more traditional face-to-face model. This was perceived as overcoming some of the identified disadvantages of online. T3, for example, reflected, "I think it's better face-to-face" because "sometimes when we go to [the] computer you can't hear them or understand them … if it's face-to-face, we can hear them clearly." In others' views, face-to-face offered, in comparative terms, "more talking" (J2) or "more help" (J4). Also, with online being "only once a week," J1 thought that face-to-face would be "a lot faster," presumably in terms of making progress with the language.

Face-to-face was also perceived as being advantageous when wishing to solicit support. M4, for example, suggested that "when you have a face-to-face with a teacher, she can support you with, like, hands-on things."

This, in her view, was simply not possible online. M9 stated, "I prefer more in person." This was "just that, if you get problems, you can ask her [the teacher] to help you out." M10 noted that "online is good." However, "if it was in person, like, they could help you [a] little bit more. Like, if you do writing the Chinese characters, they could show you how to do it properly."

Teacher Interviews

The teacher interviews (n = 7) took approximately 30 minutes and explored attitudes towards online teaching and learning, resource gathering and effectiveness, and opinions on the types of support needed for the most effective teaching and learning experiences. The below summary of findings focuses on perceived successes, limitations and next steps.

Perceived Successes

Flexibility of delivery was perceived as an advantage of the online programme. Megan (pseudonym), for example, commented that the programme was "offering another language" in flexible ways that meant that "if the kids are away they can still go into their class from home if they have internet." Nevertheless, with "one of the problems being that not every home has internet," off-site access may be limited for some students.

Two of the teachers commented on a perceived advantage as the development of useful academic skills.[1] Peter described this advantage as "self-directed learning." In his experience, "the kids are motivated" and "they want to do it." In this regard, a key benefit of the online programme for Peter was "very much the growing of competencies." Megan saw competency development as a key adjunct to short lessons. She noted that because "these sessions are half an hour" which is "not huge," progress

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[1] In the New Zealand context, these academic skills are referred to in the *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education 2007) as 'key competencies'. They include thinking; using language, symbols and texts; managing self; relating to others; and participating and contributing.

becomes "about them using the key competencies," presumably in ways that would help them to make most of the short time available.

Perceived Challenges

Despite the potential benefit of the development of autonomous learning skills necessitated by short lessons, for Peter a challenge was that the online learning needed to be "fitted in on top of everything else." This made time "a big limitation." He commented that he "would like to be able to follow up between that 30 minutes week lesson," but this was not feasible.

Mary spoke of "a bit of disconnect between the VLN and … the normal." That is, "the kids kind of go to the VLN, they stop their normal, day-to-day stuff for 30 minutes for something completely different, and then come back." Apart from this 'disconnect', Mary noted that "because we only have a short time every week," this limited contact time meant that "I don't think I know the learners very well … we haven't really got time to know each other personally." This also meant that "I don't have much prior knowledge about what they know or what their experiences are … so I'm just kind of teaching everyone the same thing," leading to a lack of differentiation among learners.

To make the most of short lessons once a week, Alison noted, "I use the Google Classroom and put some homework during the week." She commented that her students are "very proud of themselves … [and] show me, you know, 'I've done this homework'." However, "even though I gave them homework, that [contact time] is not enough." Also, "some of the activity I like to do, they can't do online," suggesting something of a mismatch between online and face-to-face work.

Technological issues also seemed to impact on perceptions. Mary argued that "the technical side" was "the limitation" because "when it goes wrong, there is not much that you can do." She continued, "one week the internet [was] completely not working here; I just couldn't do the class." Megan asserted that challenges for her were "purely infrastructure." In other words, "it's our system that is not always open to what's happening for VLN." She suggested, for example, that

video-conferencing software such as *Zoom* was a lot easier and more user-friendly than *Skype*. Problematic, however, was "getting *Zoom* on students' devices." To overcome this, the class had to "use the one device and they put in the projector. And I've booked out one of the learning centres for that purpose so that they are able to do that." However, a better solution would be individual access. In similar vein, Mary commented that "teaching online is very much like going back to the old way, just … whole class teaching." This made it, for her, "very hard to personalise the learning," thereby potentially hindering the development of autonomous learning skills.

Moving forward, Megan and Sandra expressed alarm about the future of the entire initiative. Megan argued, "I think there does need to be a little bit more funding or support … so that it doesn't end and it actually keeps going, and so that we can keep growing … funding to be able to make it sustainable." Sandra ventured that a genuine risk was that "the ALLiS funding stops and all this growth stops." Since, in her perception, this had been "a really good couple of years for the progress," Sandra was genuinely concerned about "how it can be sustainable" when funding was no longer available.

Discussion

It is evident that, on the whole, students enjoyed the online experience. The data indicate that, across several languages, they found it fun, interesting and motivating to learn a language online. This aligns with Gee's (2007) assertion about the motivational dimension of online learning. Students were also very articulate in identifying the advantages of online learning alongside the perceived benefits of face-to-face learning. Students did express frustrations around technological challenges, including slow internet connections, inability to hear the at-a-distance partners clearly, and having to share limited hardware, issues noted by Jennings and Bronack (2001). The students were also mindful of the short amount of time they had for learning a language online, typically 30 minutes once a week.

The teachers were also positive about language learning online. Self-directed learning was seen as a key advantage of the programme. Students were required to take greater responsibility for managing self. This was seen as a means through which students could develop several competencies related to autonomous learning. This accords with White's (2008) assertion about greater self-direction.

However, insufficient contact time was seen as a limiting factor with regard to progress in the language. This was exacerbated by the movement of students out of other classes and classrooms to go to specialised classrooms with the technology. In this respect, fostering student autonomy in learning was seen as an important requirement. There was a perception of disconnect between the online learning (half an hour a week in a separate room) and the 'mainstream' (in-class) learning.

Technological issues presented challenges, including hardware issues, such as unstable internet connections. Sometimes, when technology had to be shared between students (e.g., *Zoom*), the development of autonomy and self-directed learning was being hindered. Finally, two teachers expressed concern about what might happen to the programme, and support for the programme, when the ALLiS funding ended.

The findings indicate that additional investment is required to help schools to extend the hardware available to them. Findings also suggest that exploring ways of creating greater integration and seamlessness of the online programme with regular classroom work might be useful. For example, rather than withdrawing students from a regular class to a different room for a period of time, schools might explore how to exploit a Bring Your Own Device environment to provide online interaction in the context of the regular classroom.

Another way forward, particularly in schools with larger numbers of students, might be to explore blended formats. This would require upskilling the school-based Lead Teacher to take a more active role in the teaching of the language itself. For example, the students could do the individual online practice with vocabulary games or pronunciation drills, and some basic reading and writing with the Lead Teacher. By the time the eTeacher comes online, the work done with them could be more focused and interactive.

It might also be useful for teachers to explore further ways of 'personalising the learning'. Mary, for example, reported that the set-up mirrored the traditional 'teacher teaches the class' arrangement. Technology creates the possibility to explore, in addition to whole group work, more independent, self-directed and differentiated dimensions.

Limitations

As with any project, it is important to identify limitations. In terms of data gathering, we were unable to go into any classes to observe the activities. Our research therefore relied solely on self-report data. We acknowledge the limitation that we did not collect data on the learning activities that were designed and implemented by the teachers who took part, how students interacted with and completed those activities, and the learning gains that took place. Future research could usefully include evidence of how online sessions were being run, the kinds of activities the students were expected to complete, how these impacted on learning, and how these might be developed. However, in the present study a level of triangulation was achieved through three key data sources: surveys, focus groups and interviews.

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the preliminary study (reported in Tolosa et al. 2017) and the main study (reported here) that, on the whole, both teachers and students were positive about the online language learning experience through the VLNP. In turn, and notwithstanding that this study has focused on stakeholder perceptions of value and has not investigated how classes were operationalised, findings suggest that this was a worthwhile initiative that might help address some of the challenges with the learning of international languages in the Anglophone context of New Zealand that have persisted over many years.

In concluding, we present the voices of two other teachers (Fiona and Sue) who were interviewed as part of Stage I of the project, but whose

interview comments have thus far not been reported. Both voices reiterate core values of the on-line initiative that might help to mitigate some of the challenges—flexibility to offer access to a language that might otherwise not be available, and ability to enhance opportunities for students' autonomous learning.

For Fiona, a key advantage to the VLNP programme was "I think, the fact that we can offer subjects to students that they would get no exposure to in their own school." She continued, "we offer a broad range of languages" and "they get the exposure to another language, they get to try something that they wouldn't necessarily have the opportunity to." The VLNP programme provided access to "a specialist language teacher" alongside "kids in other schools that are exactly the same as them." For example, a class of five students might be able to connect with a class of seven students in a completely different location "and they have a bond because they go through the same sort of things."

Sue re-iterated the advantage noted by Fiona. She viewed "the opportunity … to participate in the VLN language programme" positively. For the students, this might "hopefully open up to them wanting to learn a language in the future." Additionally, Sue saw it as advantageous that the students needed to "manage themselves to get themselves to the class and get themselves set up." This was, in Sue's view, a "21st century learner skill that's really good." Additionally, there was the development of "the digital skills," that is, "they have to get around to figure things out." This included "being able to communicate with someone who's not face-to-face, and build that relationship" in an online environment.

New Zealand's Ministry of Education does continue to invest in initiatives to strengthen language learning. However, one significant challenge (in the context of the project reported here) has been the removal of the ALLiS funding. Although it was always anticipated that, after initial funding, programmes would need to be self-sustaining, the evidence from this study suggests teacher uncertainty about what would happen once the funding ceased. Given the challenges of teacher supply identified by East (this volume) and New Zealand's geographical isolation, alongside the findings of the study reported here (including the advantages noted by Fiona and Sue), further investment in online e-learning

initiatives may be something that New Zealand's Ministry of Education should be seriously looking into.

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Developing Multilingual Awareness Through German-English Online Collaboration

Diana Feick and Petra Knorr

German as a Foreign Language in New Zealand's Higher Education

Like other Anglophone countries, New Zealand is facing various challenges with respect to the learning and teaching of languages other than English (LOTE) (East 2012, 2016; Ward and East 2016). In particular, it is suffering from public language policies that foster the dominance of English as the de facto official national language with the two official languages actually being te reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language (see East, in this volume). A monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1997) on an institutional level is reflected in the fact that additional language

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proficiency is neither a prerequisite for entering or graduating from university nor is it part of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) at secondary level. Furthermore, a political-economic view on language learning has led to increasingly selective support for Asian and Pacific languages, often at the cost of languages traditionally taught, such as so-called "European" languages like German, Russian, French, Italian and Spanish (East 2016; McGuiness-King 2004).

Despite this, German is currently taught at four out of seven New Zealand universities, either as independent language courses, as part of undergraduate or postgraduate degrees or as a full major in German. German departments are required to adapt to frequent reforms within the educational system or within higher education, as well as look for innovative and engaging approaches in order to attract students and ensure their retention (McGuiness-King 2004). German instruction at university level in New Zealand has traditionally been classroom-based, teacher-centred, and textbook- and assessment-driven. However, recent initiatives move beyond these approaches by, for example, integrating digital media inside and outside the classroom, including the use of social media like Instagram (Leier 2018) or Facebook (Alm 2018; Leier 2017), streaming services like Netflix (Alm 2019), language learning apps (Alm and Daniel 2019) or online projects (Walker 2018).

The opportunities for real-life, authentic interaction with speakers of the target language that technology-mediated communication is able to offer nowadays have led to an increased use of virtual tools, particularly in places that are far removed from target language spaces. The study we report on explores the benefits of virtual exchange projects for language students in higher education in Auckland. The main concern of virtual exchange has moved away from a sole focus on language learning and towards "communication across cultures and borders as a form of social action in service of better inclusion and global citizenship" (Tardieu and Horgues 2020, p. 4). Against the backdrop of current discussions about linguistic diversity, we will focus in this chapter on raising students' (critical) multilingual awareness. In that respect, we first examine research on virtual exchange and e-tandem learning as well as principles of developing multilingual awareness. We outline how this can be linked to the field of linguistic landscapes before we move on to describe the project's

conceptual framework, its implementation and methodological considerations. Results of the study will be presented with respect to the following research questions:

1. How do students in VEPs engage in bilingual practices?
2. How does a VEP with a focus on linguistic landscapes contribute to raising students (critical) multilingual awareness?

Online Collaboration Through Virtual Exchange and E-Tandem

The geographical distance of New Zealand's foreign language students from most of the target languages and cultures has, over the last decades, led to the development of online distance education (Walker 2010; White 2003, 2007). Two special forms of e-learning in distance education that compensate for the scarcity of authentic, face-to-face interaction by resorting to computer or mobile device-mediated communication are virtual exchange projects[1] and e-tandems. These types of online communication include synchronous interaction, like videoconferencing and text or voice chat, as well as asynchronous interaction like e-mail or discussion boards. Interestingly, O'Dowd and O'Rourke (2019, p. 2) noticed a growing preference for videoconferencing over text-based interaction in virtual learning contexts, though these developments are not taking into account the challenges for partners in different time zones. Both VEPs and e-tandem learning aim to foster (inter)cultural learning, language learning and digital competence. While e-tandems and VEPs share the aforementioned characteristics, they also differ in their aims and pedagogical set-up.

E-tandems and face-to-face-tandems are based on the pedagogical principles of autonomy and reciprocity (Brammerts and Kleppin 2001).

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[1] According to O'Dowd (2018), e-tandem learning is a subcategory of virtual exchange. In this chapter, we view the two types of online collaboration as distinct from one another in order to highlight their differences with regard to their tendency to following either a process or a product approach.

They are carried out as a form of peer tutoring in formal or informal learning contexts where two peers interact with each other in their respective first/target language. The tandem partners mutually support each other, provide each other with authentic input and give each other (corrective) feedback on content and language performance by acting as model speakers for their first languages without necessarily taking on a teacher role. However, the underlying assumption that participants in e-tandems are usually (monolingual) native speakers of their partner's target language has recently been challenged, as language practices of individuals are becoming increasingly bi- and plurilingual (McAllister and Narcy-Combes 2020; Tardieu and Horgues 2020). The principle of reciprocity as a strict and equal allocation of time dedicated to each language in a tandem situation has therefore been put to question (Benoit and Lomicka 2020; McAllister and Narcy-Combes 2020; Walker 2018), as it is based on a monolingual perspective (one native language followed by a second/foreign/target language) and a view of an individual's language repertoire as a system of separate entities. It has been argued that translanguaging—the process of freely alternating between languages— would more naturally correspond with an individual's multilingual repertoire "prioritizing comprehension rather than perfection" (Benoit and Lomicka 2020, p. 84). The results of Walker's study (2018) show how tanslanguaging patterns in German-English online interactions contribute to processes of co-constructing meaning and the formation of collaborative learner communities. One pattern she observed in synchronous group meetings was a practice in which participants made deliberate strategic choices about switching the language at specific points in a meeting. In contrast, other groups employed a less structured "versatile array of translanguagings" (Walker 2018, p. 23) including blending and code switching.

Tandem learning also aims to promote learner autonomy: encounters mainly take place outside of the classroom and may be accompanied by reflections in learner logs (Capellini et al. 2020) or through learner support/counselling (Elstermann 2014; Sanchez-Gonzales and Koch 2020). The focus within tandem learning is on the interaction process between the partners, which is sometimes structured by small tasks that students

choose themselves, like exchanging information or comparing something (students' perception of task design: El Hariri 2016).

Virtual Exchanges on the other hand are online collaborations organized by educational institutions (see also Innes and Huang, this volume). They not only integrate a process but also a product perspective, as participants usually collaborate in order to create a joint outcome. Typically, these projects are based on the concept of technology-enhanced project-based language learning (TEPBLL) (Dooly Owenby and O'Dowd 2018, p. 24) where the target language(s) serve(s) as a means of online communication between the partners in order to co-produce the project product. O'Dowd (2018) defines VEPs as:

> the engagement of groups of learners in extended periods of online intercultural interaction and collaboration with partners from other cultural contexts or geographical locations as an integrated part of their educational programmes and under the guidance of educators and/or expert facilitators. (p. 5)

The pedagogical principles and benefits of e-tandems and VEPs have been broadly investigated over the last three decades. While research shows that e-tandems have a positive impact on foreign language writing skills (Tolosa et al. 2017), language awareness, motivation and attitudes towards language learning (El Hariri and Jung 2015; Tolosa et al. 2017), foreign language enjoyment (Resnik and Schallmoser 2019), and (inter)cultural awareness (Benoit and Lomicka 2020; Raluy and Szymanska-Czaplak 2020, Vinagre and Corral Esteban 2020), virtual exchanges have additionally proven to develop (critical) digital literacy (Hauck 2019).

The study we report on is based on data we collected in a VEP with university students following both a VEP and an e-tandem approach. Students engaged in tandem-like collaboration, following the principles of autonomy and reciprocity. ln line with typical characteristics of VEPs, the project was teacher-guided, task-based and aimed at a meaningful collaborative outcome. The task of exploring linguistic landscapes in their home cities allowed us to focus on yet another potential of online exchange projects: raising students' (multilingual) language awareness.

Multilingual Awareness Through the Study of Linguistic Landscapes

The concept of (critical) multilingual awareness has emerged from and is closely related to the field of language awareness, which has been described as "a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life" (Donmall 1985, p. 7). Since its origins in the 1980s (Bolitho and Tomlinson 1980; Donmall 1985; Hawkins 1984) and subsequent developments (Fairclough 1992; James and Garrett 1992), the concept of language awareness has covered a wide spectrum of interpretations. To account for the various perspectives, James and Garrett (1992) proposed five domains, which have since been frequently used as a frame of reference: the performance, the cognitive, the affective, the social, and the power domains. According to a recent review study (Frijns et al. 2018) that investigated the effects of language awareness on pupils in these five different domains, the most robust effects were found in the affective, social and cognitive domains.

Generally, two main strands in language awareness research can be distinguished: alongside a more cognitive and (meta)linguistic perspective on language awareness there has always been a sociocultural and political dimension, which has recently seen increased interest as it also takes aspects of multilingualism into consideration (Breidbach et al. 2011; Jessner 2008; Frijns et al. 2018). Frijns et al. (2018) point out that this second sociocultural strand:

> focuses especially on creating an attitude of openness towards all forms of language, ethnic groups in society and liberation from a dominant language ideology, as can be seen in the monolingual habitus [...]. Compared to the first strand, the second strand is more concerned with attitudinal changes, such as creating respect for linguistic and cultural diversity, rather than with boosting (meta)linguistic skills. (p. 97)

It is this sociocultural dimension of language awareness that particularly aligns with the concept of multilingual awareness as "an awareness of the plurilingual self and the other, the awareness of multilingual (educational) settings" (Breidbach et al. 2011) and that will therefore be the

focus of this study. García (2016) goes even further by using the concept of critical multilingual language awareness. She points out the need to not only raise students' awareness and tolerance of plurilingual practices and linguistic diversity, but also to promote a critical reflection of the histories and ideologies that produced the plurilingualism in society (García, p. 6; see also Hélot et al. 2018).

Research on language awareness through virtual exchange has been scarce so far. In the cognitive domain, one study has shown that e-tandems (English-Spanish) increase learners' metalinguistic awareness with respect to their L1 (Tolosa et al. 2017). Another investigation (German-Spanish) reports that learners did not gain any insights into their first language, since participants might have put a bigger focus on the training of their respective target languages (El-Hariri and Jung 2015). The sociocultural and political dimension with respect to (critical) multilingual awareness has not yet received much attention in VEP research.

As mentioned, the development of multilingual awareness can be pursued through the production of ethnographies of communities of practice and the critical sociolinguistic study of linguistic landscapes (García 2016, p. 6). Our study focused on the latter using a context-comparative perspective, in that learners would not only explore linguistic practices within their own environment but also those of the target language cultures through virtual exchange. García (2016) argues that the data-driven investigation of language use and language users in the communities of interest raises the participants' "social, political, and economic consciousness about language use in different contexts and for diverse purposes" (García 2016).

Linguistic landscapes are a rich source of data for these investigations since they include static as well as non-static linguistic signs in the public space, for example, street signs, advertising signs, warning notices, building names, informative signs, commemorative plaques, signs labelling objects and graffiti (Gorter and Cenoz 2008, p. 345). The investigation of linguistic landscapes has also been introduced into second- and foreign-language education because it provides authentic contextualized input for learners, and accounts for cultural practices and the historical, cultural, ideological and geographical foundations of these. Linguistic landscapes represent the target languages as embedded in multilingual and

multicultural societies and public spaces "not as a neutral arena but rather as negotiated and contested" (Shohamy 2012, p. 456). Research in this context focuses on the development of language, media and culture awareness, critical literacy, symbolic or intercultural competence of language learners (Badstübner-Kizik and Janíková 2018; Hatoss 2019; Hewitt-Bradshaw 2014; Janíková 2018; Rowland 2013; Schiedermair 2015), or explores meaning- and form-focused reception of linguistic landscapes in the target culture (Ballweg 2018; Chern and Dooley 2014; Leung and Wu 2012). Hatoss (2019) investigated critical thinking about linguistic diversity through exploring linguistic landscapes in the Australian context. According to her data, analysing linguistic landscapes can foster a positive attitude towards multilingualism.

Malinowski (2015) proposes a pedagogical approach on how to integrate the study of linguistic landscapes in foreign language learning, which we modified and adopted for this project. Malinowski's approach is based on Lefebvre's triadic model of space (1991) and its adaptation by Trumper-Hecht (2010) in order to guide investigations of multilingual places. The model distinguishes between (1) *perceived spaces* (the physical dimension of linguistic landscapes), (2) *conceived spaces* (the representation of linguistic landscapes) and (3) *lived spaces* (the perception of space by the people who inhabit it). Following this distinction, learners in a classroom setting would (1) observe and document linguistic landscapes through decoding language and symbols, (2) consult, interpret and produce texts on linguistic landscapes through critical reading, analysis and comparison of these texts, and (3) explore reactions to linguistic landscapes by documenting experiences and perspectives of local actors (for a similar approach see García 2016).

Shohamy (2012) stresses the adequacy of exercising linguistic landscape investigations with language learners in order to raise their multilingual awareness. However, we currently have little insight into how this process would develop if placed in a virtual environment where partners from different cultural backgrounds exchange documentations of linguistic landscapes and collaborate in interpreting and comparing multilingual practices within two different cultural contexts.

The LiLLA Project

Project Design

Data for the study was collected in a VEP between students of German as a Foreign Language at the University of Auckland (New Zealand) and EFL student teachers at Leipzig University (Germany). The project had two focuses: firstly, to engage students as learners of a foreign language (AKL and LPZ) with the VEP, and secondly, it aimed to provide prospective foreign language teachers (LPZ) with the opportunity to personally explore a VEP and reflect upon the experiences from a language teacher's point of view. The overall aims were to create a meaningful language-learning scenario, to facilitate cultural and linguistic learning, to develop learners' digital literacy skills and to raise their multilingual awareness (see Feick and Knorr, forthcoming). As outlined before, the focus of this chapter will be on the last of these.

The LiLLA-project (Linguistic Landscapes in Leipzig and Auckland) took place over 11 weeks (April–June 2019) and was based on a set of tasks, which asked the teams of students to explore linguistic landscapes in their respective cities. The following steps were part of the collaborative working process (Table 1).

With respect to e-tandem principles of autonomy and reciprocity, students collaboratively decided on a thematic focus, discussed preferred means of synchronous or asynchronous communication, and negotiated responsibilities, steps in the working process or the form and content of a final product. Decisions on language use were also left to the students' discretion, apart from the advice that both languages should be part of the project (especially the project product) and students should work out themselves when to use which language.

Participants

The 21 students at the University of Auckland were in their third year of studying German as a foreign language. Their German competence ranged from B1 to C1 according to the Common European Framework

Table 1 Project tasks

		The University of Auckland	Leipzig University
Step 1	*Kick-off*	Introduction of the topic of linguistic landscapes and presentation of the project tasks, a timeline and the exam requirements	
Step 2	*Getting in touch*	21 students from AKL created video messages about themselves, messages were sent to LPZ	39 students from LPZ responded with video messages Teams were established randomly (one student from AKL working with one to two students from LPZ)
Step 3	*Planning*	Students planned the project with respect to the steps that needed to be taken, the way they wanted to communicate with each other, which language they would want to use when, etc.	
Step 4	*Task Phase 1 (Research)*	Students collected and documented linguistic landscapes in their cities, analysed their partners' pictures first without background knowledge from their partners, then they negotiated meanings, analysed linguistic landscapes comparatively and developed themes or classifications **Support:** Criteria for analysing linguistic landscapes (e.g. focusing on the type of sign, its content, language, visual form, (hidden) messages, the context in which it was found, the target group) Guiding questions (e.g. who is the linguistic sign made for? Who is being addressed (who is NOT)? Who will understand/not understand it? What questions/thoughts does it provoke? What might be interesting looking at the sign from an outsider's perspective? How do linguistic landscapes compare?)	
Step 5	*Task Phase 2 (Production)*	Students created a multimedia product collaboratively (a digital poster or presentation) that summarized their findings	

Table 1 (continued)

		The University of Auckland	Leipzig University
Step 6	*Task Phase 3 (Presentation)*	Students in AKL wrote a project report of 1000 words in the target language	
		Students in AKL presented their posters to their peers	Students in LPZ presented their posters to their peers
Step 7	*Wrapping up*	Evaluation of the project	

of Reference (CEFR).[2] They were all fluent in English. Other languages spoken by them as first or second languages were Vietnamese, Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, te reo Māori, and Hebrew. With respect to first languages, the group of German EFL students was more homogeneous. Apart from two students whose L1 was Russian, the rest of the group were native speakers of German. Their English language competence could be rated between B2 and C2. The majority of the participants in Leipzig were in their third year of an EFL teacher training course.

Research Methods

The implementation and study of the VEP followed a design-based research approach, which aims to develop innovative educational practices as well as theories with practical relevance (Euler 2014; McKenney and Reeves 2012). In a cyclical process, the VEP is designed, tested, evaluated, adapted, redesigned, and then tested again in order to finally establish a set of design principles for future VEPs. We have so far carried out the first implementation of the VEP design, which will be followed by further cycles.

As well as investigating the VEP in terms of feasibility, potential benefits and challenges, we posed several more specific research questions,

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[2] The CEFR (2001) describes language ability on a six-point scale, from A1 for beginners up to C2 for proficient users. Level B1 refers to an independent user at a threshold or intermediate level, B2 represents a vantage or upper intermediate level, while C1 refers to a proficient user at an effective operational proficiency or advanced level.

two of them being the focus of this chapter (see Part I). The data we analysed in order to answer these questions were the final products of the students: their digital posters (P), project reports (R) and videotaped project presentations (PP) and their accounts of their working processes. To obtain these accounts we carried out a course evaluation in the form of an online questionnaire (Q) with open and closed questions (see Appendix 1) as well as a focus group interview (FG) with five participants from AKL (see Appendix 2). Oral data was transcribed, and for the purpose of this chapter, German comments have been translated into English. Students are referred to as P01, P02, and so forth in the survey data. In the interview data, the project presentations and the project reports pseudonyms were used (e.g. Gano).[3] We analysed the material doing a qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2014) and examined the data for themes related to our research questions. As we followed a design-based approach, the intervention itself was the focus of our core study. Therefore, multilingual awareness was not explicitly addressed during data collection but could be reconstructed using the data we obtained in the DBR-cycle.

Results

Multilingual Practices in Digital Collaboration

Awareness of bi/multilingualism was created through the students' experience of negotiating language choice according to the principle of reciprocity at the beginning of the project. Establishing a feasible pattern of bilingual interaction was quite a challenging task since for some groups this meant adapting their language use during the course of the project due to different proficiency levels or for other practical reasons. Noticing these needs and being able to adapt their language choice is from our point of view part of developing multilingual awareness at the

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[3] References to data quoted in the text are made by first indicating the type of data (P, R, PP, Q, FG > see above) and the participant (P) followed by a number (P01, P02 etc.) or a pseudonym (e.g. Gano) and the city.

performance level. Even though we have no insight into the actual nego-tiation processes, the survey and interview data revealed that all groups followed one of the following four language choice approaches:

1. *The target language model (each person using his/her target language)*: "This was fun! I only used German and they only used English, and we corrected each other when we made mistakes" (Q_P09/AKL). This approach was most successful if the partners' proficiency in their respective target languages was similar and if they felt comfortable with frequent code-switching within conversations or written interactions.

2. *The time-based model (using one language for a certain period of time and then switching)*: "We alternated between speaking in German and English each week. It was helpful for speaking practice and under-standing too" (Q_P02/AKL). This alternating model to some extent reflects the traditional 50–50% language approach of tandem learning where two native speakers with a similar level in the target language interact with each other. It is probably the most equitable practice but the least flexible with regard to fully making use of the students' diverse linguistic repertoires. If students strictly followed that princi-ple, the only reason for changing the language would be the allotted time (e.g. one week), not taking into account students' immediate linguistic needs or repertoires, which might feel restrictive.

3. *The content-based model (using English or German depending on which language the sign they discussed was in):* This content-driven procedure was followed by one group and represents a more holistic approach to bilingual collaboration, as this Leipzig student states: "With our part-ner we agreed on using German when talking about the pictures from Germany and English concerning the NZ signs. [...] It was also very interesting that the communication could work very well because you could communicate in both languages. If our partner didn't under-stand something in German, we explained it again in English and vice versa" (Q_P23/LPZ). The rationale behind this innovative model might have been the aim to link the language choice to the topic and culture being discussed in order to support mutual linguistic and cul-tural understanding and acknowledging their interconnectedness.

4. *The adaptive model (using English or German only/English as a* lingua franca*).* This method, which adopts a monolingual rather than a bilingual approach, was applied in approximately one-third of the groups and shows that language choice in the VEP was of a more flexible nature in some groups. They gradually adapted their language use to the needs and (proficiency-based) preferences of individual group members:

> It was definitely harder to communicate in German with actual German people my own age […]. I found that we would automatically switch to English once conversation I'd [*sic*] flowing, although one of my partners was very considerate and would always ask whether I'd rather speak in German instead. What we established was we would talk in German one day, then English the next and so on. This only happened for the duration of getting to know each other. Once we started analysing, English was predominantly used since I personally found it easier to spontaneously converse in English. (Q_P01/AKL)

In most of the groups in category 4, students ended up choosing English. For some multilingual participants, English even served as the lingua franca. German turned out to be the project language in only one case: "It was all German for me. There was no English at all. Even though she wanted to learn English, I don't know. It was like all German. Which was good for me, but I guess not for her" (FG_Cova/ 00:16:52). The interview quote shows that language choice, aside from its communicative purpose, was also on the one hand driven by a pronounced aim to use and practice ones' target language. On the other hand, students' awareness of giving the less proficient team member the opportunity to practice their target language was also apparent: "I was happy to talk in English but I got the impression they didn't want to/maybe they were prioritising my German learning" (Q_P08/AKL). This shows that the principle of reciprocity in a VEP is negotiable and underlies assumptions of benefit and equality. In some groups, these were explicitly addressed while in others they remained unaddressed and flexibly evolved around the need to produce a joint product.

Raising Students' Multilingual Awareness

The development of (critical) multilingual awareness as introduced in part three of the chapter as one of the overall project aims could be observed in the collected data with respect to both the cognitive and the sociocultural-political domains. In the following report, we limit ourselves to a focus on the sociocultural-political perspective only.

The project outputs (digital posters, oral presentations and written reports on the students' collaborative investigation of linguistic landscapes) revealed that students directed their attention to aspects of multilingual practices in linguistic landscapes on two different levels. First, students were able to *document and reflect upon* multilingual practices in their encountered linguistic landscapes at different levels of formality, that is, from official bilingual Māori-English signs (see Fig. 2), municipal instructions on rubbish bins and handwritten advertisements to graffiti in university toilets (see Fig. 1). The signs provided the basis for discussing public language policies, unofficial multilingual manifestations of protest, the presence and distribution of minority languages in multilingual communities (Figs. 3 and 4) and the use of English as a lingua franca.

Fig. 1 Multilingual graffiti (German, Spanish, Russian) in university toilets (Leipzig)

Fig. 2 Sign with bilingual elements at the University of Auckland

Fig. 3 Comparison of bi/multilingualism in restaurant signs (Left: LPZ, Right: AKL)

Fig. 4 Comparison of bi/multilingualism in Leipzig (left) and Auckland (right)

Figure 1 shows an example of the students' ability to document and describe multilingual practices at an informal level. They noted that the linguistic landscapes encountered in the toilets of the University of Leipzig "discuss various topics, serious as well as entertaining ones." Students also noticed that these signs where in many different languages. They categorized them into "handwritten and typed" ones. This documentation is limited to a descriptive examination of encountered multilingual practices and does not engage in further reflections of these observations as it is visible in Fig. 2.

Figure 2 shows a bilingual sign that students in AKL documented and shared with their German partners. Although the poster does not critically discuss the use of language in the sign itself, it raises interesting questions: Why is this bilingual practice only reduced to the main slogan of the sign ("zero tolerance for discrimination") and why is it only translated into one language? This technique of posing questions about unfamiliar (multilingual) aspects of the signs in the multimedia posters (as recommended in the project instructions, cf. Table 1: Guiding questions) was adopted by a few groups and proved to be helpful to engage students in reflective and critical thinking processes.

Second, at a deeper level of awareness, students demonstrated their ability to *compare* multilingual practices between the two seemingly

monolingual research sites and to uncover (and occasionally critically reflect upon) underlying functions, language regimes and ideologies (Busch 2012). Therefore, the questions raised in Fig. 2 can be understood as the initiation of a reflective (and potentially also critical) exchange between the students when analysing and comparing the policies on bilingual practices on encountered public signs in New Zealand and Germany.

In the example presented in Fig. 3, multilingual awareness is created through the comparison of bilingual restaurant signs in both cities and the identification of underlying functions of the language use in these signs. In her project presentation, Mena points out that her group came to the conclusion that the migrant languages they documented do not automatically and exclusively address migrant speakers of these languages but rather potential customers who are more likely part of the monolingual majority society: "So that people think ah this is an Asian language, this is authentic! The same for the Arabic language here—they [Leipzig partners] explained that you find this restaurant in a part of Leipzig where not a lot of Arabic people are" (PP_Mena /00:38:46).

A more critical reflection on language diversity based on students' comparative analysis of multilingual signs in both cities (see Fig. 4) could be observed in Gano's project report. She questions New Zealand's language policy with respect to the use of Te Reo Māori:

> In general, there is a lack of signs in Te Reo Māori in New Zealand. […] As you can see in the right picture English is very dominant and assertive in Auckland. […] In public and educational institutions signs in Māori are normally also in English. This is an injustice. […] This pattern is not based on cultural reciprocity, which is an important principle in Māori culture. […] (R_Gano/AKL) (paraphrased from German to English by the authors)

Based on her analysis of the two signs, she contrasts top-down public bilingual practices in New Zealand with her perception of bottom-up shop signs in Leipzig, which in her view are linguistically much more diverse: "Our linguistic landscape is not that rich, and even though Te Reo Māori is used occasionally this is meaningless because cultural principles and the colonial history of our country are not taken into

consideration" (R_Gano/AKL). She expresses her critical awareness in noticing that the multilingual shop signs her partners sent her use various languages without any translations, which according to her is not the case for bilingual public signs in Te Reo Māori in New Zealand.

Even though this perception neglects the existence of untranslated multilingual bottom-up signs in Auckland mainly addressing speakers of migrant languages, it needs to be stated that only a few students displayed this deeper level of critical reflection on existing language regimes and ideologies. So, from a pedagogical point of view, the question needs to be raised of how a more critical perception of multilingual practices (and their cross-cultural comparison) reflected in the linguistic landscapes of a place can best be prompted in educational contexts.

Discussion and Conclusion

The presented data from a VEP between two university courses in Auckland and Leipzig allowed for the observation of bilingual spoken and written communicative practices between multilingual students and the reconstruction of their (critical) multilingual awareness development initiated by these online interactions.

With regard to the encountered patterns of bilingual online exchange, it can be stated that on the one hand VEPs with e-tandem elements provide an orientation for establishing an equitable, conscious, and reciprocal bilingual language use. On the other hand, VEPs also generate patterns of language use that are more product-oriented, where expected language learning benefits are secondary to achieving the common project goal.

When looking at these patterns from a translanguaging perspective (McAllister and Narcy-Combes 2020; Walker 2018), alternating the use of German and English flexibly and naturally during virtual collaborations can be viewed as a translanguaging practice, which allows participants to make use of their entire linguistic repertoire in order to generate collective agency for fulfilling a task. Walker's study confirms our observations that bilingual discourse in a VEP facilitates the sharing of linguistic resources, including multimodal means of online communication as a basis for jointly constructed artefacts (Walker 2018, p. 33). In addition

to the two patterns described by Walker (2018), we could differentiate bilingual practices in online exchanges further into four different types. A quantitative examination of the distribution of these types could be the focus of follow-up studies.

With respect to our second research question, the outcome of our study indicates that VEPs on linguistic landscapes contribute to raising students (critical) multilingual awareness. Our findings are convergent with the study by Hatoss (2019) in the sense that linguistic landscapes have proven to be an excellent source for questioning dominant languages in public spaces as well as contesting underlying monolingual ideologies. This seems to be even more the case if one follows the pedagogical approaches of Malinowski (2015) and García (2016) that complement the documentation, description and interpretation of linguistic landscapes with the perception of local actors (partner students) who inhabit the public spaces under investigation.

Furthermore, our findings suggest that placing linguistic landscapes enquiries into a VEP context enhanced the students' access to multilingual practices in different cultures, including their own, and increased their awareness of regional specifics as well as globally comparable language regimes. The actual analysis of linguistic landscapes as well as the digital bilingual interaction during the project proved to be a rich resource for experiencing and acknowledging linguistic diversity within and between languages. Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that the more critical insights were not displayed in all project groups, which has also been observed by Hauck (2019) for the development of critical media literacy through VEPs. She attributes this to the strong output orientation of many VEPs, which sometimes do not provide enough space for deeper critical engagement with or collaborative reflection on certain practices or contents. In line with Hauck's conclusion (Hauck 2019, p. 203), we would suggest that task design in VEPs needs to be carefully considered, if critical reflection is to be fostered. The guiding questions offered in the LiLLA project were only picked up by a few students, but those were the ones who displayed evidence for reflective and occasionally critical discussions of encountered linguistic landscapes. It would be interesting to further explore to what extent reflection processes could be triggered using different types of tasks or scaffolds.

As we have pointed out in this chapter, the benefits of VEPs as innovative educational practices in higher education lie within its opportunities to foster students' (critical) multilingual awareness. Furthermore, benefits could also be observed with respect to motivation and enjoyment, authentic and meaningful interaction, intercultural and digital competence as well as reflective practice for future language teachers (Feick and Knorr, forthcoming).

Appendix 1: Online Survey

Only open questions are listed here, as the closed questions did not inform this study.

1. Think about how the project was structured, introduced and supported. Was everything clear to you? Consider the following aspects: introducing the topic (linguistic landscapes) and the tasks, the deadlines, feedback sessions, web tools for working process and presentation, etc.
2. How did you find working on linguistic landscapes in Leipzig and Auckland? Consider the following aspects: understanding the task, finding linguistic signs, knowing how to analyse them, finding categories, etc.
3. How would you describe and reflect upon your cooperation with your partner(s) from Leipzig/Auckland? What worked well/not so well? What routines/patterns did you establish? Further aspects you might like to consider are getting and staying in touch, the effort put into the project, dealing with different requirements, working with online tools, etc.
4. How did the bilingual approach of the virtual exchange project contribute to your language learning/language awareness/your Leipzig partners' language learning? Which routines concerning language use did you establish within the project? Are there any other aspects that you would like to mention regarding the language in the project?

5. What did you find particularly positive/effective about the project?
6. What did you not find effective about the project? What would you change?

Appendix 2: Focus Group Interview Questions

Please think about how you experienced the project and how you would reflect upon it.

Language Learning

- How did the (bilingual) approach of the project contribute to your language learning? (Think of speaking, listening, writing and reading)
- Which routines concerning language use/language learning did you establish within the project?
- Are there any other aspects that you would like to mention regarding the language learning in the project?
- How did this course/project contribute to your academic skills (reading, writing, critical thinking, etc.) in English?

Content Learning

- How did the project contribute to your content learning, for example, about linguistic landscapes, multilingualism and culture?
- Which routines concerning content learning did you establish within the project?
- How useful for your content learning did you find content related assignments like the learning journal and oral presentations?
- Are there any other aspects that you would like to mention regarding the content learning in the project?

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Best of Both Worlds? Developing Integrative Blended Learning for Beginners French, Italian and Spanish at Tertiary Level in Aotearoa/New Zealand

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Introduction

Decreasing student numbers and resources present major challenges to foreign language programmes in English-speaking universities. Aotearoa/ New Zealand is no exception. These challenges are compounded by the complex needs of a diverse student population (in age, ethnicity, socio-economic background, family circumstances and first language), many of whom enter university with little or no experience of the target language

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(TL), or indeed of L2 (second or foreign language) learning. Moreover, many tertiary students are still coming to grips with learning technologies, while others are already "digital natives", leading blended "partly virtual, partly tangible" lives (Glazer 2012, p. 1). Language programmes with limited staffing and ever-decreasing budgets are increasingly faced with the necessity of catering to beginners and elementary-level language students who require flexible timetabling, access to high-quality online (o/l) independent study materials and communicatively focused interactive classes. Blended Learning, broadly defined as "a combination of face-to-face classroom meetings and computer mediated learning" (Chapelle and Sauro 2017, p. 5), provides an obvious and elegant solution.

Drawing on Flipped Classroom models (see, e.g., East 2018, pp. 113–116), Blended Learning typically replaces a varying percentage of face-to-face (F2F) classes with computer-mediated (CM) o/l activities (e.g., Picciano 2009), enabling language programmes to do more with less (see, e.g., Graham and Allen 2005). Supporters argue that Blended Learning can be more cost-effective than both conventional on-campus and distance courses, while potentially offering the advantages of both: students are provided with enriched, high-quality TL input to study and practise online at their own pace, while still benefiting from real-time opportunities for language production and social interaction with fellow students and teachers.[1]

Little wonder, then, that since the turn of the millennium Blended Learning has become widespread in higher education teaching in the USA, is a hot topic in Tertiary Education research (Grgurović 2017; Picciano et al. 2013), and has become "a buzz-word in language teaching" (Sharma 2017, p. 167). However, as others have noted, many blended courses fail to deliver (Driscoll 2002; Hofmann 2006). The 'best of both worlds' promise of BL can only be fulfilled if adopters meet the many challenges posed by a more complex and (sometimes) unfamiliar course structure, which is more demanding of learners, requires a heavy investment from designers, and can test teacher attitudes and institutional cultures (Graham and Allen 2005, pp. 175–176).

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[1] For a comprehensive overview of the benefits of Blended Approaches, see *The Blended Learning Toolkit* website, https://blended.online.ucf.edu/2011/06/07/benefits-of-blended-learning

Three Case Studies

This chapter presents the authors' varied experiences (2014–2019) of creating, coordinating and teaching three BL courses for beginner level students of L2 languages, broadly equivalent to Level A1 according to the Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2001). These courses were developed at two tertiary institutions in Aotearoa/ New Zealand: French (Walker-Morrison) and Italian (Brussino) at the University of Auckland (UoA); and Spanish (Gilmour) at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW). Although New Zealand's Massey University (Palmerston North) has pioneered the use of distance learning in various forms, including for L2 programmes, our courses are, to the best of our knowledge, the first and to date only 'experiments' with BL for European Languages in our country.

All three courses are offered over a 12-week semester for credits equivalent to 25% (UoA) or 33% (VUW) of a full semester workload, requiring a total investment from students of between 10–12 hours (UoA) and 16–18 hours (VUW) per week. All courses use modern textbooks and employ a communicatively focused research-based pedagogy, covering the four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking, and including integrated grammar instruction. Online materials, designed to be studied before the corresponding class (using distinctly different formats), consist of asynchronous (not in real time) contextualised presentation and controlled practice of lexical and grammatical content—what Long (e.g., 2000) described as a Focus on Forms (FonFs) approach. This is, however, an *adapted* approach whereby o/l FonFs instruction is not merely a top-down explanation of rules, but includes interactive elicitation of grammatical rules and input processing (drawing learners' attention to form-meaning connections, especially where these differ from English). In all cases, courses were designed to be taught according to a flipped-classroom, "front loaded" (Glazer 2012, p. 5) BL format, in which students first engage with o/l TL input, leaving on-campus classes for more active use of the language. Our courses thereby follow a balanced,

'modular' curriculum that treats language as both "object" and "tool" (Ellis and Shintani 2014, p. 329), in which o/l TL input and explicit grammar instruction serve as a form of intensive, guided pre-task planning (Ellis 2016). Pre-task engagement (front-loading) allows a greater proportion of the reduced class-time (from 4–5 to 2–3 hours/week) to be spent on student-centred, peer-interactional language activities. (Of course, in practice, many factors can impede the full realisation of this 'Platonic' ideal. We elaborate on this later.)

The success of BL courses hinges on the design-quality and integration of every aspect of the learning package—from o/l materials and class lesson plans to assessment practices—so that F2F and o/l activities "reinforce each other to create a single, unified course" (Glazer 2012, p. 1). The ability of each of us to create such a fit-for-purpose learning package from the first iteration depended largely on resourcing, technical support, adaptability and previous experience with o/l or CAL/CML (Computer Assisted or Mediated Learning).

After briefly outlining the courses we designed, we report on their 'success', measured by student feedback (course questionnaires for French and Italian courses), level of o/l engagement (viewing and/or activity statistics) and comparative final grades statistics for all courses. Italian and Spanish BL options were offered alongside existing Campus courses, with the latter serving as simultaneous controls.[2] We begin with the Beginners Spanish' course at Victoria University of Wellington. We go on to present the French and Italian cases at the University of Auckland, discussing these two cases in comparative terms.

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[2] While the variables generated by teaching environments are far from the "laboratory conditions called for by experimental research" (Allwright and Bailey 1991, p. 42), rendering it impossible to "scientifically" measure and compare learning outcomes (and student experience) across different courses, we used final grades (and student surveys) to gain a broadly accurate measure of the phenomena under analysis.

Beginners Spanish at Victoria University of Wellington (2017–2019)

Course Design

Recorded lectures prepared students for a two-hour weekly evening class (taught by experienced tutors who were also involved in the on-campus option) focusing on oral practice, grammar reinforcement and listening skills. Course content for the two options was almost identical (with on-campus students attending one hour of oral production and grammar reinforcement and one hour of listening skills), and o/l lectures were fully integrated with on-campus classes. Blended assessment initially consisted of five online quizzes and in-class tests, as per the CC option, except that the Campus Tutorial Assessment component (10%) was replaced by a Final Oral Test. Recognising the need for students to see the human face behind the o/l materials, and to be made aware of the particular demands of BL, Gilmour gave the first lecture in person (with the tutor also participating), kept in regular contact with the students via the LMS, and appeared at tests.

Student Learning Outcomes

Findings on student engagement in 2017 were disappointing. Levels of engagement with the o/l lectures (as measured via activity recorded on the LMS) dropped off rapidly after the first two weeks of semester, resulting in poor performance and falling attendance at tutorial classes, which in turn resulted in poor learning outcomes, with 10% fewer students achieving A grades (BL = 31.3% / CC 42.7%) and almost 20% more students failing the course (BL = 31.3% / CC 13.4%). In response, a number of changes were made to the course. In 2018, tutorial and audio-visual practice classes were made mandatory for the BL option. Students could not pass the course if they did not attend a minimum of 9 out of 12 classes. It was hoped that, because they had to attend practice sessions, students would therefore study the material necessary to participate fully

in the subsequent sessions. Furthermore, they would have the opportunity to ask questions and check their knowledge with the tutor. The material taught and assessment items would otherwise remain the same. No such mandatory course requirements were applied in the CC version of the course, which included an incentive of 10% assigned to tutorials (assessed on level of preparedness and participation). Although there was a marginal improvement in 2018's final grades, the overall level of achievement was still worryingly lower than the campus-taught course. Clearly, more robust intervention was needed. In 2019, the o/l quiz component was doubled in frequency and weighting, going from five fortnightly quizzes for 10% to ten weekly quizzes (Weeks 2–11) for a total of 20% of the final grade. The material tested what was covered in the preceding week of recordings and the quiz had to be taken within a three-day period (Friday 9 am to Sunday 5 pm). The mandatory course requirement (MCR) of class attendance (Tutorial and AV sessions) was also retained.

The combination of more regular testing with more points assigned to the tests, and the MCR for attendance, led to substantial improvements in student engagement and learning outcomes. The tutor reported that, unlike in previous iterations, students were generally well prepared for class and, while she still had to do a certain amount of grammatical reinforcement, the difference in preparedness between the BL students and the CC students was less pronounced. Over the course, viewing statistics improved to 65–70% until Week 9, when they decreased to around 30%, on a par with 2018. (In 2018 the number of students viewing the recordings had dropped to 30–50% by Week 6 and remained at that level; in 2019, a greater number of students were watching more of the recorded lectures, presumably in response to the introduction of the more regular quizzes.) As can be seen in Table 1, while final grades for the BL course were not as high as those of the CC, they were within range. Significantly, the pass rate in the BL version of the course was actually higher than in the CC. In fact, the highest scoring student over both courses came from the BL option. Moreover, the number of disengaged students who failed to complete the coursework came down to zero, which has never been achieved in the conventional CC delivery.

Table 1 Beginners Spanish, comparison of blended and campus courses

Beginners Spanish, Victoria University of Wellington, 2019		
Course/delivery mode	SPAN 101 CC campus n = 100 (six tutorial streams)	SPAN 101 BL blended n = 20 (one stream)
Taught components (1 hour = 50–55 minutes)	3 × 1 hr combined lectures 1 hr tutorial (oral) + 1 hr audio-visual (listening)	Pre-recorded on-line lectures 1 × 2 hr (5.30–7.30 pm) Tutorial + Listening
Assessment		
Written test 1 (50 min) min)	20%	15%
Written test 2 (50 min)	25%	25%
AV test 1 (50 min)	10%	10%
AV test 2 (50 min)	15%	10%
Written assignment	10%	10%
Online quizzes	10%	20%
Tutorial assessment	10%	–
Final Oral test	–	10%
A band pass rate	41.1%	35.0%
B band pass rate	29.5%	25.0%
C band pass rate	18.9%	35.0%
Overall pass rate rates	89.5%	95%

French and Italian Blended Learning for Beginners at the University of Auckland

A Brief History

Aided by managerial foresight and generous technical and financial assistance from the Faculty of Arts at UoA, Walker-Morrison and Brussino were early adopters of CML, creating extensive multimedia materials for computer laboratories (Brussino between 1993 and 1996) and for distance learning courses (Brussino in 1998, and Walker-Morrison in 2000). Distance learning was phased out after five years due to low enrolments (fewer than eight per cohort) and high running costs, with French also offering what we termed 'flexible' delivery (distance materials + 1–2 hours F2F + on-campus tests and examination) for those students based in

Auckland (2003–2009). In fact, this was an early attempt at BL, which was in turn phased out due to falling enrolments, lack of staffing and technological complications.[3] However, the advent of more sophisticated and user-friendly o/l technology opened up new opportunities for BL and, by 2014, we piloted the first entirely blended Beginners Language course for French, designed and taught by Walker-Morrison and another colleague (with three tutors), to a large cohort of 242, including 156 General Education[4] students (who do not usually continue in the language). Table 2 presents an overview of the two programmes.

French 2014–2019

Entitled *Cliquez-Ici* ('Click here'), the French o/l BL programme, created in *Coursebuilder*, UoA's in-house course management system platform (and delivered to students via the LMS *Canvas*), was adapted from existing distance learning materials. The *Cliquez-Ici* programme consists of 44 one-hour lessons and revision activities (taught over 11 weeks). Extensive use was made of materials from *Deux Mondes*,[5] which the publisher allows adopters to freely adapt. *Deux Mondes* video, audio and textual materials containing linguistic and cultural inputs were transformed into a range of interactive comprehension-based and controlled-practice activities. Original materials were also created (video, audio, image and text-based) to fill gaps in the text and to adapt American-based content to our local audience. Graded online quizzes use the publisher platform (Connect+), to which students purchase access when they buy the text.

When the course was piloted in 2014, results were pleasing: a survey conducted in Week 9 of the semester (169/241 respondents) indicated

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[3] The CDRoms (eight per course) which originally housed the French (and Italian) multi-media content were complicated to create and modify (requiring the employment of a full-time programmer) and some French Flexi students disliked having to purchase them in addition to the (*Deux Mondes*) textbook.

[4] Most students studying for an undergraduate degree at UoA are required to complete one or two General Education (GenEd) courses. Designed to broaden students' knowledge, GenEd courses are usually Stage I level courses in a subject the student has not studied before or would not normally undertake in the course of their main programme of study.

[5] Terrell, T., Rogers, Mary, & Kerr, Betsy. (2013). *Deux Mondes* (Seventh ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Table 2 French and Italian, comparison of 2019 blended and campus course design

Beginners French and Italian: blended vs. campus course structure and assessment		
	Beginners French Sem 12019	Beginners Italian Sem 22019
O/L components (lessons = 1 hr)	4 × 11 weeks *Cliquez-ici* Lessons and Revision Activities, integrated with and including material from *Deux Mondes* 7th ed. Text	4 × 11 weeks *In Italia con Giacomo* graded lessons, integrated with The Italian Project 1A textbook, Edilingua
Blended workload: Weekly distribution and class size (Ss)	4 hrs O\L lessons (*Cliquez-ici*) 3–5 hrs class prep, revision, O\L Quiz Tests and Exam 3 hrs (2 × 90 min) F2F task-based sessions (× 30–35 Ss)	4 hrs O\L lessons (*In Italia con Giacomo*) 4–5 hrs class prep, revision, O\L quiz virtual cafè discussion, tests and exam 2 × 50 min F2F task-based sessions (× 20–25 Ss)
Campus course workload (F2F sessions = 50 min)	(Pre 2014) 1 × 4 F2F (× 30–35 Ss) 6–8 hours class prep extra revision, tests and exam	1 × 4 F2F (30–35 Ss) 6–8 hours class prep extra revision, tests and exam
Blended assessment	Oral classwork and presentation 20% O\L quiz (best 5/6) 10% Tests × 2 30% Final written exam 40%	In Italia con Giacomo 33% O\L Quizzes (10) 15% Tests × 2 22% Final Oral exam 10% Final written exam 20%
Campus course assessment	(pre 2014) Oral classwork 10% O\L quiz (×5) 10% Tests × 2 40% Final written exam 40%	Oral projects 10% O\L quiz (×10) 10% Tests × 2 20% Final Oral test 20% Final written exam 40%

clearly that an overwhelming majority (over 70%) of students appreciated the BL format and only 8% of respondents (11/169) said they would not recommend the course (see Table 3).[6] Moreover, class participation levels were higher than in 2013, and dropout and fail rates remained stable. In fact, final grades showed a slight improvement over the previous year (see Table 4). Nonetheless, levels of satisfaction with the o/l

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[6] Results of the 2014 end of course student evaluation were in line with the Blended Learning survey, with an overall satisfaction rate of 84.5%, compared with 80.5% in 2013.

Table 3 French (2014, 2019) and Italian (2019) Blended Survey results

Blended Learning @ UoA: Anonymous Student Survey	% Agree—Strongly Agree			% Agree + Neutral		
(Results rounded to nearest %) Responses/Enrolled	French 2014 170/242	French 2019 191/242	Italian S2 2019 42/53	French 2014	French 2019	Italian S2 2019
1. The course information explains the course structure clearly.	64	87	95	79	96	100
2. If given the opportunity to take further language courses, I would appreciate a similar structure.	69	80	60	84	94	90
3. The structure of this course enables me to learn more easily than a conventional language course.	52	64	52	74	83	81
4. On-line lessons are engaging and fun to do.	50	53	69	76	76	93
5. On-line lessons enable me to learn effectively.	69	64	67	84	84	98
6. I prepare the on-line lessons regularly and before class.	54	31	50	73	69	81
7. The more I prepare, the better my performance in class.	88	82	88	99	96	100
8. The number of allocated class hours per week is appropriate for my learning.	75	78	71	84	91	98

Table 3 (continued)

Blended Learning @ UoA: Anonymous Student Survey	% Agree—Strongly Agree			% Agree + Neutral		
(Results rounded to nearest %) Responses/Enrolled	French 2014 170/242	French 2019 191/242	Italian S2 2019 42/53	French 2014	French 2019	Italian S2 2019
9. Classes are well co-ordinated with on-line materials.	46	84	81	53	97	98
10. Classes are engaging and fun. I enjoy coming to class.	79	86	90	90	97	100
11. I would prefer a distance-learning structure where all class interactions take place on-line.	N/A	19	21	N/A	40	38
12. I would recommend this course.	75	86	93	91	97	100

Table 4 French and Italian, final course grades, pre- and post-blended learning

French and Italian blended and campus courses: learning outcomes							
	Beginners French pre- and post-blended				Beginners Italian 2019 blended and campus		
Final grades%	2013 CC n = 199	2014BL[a] n = 242	2018BL n = 236	2019BL n = 242	S1 BL[a] n = 49	S1 CC n = 54	S2 BL[a] n = 53	S2 CC n = 38
A band	26	28	31	26	63	52	32	8
Fail	22	16	17	19	20	9	15	18
Pass	78	84	83	81	80	91	85	82

[a]Designed, run and taught by authors

materials were less than 70% and steps were taken to remediate them, via improved visuals, more varied interactive exercises with immediate feedback and improved introductory pages to render lesson content more visible. Also, while many students appreciated *Cliquez-Ici*'s comprehensive course content, others found the volume of input overwhelming. From 2015, the new coordinator tackled this by highlighting key

activities to be prepared before each class, with the remainder designated as revision. The number of o/l quizzes was also reduced (from ten to six). In 2016, the course was rated by General Education students as among the most popular Gen Ed courses at UoA and French was officially congratulated by the Pro-Vice Chancellor Academic, for the "outstanding evaluation results attained." Moreover, final grades for French Blended Learning from 2015 to 2017 remained steady, with 24–28% of students achieving A-Band grades and overall pass rates of 80–87%. Comparable results were achieved in 2018–2019 (see Table 4).

The course was designed and developed according to a front-loaded approach, with students meeting and practising new language o/l before engaging in further practice and productive activities in class. In 2019, the part-time staff member teaching and co-ordinating the course (a very experienced language teacher and first language speaker of French) decided to shift the structure to a back-loaded format. New language was first presented in class and o/l activities used largely for consolidation. This intervention, intended to lighten student workload and reduce perceived higher dropout rates (which had *not*, in fact, increased since the implementation of BL, see Table 4) had a number of consequences, discussed briefly below.

Italian Blended Design (2019)

Brussino's experience in materials design, coupled with a small grant from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, enabled her to develop a BL course for Italian over 12 months in 2018, and to run two pilots (1 × 2 hrs F2F/week) alongside the existing CC option (4 × 1 hr F2F/week) over two semesters in 2019 (see Table 2 above). The BL and CC options used the same textbook, covered the same chapters and had an almost identical final written examination. In each semester, each option attracted cohorts of around 40–50 students, divided into two streams, over 70% of whom were Gen Ed students.[7] Blended F2F classes focused on individual and group output production

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[7] General Education enrolments in Italian included 38 / 49 BL; 38 / 54 CC in Semester 1 and 34 / 53 BL; 27 / 38 CC in Semester 2 2019.

through a range of activities. The remainder of course learning took place through the online app-based component (accessible from all digital devices) and independent study.

In the app *In Italia con Giacomo*, designed to work with the textbook,[8] Giacomo is an electric Vespa with a personality, who acts as the learner's travelling companion and learning guide. Over 11 weeks, learners travel with Giacomo through Italy from north to south, acquiring language and culture that they then use in production activities in class. Learners can also visit a (non-assessed) virtual café, *Al bar di Piazza Anfiteatro*, to share learning strategies and discuss problems and progress with peers.

Each week learners must complete all activities in the four o/l lessons to drive Giacomo to his next destination. Learners then complete a weekly o/l quiz (testing material covered in the four lessons) in order to successfully 'recharge' Giacomo and continue on to the next lesson or leg of the trip. Learners follow their progress through a dashboard and map which allow them to track their progress for the week.

As with French, minor adjustments to class materials and assessment were made in the Italian BL course following the pilot, with further assessment changes made 2020 when the final written examination percentage was raised to 30% and the o/l quizzes reduced to 5%. A series of videos were also provided via the LMS as reinforcement.

French and Italian, 2019: Student Learning Outcomes

Brussino and Walker-Morrison have been able to draw on their previous experience as both language teachers and early CALL adopters to create what we perceive as broadly successful courses from the first iterations, but which have been, and continue to be, constantly reviewed as student cohorts and technologies evolve, in order to maximise learning outcomes and respond to student feedback.

In 2019, we surveyed French and Italian BL students, using a very similar set of survey questions issued to students after the first pilot for French BL in 2014 (Table 3).

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[8] *The Italian Project* 1A, 2nd ed., Edilingua.

Across both courses, 2019 results were very positive, with 93% of Italian students saying they would recommend the course against 86% for French. Students were appreciative or neutral towards the BL format, with under 20% indicating a clear preference for a conventional F2F structure. Even if many did not consider the BL structure pedagogically superior to conventional delivery methods, students appeared to appreciate the flexibility afforded by the BL format.

Although there appears to be a slightly higher level of approval (7%) for the French option of longer, more frequent F2F sessions (2 × 90 minutes classes per week versus 1 × 2 hours session for Italian), both groups of students found the F2F volume appropriate to their learning (over 70% agreement, less than 10% disagreement).

Over 80% of students across both courses greatly appreciated the F2F classes, and only around 20% stated a preference for distance learning. These results reinforce previous (largely American) research suggesting that a majority of contemporary students agree that BL can indeed provide a workable Best of Both Worlds study option (see Glazer 2012, p. 2).

The French survey results (2014–2019) show improvements in most areas as course materials and structures were refined. There was an increase of roughly 10% over 2014 in the number of students who said they appreciated the BL structure (from 52 to 64%), preferred it to a conventional structure (from 69 to 80%) and would recommend the course (from 75 to 86%).

Conversely, however, attitudes to o/l materials and levels of preparation worsened. Students expressed somewhat lower levels of satisfaction with o/l materials as learning tools (64%, down from 69% in 2014), despite improvements made in the intervening years (and high overall levels of student satisfaction, as mentioned). In 2019, students also reported lower levels of regular engagement with o/l *Cliquez-ici* materials (31%) than in 2014 (54%). We speculate that the two phenomena are likely interrelated. In the 2014 survey, students were asked how long they spent on the o/l materials. Unsurprisingly, responses correlated closely with their perception of the materials and the course. That is, the more time students said they spent preparing for class via engaging with the o/l materials, the more it seemed that they enjoyed them and found them to be effective learning tools, and the higher their overall satisfaction with

the course. We also hypothesise that lower levels of self-reported student engagement and satisfaction in 2019 are largely attributable to the shift to a back-loaded structure which reinstated grammar presentation in F2F classes, with the o/l component as revision. Support for this hypothesis is provided by viewing statistics for the total occasions when o/l materials were accessed. These viewing statistics reveal that average page views per student plummeted over 300% between 2018 and 2019: from 380 to just 104 (Total Pages = 370). The 2019 survey results also indicate a reported drop in regular o/l engagement of 23% compared with 2014.

It seems that, while the 2019 experiment with a back-loaded BL structure appeared popular with students, the latter were engaging much less regularly with the o/l materials. This may have been because the requirement to prepare ahead had been removed, leading many students to elide this key phase in the learning process. More importantly, there was no evidence to suggest that back-loading had a clear positive impact on learning outcomes. On the contrary, in 2019 there were 5% fewer A-Grade students over 2018 and a 2% lower overall pass rate (Table 4). Making the course "easier" (in the perception of some students) by requiring less regular and timely preparation via the o/l content did not lead to fewer students dropping out (or failing) or result in more A grades.

On a more positive note, BL has lifted enrolments. Beginners Italian attracted 103 students in total in 2019 instead of the 60–80 of the previous two years. Over two semesters the Italian BL option attracted more students than the conventional CC course, with the BL format slightly more popular in Semester 2. While learning outcomes were broadly comparable, a greater percentage of BL students disengaged and failed the course in Semester 1, and adjustments made to assessments seem to have rectified the problem in Semester 2. Conversely, the CC results were not as strong in Semester 2.[9] Also, in both semesters, the Italian BL option produced a greater percentage of outstanding results (11–24% more A grades), in line with the most recent results for Spanish. Semester 2 grades (24% more As and 3% higher pass rates) are especially pleasing, since the BL classes were slightly larger than in the CC option (Table 4).

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[9] Beginners Italian final grades showed similar rates of fluctuation over the two years before the introduction of Blended Learning.

Italian survey results (Table 3) show that, despite assessment incentives and a clear recognition that timely preparation impacts performance (Q7: 0% disagreement), many students recognise their preparation is not optimal: only 20% say they do not prepare regularly (which equates approximately to the number of fails), and only 50% say they do (Q6).

Nonetheless, final grades suggest that students who were serious about keeping up with the o/l preparation and classes acquired more language than students enrolled in the conventional course. Of course, one must exercise caution in using final grades as a measure of long-term language acquisition. It is also possible that the high percentage allocated to o/l activities and quizzes rendered the BL option less challenging and final grades a less robust measure of learning outcomes.

Conclusions

While Blended Learning is not, in and of itself, a panacea, it provides opportunities for L2 teaching and learning that are not as available in CC courses. It cannot single-handedly resolve the issue of decreasing enrolments, but in providing flexible timetabling for students, particularly those majoring in non-language and non-Arts-based programmes, it expands enrolment possibilities to students who would not otherwise study a language. All three languages in this study saw non-negligible gains in student numbers following the adoption of BL, and retention rates have been pleasing. French and Italian have seen increases of around 20% in the number of enrolments, including General Education students (70–75% of our cohorts on average).

The example of French at UoA demonstrates that, with comprehensive o/l materials fully integrated with F2F classes, alongside robust assessment practices, it is possible to switch entirely from a Conventional to a Blended format without a drop in levels of student satisfaction. In large courses such as French, with eight or nine streams running simultaneously, savings in teaching costs (due to reduced teaching hours and preparation) can be considerable, thus the large initial investment required to set up BL courses can be quickly recovered. Moreover, switching to BL streamlines delivery and lowers administrative costs of running two

options simultaneously. Italian will switch its Beginners course to 100% BL from Semester 2, 2020.

Most importantly, our collective experiences reinforce a growing body of research suggesting that BL is pedagogically sustainable, producing outcomes at least on a par with conventional formats (Grgurović 2017). Final grades and pass rates across the latest iterations of our courses show that the switch to BL need not either compromise learning outcomes or lead to greater student disengagement. Indeed, the opposite may well be true—we have already seen some excellent results and increases in number of A-Band final grades—where students are willing and *able* to become responsible for their own learning. This is in line with claims made for the superiority of BL over F2F instruction, based on the enriched input opportunities offered (Glazer 2012). Our three courses also highlight the fact that the availability of enriched input is not sufficient for improved learning. Students must first engage with the input— and there, as they say, is the rub. Surveys and/or results from all three courses highlight the crucial importance of student engagement: timely pre-class preparation (front-loaded course structure for L2 courses) and regular attendance at F2F classes. Many students struggle to manage their own learning without considerable and constant prompting (especially at first-year level), and beginner students are often unaware of the discipline involved in learning a language. Moreover, even the most capable and conscientious students must often juggle multiple responsibilities (families and outside employment) as well as expensive university studies, which mean they must prioritise where they invest their time and energy, and intrinsic motivation are often overshadowed by economic realities. In such a context, multiple measures are required to ensure student engagement, and BL is an important component in that.

Front-loading in line with a 'flipped classroom' model both fosters timely engagement (crucial for L2 instruction) and enables more productive use of class time. However, arguably a central determining factor is appropriate assessment, structured to maximise engagement with materials *outside* class and active participation *in* class. That is, a combination of mandatory class attendance, class participation grades, monitoring of o/l engagement and/or assessed on-line activities is not simply effective, it is crucial. Even more than in conventional university (language) F2F

courses, both juicy carrots and hefty sticks are essential to success. Implementing these can be time-consuming, whence the importance of good technical support, efficient systems and, arguably most importantly, buy-in from course teachers.

With regard to teacher buy-in, less F2F class time means every second must be optimised and teaching staff must be prepared to work hard to build connections and communication flow with students. In the instance of Spanish, we cannot underestimate the value of the presence of two very experienced and enthusiastic tutors (with a positive attitude towards BL) who encouraged the students constantly, did their best to keep them on track, and were able to plug any gaps in the students' knowledge when they encountered them.

The ability to produce or offer sophisticated, personalised, engaging multimedia materials also impacts student satisfaction, as demonstrated particularly by the success of Italian. Nonetheless, our Spanish case study suggests that the relatively low-cost, flipped classroom option of pre-recorded o/l lectures and input can be effective for L2 instruction. The much higher development costs involved in high-tech multimedia materials creation can be recouped by switching to 100% BL due to the economies of scale which are generated.

Our combined experiences have demonstrated that variations in F2F time (from 1 × 2 hrs to 2 × 90 minutes per week) are pedagogically effective and acceptable to students within a well-designed, integrated package and appropriate class sizes. With only two hours of classes (Spanish and Italian), we estimate a workable class size to be at 15–25 students, whereas courses offering 2 × 90-minute sessions (French) can effectively accommodate up to 30 students.

Despite New Zealand L2 students' unfamiliarity with the BL format, the three examples we have presented demonstrate that, with careful planning and integrative design, blended L2 instruction can meet student expectations for engaging input and flexible delivery and can complement the classroom experience. Crucially, learning outcomes need not suffer; indeed, our experiences suggest that BL has the potential to raise grades.

It is likely that ongoing technological advances (increasingly sophisticated software, the ubiquity of mobile devices, growing popularity of

gaming, digital storytelling and advent of virtual reality—see, for example, Lloyd et al. 2017) will provide further opportunities and drive innovation in course design, in terms of both o/l materials and assessment methods. Moreover, as has already occurred in the USA, growing institutional appetites for BL across the globe will likely generate a push for the widespread adoption of this distinctively twenty-first-century mode of course delivery (Saravanan and Saravanan 2008). Let us hope that such a development also sees the provision of required resourcing.

In concluding, we hope that our experiences, research and reflections as presented here will encourage other adopters, help them to avoid some of the teething problems we encountered, and take full advantage of the growing suite of CALL technologies that can benefit L2 learning. We believe we have developed flexible, pedagogically sound, cost-effective 'templates' for blended language learning that could be adapted and extended to other L2 courses and programmes in Anglophone universities.

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How Do Virtual Interactions with French Speakers Affect the Motivation of Young Learners in a Scottish Primary Classroom?

James Innes and Alan Huang

Background

With the introduction of the 1 + 2 policy for language learning (Scottish Government 2012), the Scottish government aims to ensure that every Primary 1 child (aged four to five) is learning a first additional language (L2) and every Primary 5 child (aged eight to nine) a second additional language (L3) by 2021. '1' in the 1 + 2 language policy stands for the child's mother tongue and '2' for the two additional languages. In terms of the languages being offered, L2 could be a traditional European language or Gaelic, Chinese Mandarin, Cantonese or Urdu. L3 is more

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flexible as it can be British Sign Language or one of the community languages (Polish, Russian, Arabic, etc.). This follows the plurilingual European model, standardised in the European Council's 'Barcelona agreement' (Barcelona European Council 2002). However, Lanvers (2017) suggests that the current climate of language learning is not yet compatible with the ambitious aims of the 1 + 2 approach and that there continues to be a decline in learners' motivation and engagement in lessons.

There are two key barriers hindering the implementation of the 1 + 2 language policy. Firstly, there is a deficit in the necessary confidence and ability of teachers (Colquhoun 2018). There is no need for primary teachers to have a high school language qualification (Doughty and Spöring 2017), while most practitioners do not believe there is adequate training or sufficient resources available (Murray 2017). Secondly, the 1 + 2 language policy is being overshadowed by other policy objectives (Colquhoun 2018) and is set to have its funding withdrawn in 2021 (Doughty and Spöring 2017). The purpose of this investigation is to find ways to best support the 1 + 2 language policy in Scottish schools. To this end, the present study seeks to explore the extent to which virtual interactions with L1 speakers can provide an effective means by which primary teachers can innovate in their practices.

Review of the Literature

Theories of Oral Linguistic Acquisition

Drawing from sociocultural theory (SCT), this study highlights the dialectic unity of thought and language development where social interactions, cultural resources and semiotic systems are the source and origin of higher-order skills (Vygotsky 1986). Learners utilise a range of tools as mediational means in order to appropriate their participation in social interactions (Wertsch 1991). Language is one of the most important cultural and semiotic tools. In this study, we are particularly interested in how language-mediated activities in a primary classroom contribute to learners' development of their L2. Informed by SCT in second language

education, we have designed a number of classroom-based language learning activities where learners can gradually move from other-regulation to self-regulation. These activities are within learners' Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), defined as 'the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by individual linguistic production, and the level of potential development as determined through language produced collaboratively with a teacher or peer' (Ohta 2001, p. 9).

Within the interactive activities we designed, learners are encouraged to produce language at a deeper level by creating their own linguistic form and meaning (Swain et al. 2015). Norris and Ortega (2001) outline two L2 teaching methodologies that capture the 'form vs meaning' debate. Focus on Form (FoF) states that learned knowledge produces acquired knowledge only if the L2 material is used in a meaningful context and if it draws learners' attention to the target language. Meanwhile, Focus on Meaning (FoM) argues that learned knowledge (when grammar is taught and errors explicitly corrected) does not produce acquired knowledge (Long 1991). As learners collaborate (principally with a teacher in this study), they produce 'modified output' in order to be comprehensible. They are aided by two important procedures. Firstly, learners' oral production is enriched by 'noticing' their own holes of knowledge and modifying their output. Secondly, learners use 'hypothesis testing' in output by saying what they think is correct and subsequently modifying their output as a result of teacher or peer feedback (Swain et al. 2015).

Motivation in Language Learning

The study of motivation in language learning is of particular importance in embedding the 1 + 2 language policy (Scottish Government 2012). Self-Determination Theory (SDT) (Deci and Ryan 2016), a conceptualisation of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, is deemed relevant to the present study. Intrinsic motivation is the desire to engage in an activity because it is enjoyable and satisfying, while extrinsic motivation is a desire to perform an activity in order to receive a reward or escape a sanction (Noels et al. 2019). Research shows that students' success in learning a language can generally be attributed to intrinsic rather than extrinsic

motivations (Noels et al. 2019). One aim of this chapter is therefore to investigate whether virtual interactions with L1 speakers can provide students with intrinsic motivation in language learning.

According to Deci and Ryan (2016), SDT premises on three key factors that develop learners' intrinsic motivation—competence, autonomy and relatedness. They identify competence as the ability to attain internal and external outcomes, autonomy as the need to self-initiate and self-regulate, and relatedness as the need to develop secure and satisfying social connections. In the context of the present study, learners could develop competence through collaborative classroom activities as well as autonomy through personally delivering output in sociocultural interactions.

This study also references Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) concept of the ideal self (derived from the individual—personal hopes, aspirations, wishes) and ought-to self (derived externally—duties, obligations, responsibilities). Pae (2008) argues that there are close links between intrinsic motivation as the ideal self and extrinsic motivation as the ought-to self. The positive emotions associated with Foreign Language Enjoyment (FLE) (Dewaele and Alfawzan 2018) are also included in this study. A strong ideal self, coupled with FLE, has been shown to greatly increase students' motivation levels and rate of development (Saito et al. 2018). Therefore, the development of the ideal self, closely tied with the intrinsic motivation present in competence, relatedness, autonomy and enjoyment, might increase the Scottish learners' motivation in language learning.

The Use of Digital Technology in the Language Classroom

Ushioda (2011) argues that to motivate learners, teachers must harness both social media communication and students' interests and identities. Lesson content should revolve around conveying personal information (learners' transportable identities) through technological means (Richards 2006). It is, therefore, necessary to identify the most appropriate forms of asynchronous and synchronous computer-mediated communication

(ACMC and SCMC) to enable an effective set of interactions between L1 speakers and young Scottish learners.

In recent years, there have been ample studies on the effect of ACMC and SCMC in the second language literature (e.g. Humphry and Hampden-Thompson 2019; Zydney et al. 2020). As a form of ACMC, video recordings have been shown to be an effective means of facilitating interaction between L1 and L2 speakers. For instance, Hirotani and Lyddon (2013) argue that ACMC with L1 speakers improves the discourse and syntactic complexity of L2 learners if accompanied with a teacher's strategic mediation, planning and guidance. Such an improvement in learners' linguistic competence also increases the motivation of young language learners. In a similar vein, Jauregi et al. (2012) argue that SCMC can provide a platform for L1 and L2 speakers to interact in face-to-face settings that would be otherwise difficult to achieve. The most prominent and innovative means of SCMC is videoconferencing (VC), whereby two or more parties engage in online audio-visual discussion (Jauregi et al. 2012, see also Feick and Knorr, this volume, for other examples of virtual exchanges). VC can produce a range of positive effects upon learners, such as authentic conversation with L1 speakers that follows SCT's framework for a FoM (Winke 2013) and the development of intercultural awareness (Yang and Chen 2014). Yu's (2018) research shows that, despite the ample research on VC-mediated L2 learning, the majority involve university students, or else teacher- rather than learner-participants. Yu claimed that only Phillips (2010) has used primary school students as participants in empirical research on L2 VC. Building on Phillips' study, which investigated the effect of weekly VC interactions between primary-aged volunteers on oral production, pronunciation and delivery, and motivation, the present study incorporates both video recordings and VC into a series of language lessons for primary school learners and explores its effects on their intrinsic motivation and language development.

Underpinned by a broad sociocultural theoretical understanding of second language learning, this study examines how the interactions of ACMC video recordings and SCMC VC with similar-aged L1 French speakers could affect primary pupils' intrinsic motivation levels in Scotland. Significantly, the study aims to outline the pedagogical

implications for practitioners within and beyond Scotland by suggesting innovative strategies which can be used in a digital learning environment. The following research questions are proposed:

How do virtual interactions with L1 French speakers affect the motivation and language development of learners in a Scottish primary classroom?

(a) *What effect do virtual interactions with L1 French speakers have upon the motivation of learners in a Scottish primary classroom?*
(b) *How can virtual interactions with L1 speakers exemplify learners' developing linguistic repertoire in French?*

Methodology

Sampling

The study involved participants from two classes in the same Scottish school. Primary 3 Blue (P3Blue), which was taught by one of the researchers, acted as the experimental group, and Primary 3 Red (P3Red) acted as the control group. There were 27 participants in P3Blue (17 girls, 10 boys, 9 multilingual) and 23 participants in P3Red (12 girls, 11 boys, 8 multilingual). According to Scottish Index for Multiple Deprivations (2016), a composite measure of local area poverty, the score was 1.48 for P3Blue and 1.87 for P3Red on a scale of 1 to 20. This means that the school where the investigation took place was in a relatively deprived area. During the intervention, P3Blue interacted with 28 students aged between 6 and 9 in a *cours élémentaire niveau 2* (CE2) class in a school in Paris. CE2 did not act as participants in this investigation and no further data referring to them shall be discussed.

Study Design

This study followed a quasi-experimental framework with a non-equivalent, pre-test–post-test design (Taylor and Marsden 2014), whereby

P3Red acted as a control group and P3Blue followed treatment conditions. The study retained a degree of external validity through surface similarities with other schools attempting to implement the 1 + 2 language policy, and by eliminating regression to the means, test effects and plausible alternative explanations through the controlling of lesson plan input (Shadish et al. 2002).

Both groups of participants took a pre-test and a near identical post-test (see Appendices 1 and 2), which measured their perceived levels of motivation in line with the SDT construct of intrinsic motivation (Deci and Ryan 2016). Data were generated from five questions, 6–10 in the pre-test and 3–7 in the post-test. Three of these questions inquired of participants' enjoyment, which is part of intrinsic motivation (Noels et al. 2019), while the other two questions asked about fun in lessons and relatedness (Deci and Ryan 2016). Together, these questions measured one construct of intrinsic motivation. Emojis were used as a form of a visual analogue scale because they provide a suitable means to measure the emotional response of young children (Swaney-Stueve et al. 2018). Four emojis were, therefore, used on a spectrum that quantified as a scale from 3 to 0. In respect of copyright laws, hearts have been used in Appendices 1 and 2 to replace the surveys' original emojis.

During the intervention, learners were given ten weekly French lessons. The design and delivery of these lessons were informed by SCT (Reinders and Ellis 2009; Rassaei 2015) with a pre-planned focus on specific language structures in meaning-focused activities (Rassaei 2015). Learners 'notice' target language, which informs their output and helps them to modify it (Swain et al. 2015). The lessons were contextualised with meaningful activities for lower primary learners, such as songs, matching games and Kim's games. Learners were encouraged to notice target language features and were given equal opportunities to modify their output and/or negotiate meaning with a peer or teacher throughout the series of lessons. The content of the lessons, and subsequently the topics of virtual interactions, were highly relevant to each pupil's identity, such as their age, families, classroom and local landmarks (Richards 2006).

With regard to the integration of digital technology, each pupil in the P3Blue class engaged in either ACMC video recording or SCMC VC in French in six of the ten lessons. Five of these sessions were video

recordings of a monologue. The last of the ten lessons involved an hour-long SCMC VC where the Scottish and French young learners were able to interact in real time. A focus group interview was held w ith six P3Blue students following the intervention, but due to the limitations of space, the findings of the interview will not be presented in this chapter.

Data Analysis

In order to answer the first research sub-question, the quantitative data were analysed using SPSS version 25. A two-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used in order to measure the change in the experimental group's intrinsic motivation levels over time compared to the control group's. The five questions regarding intrinsic motivation which were repeated in both the pre-test and post-test were averaged for each participant (Thompson and Sylvén 2019). For instance, if one participant gave the scores 3, 2, 1, 2, 2 to questions 6–10 on the pre-test, then their pre-test score would be 2. The test of between-subjects effects was used to determine whether the virtual interactions had a significant effect upon the questionnaire scores and, if so, would produce an effect size (measured by the partial eta squared, η_p^2). An alpha level of 0.05 was used throughout this analysis.

Analysis of the video recordings and VC were then used to answer the second research sub-question, regarding the change in learners' linguistic repertoire. The primary source of data was how learners' repertoire changed over the course of the five video recordings where each learner spoke individually. We used a process that drew upon suggestions made by Huberman and Miles (2002) regarding deductive analysis of qualitative data.

Participants' competence and autonomy (Deci and Ryan 2016) were measured against key features of both modified output (Swain et al. 2015) and the Modern Language Admissions Test (Smith and Stansfield 2017). As competence is the ability to attain internal and external outcomes, it was measured through phonemic coding ability, grammatical sensitivity and modified output (as well as negotiated meaning during the VC). As autonomy is the ability to self-initiate and self-regulate, it was

measured by the level of unprompted and spontaneous output. Participants' demonstration of linguistic repertoire was categorised into one classification of competence (high, moderate or low) and one of autonomy (full, semi or non). Having reviewed the video evidence several times, we coded the qualitative data on two occasions, with 11 months in between. Following Huberman and Miles (2002), our intra-coder reliability value based upon 116 judgments was 90.5%.

Table 1 demonstrates typical examples of responses coded (James 2012) for the fourth set of individual video recordings on 'families'. Teacher prompting is shown in italics, spontaneous output in bold and

Table 1 Competence—phonemic coding ability (PCA), grammatical sensitivity (GS) and modified output (MO). Autonomy—unprompted output (UO) and spontaneous output (SO)

	High autonomy	Semi-autonomy	Non-autonomy
High competence	**Bonjour (partner's name). C'est** mon père, ma mère. **Au revoir!** *High PCA and GS. High UO and SO.*	Ma famille. Mon père, Ma mère … ma … *mon père …* mon père, ma soeur. **Au revoir** *High PCA, GS and MO. Some UO and SO.*	n/a
Moderate competence	Wanna see ma famille. Ma soeur, ma mère, mon glond beau-père, **ça va bien, bye!** *Moderate PCA and GS. High UO and SO*	*Voici ma famille …* Voici ma famille. **C'est** … *ma soeur …* ma soeur, um, mon père, ma mère. **Au revoir!** *Moderate PCA and GS. Some UO and SO*	Mon mère … *mon père* … mon père … *ma soeur …* ma soeur … *au revoir* … au revoir *Moderate PCA and GS. Little UO and no SO*
Low competence	n/a	Woici ma fanay. *Mon père …* mon pair … *ma mère …* ma mare. Au gevoir *Little PCA, GS or MO Some UO and SO*	Voici ma family. *Mon père …* mon père … *ma mère* … ma mère … *au revoir* … ovwah *Little PCA and GS Little UO or SO*

analysis in both. Scores were never deemed high in one category and low/non in the other.

Ethical Issues

Prior to the study, ethical approval was granted by the ethics committee of the researchers' institution (British Educational Research Association 2018) and the local council where the school is located. Interacting with child participants invariably raised a number of ethical issues. Firstly, it was important that informed consent was gained from the participants and their parents through providing explanations and answering their questions. Care was taken, as one of the researchers' position of authority as the P3Blue teacher could have led to intimidation or expectation in a climate of obedience (Cocks 2006). The project was, therefore, outlined in child-friendly terminology, and each child received a permission slip regarding the purpose of the research and our use of their data. A child's wish not to be filmed for specific videos was respected.

Secondly, the nature of our study raised issues of safeguarding, privacy and participant identity (Orton-Johnson 2010). We therefore created plans of anonymity, data storage and management to safeguard both groups of participants' privacy and identity. Questionnaire data were stored securely, data in this paper anonymised, an online sharing platform where access was only granted to those with a time-limited URL was used and videos of the participants spread no further than the P3Blue and CE2 classrooms.

Findings

What Effect Do Virtual Interactions with L1 French Speakers Have upon the Motivation of Learners in a Scottish Primary Classroom?

A two-way repeated measures ANOVA was used to answer the first research sub-question. Table 2 shows descriptive statistics from the

Table 2 Descriptive statistics

	P3Red (n = 23)				P3Blue (n = 27)			
	Pre-test		Post-Test		Pre-test		Post-test	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Intrinsic Motivation	2.06	0.51	2.30	0.52	2.36	0.72	2.65	0.41
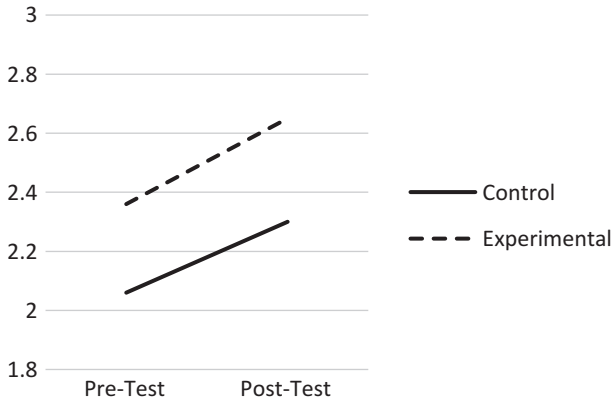
Fig. 1 Intrinsic motivation interactions for pre-test to post-test

Table 3 Inferential statistics

	Df	F	η_p^2	Observed power	p
Intrinsic motivation	1, 48	5.068	0.095	0.597	0.029*

*Significant at p < 0.05

pre-test and post-test. It highlights that there was already a mean gap of 0.3 in the intrinsic motivation levels of the two groups, but that this grew to 0.35 in the post-test. The interaction between the virtual interactions and motivation is graphically represented in Fig. 1. The slope of the experimental group's line is slightly steeper than the control group's, representing the small change in pre-test and post-test mean gaps.

Because there were only two repeated measures, pre-test and post-test, the sphericity was assumed. Box's M, p = 8.95 was also met, showing that the observed covariance between the treatment and control groups was homogeneous. The result for model assumptions of homogeneity of the

repeated measures was satisfactory. The two-way repeated measures ANOVA then demonstrated that the virtual interactions had a significant effect on P3Blue's intrinsic motivation, as shown in Table 3; F (1, 48) = 5.068, p = 0.029.

In light of this significance, the effect size shown in Table 3, partial η_p^2 = 0.095, becomes especially interesting. Cohen (Cohen 2013) ascribes the following significance to partial eta squared values: 0.01 < small < 0.06; 0.06 < medium <0.14; 0.14 < large. This demonstrates that the virtual interactions with French speakers had a medium effect upon the experimental group's intrinsic motivation compared to the control group's.

How Can Virtual Interactions with L1 Speakers Exemplify Learners' Developing Linguistic Repertoire in French?

The primary way to measure how virtual interactions exemplified learners' developing linguistic repertoire was to assess the change in their competence and autonomy over the individual video recordings, shown in Table 4.

Firstly, Table 4 shows that participants' linguistic competence increased dramatically, with 16 participants starting the intervention with low competence, but 22 finishing with high competence. This rise in competence was evidence by a decrease in the phonemic coding factors of mispronunciation and pauses, coupled with an improvement in word choice and ordering (Smith and Stansfield 2017).

Table 4 Individual video recordings output

		Competence			Autonomy		
	n	High	Moderate	Low	Full	Semi	Non
1—Greetings	26	1	9	16	1	7	18
2—Colours	22	7	12	3	14	2	6
3—Date and weather	23	16	6	1	19	0	4
4—Families	22	6	14	2	9	10	3
5—Paris and Glasgow	23	22	1	0	22	0	1

Participants' pronunciation of phrases such as 'bonjour', their partner's name, and 'au revoir' clearly improved. This was in part due to stronger pronunciation of the French 'r' sound, as well as more awareness of when certain letters should be silent. Moreover, the frequency and use of 'c'est', 'et' and 'ça va' demonstrated improved word choice. Combined with a significantly reduced number of pauses, the effect was to produce more coherent communication and more naturally flowing sentences.

Secondly, the participants' autonomy (Purpura 2017) increased over the course of the investigation, with 1 child showing full autonomy in the first video, compared to 22 in the final video, as documented by Table 4. Over the course of the videos, fewer children relied on a teacher's cue for their output. Moreover, an increasing number of participants spontaneously produced appropriate words and phrases over the course of the video recordings. Given the context and age of the participants, the level of spontaneous output was still quite basic, with phrases such as 'bonjour (partner's name)', 'c'est', 'voici' and 'au revoir'.

Equally, the participants displayed a degree of competence and autonomy in a VC scenario towards the end of the intervention. Nine of the 25 participants showed high competence by negotiating meaning with their partner in French without adult or peer help. This figure might have been greater with higher-volume technology and if the teachers had been slower to prompt. Three participants successfully hypothesis tested, then modified their output. For instance, one participant modified her pronunciation of 'tu aimes orange?' three times, before successfully negotiating the meaning. Moreover, 16 participants demonstrated semi-autonomy through some spontaneous use of French during the VC. Twelve children began the conversation with a spontaneous 'bonjour', while one asked 'ca va?' and a further five said 'au revoir'. The highest degree of autonomy was shown by five participants who answered a 'Do you like?' question with 'oui', demonstrating a willingness to reply in their partner's language.

Discussion

The present study confirms previous research which argues that virtual interactions with L1 speakers can increase the intrinsic motivation of

learners (Phillips 2010; Jauregi et al. 2012). Owing to an alpha level of 0.05, we can state with 95% confidence that there was a medium effect size in the test of between-subjects, measured by partial $\eta_p^2 = 0.095$, as shown in Table 3. Yet this study provides greater detail into the specific means by which virtual interactions can affect the motivation of a full class of primary-aged learners who acted as participants themselves. Namely, ACMC video recordings and an SCMC VC with L1 speakers increased the intrinsic motivation of the young language learners with regards to enjoyment, competence and autonomy (Dewaele and Alfawzan 2018; Deci and Ryan 2016). Given that increased competence and autonomy also contributed highly towards the participants' improving linguistic repertoire, we can establish a strong positive connection between the two variables measured by this study—intrinsic motivation and language development (Benson 2007; Deci and Ryan 2016).

Firstly, virtual interactions with L1 speakers positively affected the participants' enjoyment of French lessons. This can be assumed, given that enjoyment is part of intrinsic motivation by definition (Noels et al. 2019) and because the majority of questions within the *intrinsic motivation* construct explicitly inquired of participants' enjoyment. It may have been that the interactions made lessons particularly enjoyable because participants were given the chance to exchange their histories, interests and personalities with their partner (Ushioda 2011; Hampel 2019). The content of the video recordings incorporated personalised material, such as their age, families, classroom and local landmarks (Richards 2006). Moreover, by finding out more information about their counterpart's identity, the participants might have gained personal hopes, aspirations and wishes related to French that filtered into their ideal L2-self and generated intrinsic motivation (Dörnyei 2005, 2009; Pae 2008). These forms of interaction might have also increased the participants' levels of relatedness (a key component of intrinsic motivation); yet relatedness only featured in one of the five pre-test and post-test questions, so is difficult to assess for. Nevertheless, it is clear that the experimental group were intrinsically motivated through increased enjoyment of language learning, confirming previous research (Dewaele and Alfawzan 2018; Saito et al. 2018).

Secondly, the participants' increased intrinsic motivation can also be evidenced by their improved linguistic competence and autonomy (Deci

and Ryan 2016), displayed in Table 4. Crucial to this change was the preparation of lessons within the majority of children's ZPD so that participants moved towards autonomous self-regulation (Ohta 2001). All the lessons were designed around key SCT constructs (Wertsch 1991) through meaningful activities, such as songs, matching games, circle games and partner talk. This borrowed elements of FoF, as children learned to notice target language features, and FoM, as the experimental group sought to negotiate meaning with their partners and teacher (Norris and Ortega 2001). The findings suggest that regular noticing and hypothesis testing in both lessons and interactions helped learners to modify their output at appropriate times (Swain et al. 2015). The findings also advance the notion that pedagogical tasks designed to increase learners' awareness of language use and negotiation for meaning can contribute to the development of their linguistic repertoire (Huang 2020).

Significantly, the rise in participants' motivation also led to the development of their linguistic competence and autonomy. Whilst virtual interactions with L1 speakers can provide learners with the motivation to improve their linguistic repertoire (Benson 2007), simultaneous improvements in their competence and autonomy provide two core factors in increasing participants' intrinsic motivation (Deci and Ryan 2016). Therefore, the findings support the notion that virtual interactions with L1 speakers can have a positive, mutually constitutive and reinforcing effect on both learners' intrinsic motivation and their linguistic competence and autonomy.

Limitations

Despite attempts to eliminate plausible alternative explanations in the study design, certain limitations persisted. Firstly, selection bias, experimenter bias and ceiling effects could have affected the data. Selection bias probably resulted from the two groups of participants being pre-chosen by class rather than randomly allocated (Marsden and Torgerson 2012). Therefore, alternative historical explanations, such as both classes' dynamics, language learning experience, student-teacher relationships and prior L2 motivation could have influenced the pre-test scores. History would

also have affected the post-test scores, as both groups were taught by different individuals on a slightly different schedule. Moreover, the difference in one of the researchers' relationship to P3Blue and P3Red could have influenced the results through experimenter bias. Furthermore, the ceiling of a four-point Likert scale, measured in this case by emojis, in such a short questionnaire (see Appendices 1 and 2) would not have fully differentiated participants' true perceptions.

Secondly, the ten French lessons given to both groups seem to have contributed towards the rise in motivation of both the experimental and control groups, as evidenced in Table 2. In this sense, the control group were also given some sort of intervention—namely the ten lessons, which deviated from their regular model of language lessons. It was, therefore, difficult to differentiate the effect of the virtual interactions from the effect of the series of lessons upon the experimental group vis-à-vis the control group. Yet the data do highlight the intrinsically motivating effect of the lessons we designed with a broad sociocultural basis that harnessed learners' identities (Swain et al. 2015; Hampel 2019).

Finally, there was only one VC in this study, which meant that it was not possible to assess a change in the experimental groups' linguistic repertoire within the context of multiple VCs. Moreover, the researcher who was also the P3Blue teacher did not sufficiently exhibit the socio-effective, pedagogical and multimedia skills that Guichon (2009) argues to be important in mediating a VC. The researcher intervened too often in the VC by prompting his students and clarifying their questions. This reduced the participants' opportunities to employ higher cognitive functions and demonstrate full autonomy. In hindsight, both the P3Blue and CE2 teacher could have ensured that there were higher-volume speakers and that the two sets of children were afforded more time to negotiate the meaning.

Conclusion

This chapter confirms the findings from existing literature that interactions with L1 speakers can increase the motivation of learners as young as Primary 3. The use of ACMC video recordings and SCMC VC can

contribute to the increased levels of learner motivation. In particular, virtual partnerships with similar-aged L1 speakers can increase the enjoyment, competence and autonomy of young language learners. By forging social connections through sharing personal identities, learners can aspire to include another culture and language into their ideal self. Significantly, the virtual interactions produced a positive, mutually constitutive effect upon both learners' linguistic repertoire and their intrinsic motivation.

The study also carries ecological validity by giving practical advice to teachers who seek to embed innovative pedagogical practices and Scotland's 1 + 2 approach to language learning in their classrooms. Practitioners should focus lessons upon key target language features, providing learners with a range of meaningful activities to enable them to notice, test hypotheses and subsequently modify their output. Exchange of video recordings can provide manageable and motivating means to enable learners to share their learning and transportable identities during a plenary. In order to maximise the effect of SCMC upon language learners, practitioners should build their meta-competence in mediation over time (Yu 2018). Practitioners should ensure that learners are enabled to converse spontaneously with L1 speakers through engaging technology, minimal prompting and strong classroom management.

Furthermore, the conclusion that virtual interactions with L1 French have intrinsically motivating effects upon six- to eight-year-olds from low socio-economic backgrounds can be applied to similar settings across the globe, contributing to this study's external validity (Shadish et al. 2002). Given the teacher-as-researcher nature, we hope that this study will give pre-service teachers and experienced teachers the confidence to experiment in innovative ways to engage young language learners using digital technologies. We also hope that the findings of this study will shed light on language learning and teaching practices beyond Scotland and beyond the learning of French, therefore contributing to the ongoing debates about new methods for language teaching in the twenty-first century.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Pre-test Questionnaire

1) Name _____
2) Age _____
3) Have you ever visited a country where they speak French?
   Yes / No
4) If yes, did you speak French there?
   Yes / No
5) If no, would you like to visit a country where they speak French?
   Yes / No
6) I enjoy learning other languages. [intrinsic motivation]
   ♥♥♥♥   ♥♥♥   ♥♥   ♥
7) I enjoy learning the French language. [intrinsic motivation]
   ♥♥♥♥   ♥♥♥   ♥♥   ♥
8) I enjoy learning the way of life in France. [intrinsic motivation]
   ♥♥♥♥   ♥♥♥   ♥♥   ♥
9) I have a positive attitude to people in other countries. [intrinsic motivation]
   ♥♥♥♥   ♥♥♥   ♥♥   ♥
10) I have fun in French lessons. [intrinsic motivation]
   ♥♥♥♥   ♥♥♥   ♥♥   ♥
11) I need to learn French.
   ♥♥♥♥   ♥♥♥   ♥♥   ♥

Appendix 2: Post-test Questionnaire

1) Name _____
2) Age _____
3) I enjoy learning other languages. [intrinsic motivation]

♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

4) I enjoy learning the French language. [intrinsic motivation]
♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

5) I enjoy learning the way of life in France. [intrinsic motivation]
♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

6) I have a positive attitude to people in other countries. [intrinsic motivation]
♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

7) I have fun in French lessons. [intrinsic motivation]
♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

8) I need to learn French.
♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

Post-test Questionnaire (Experimental Group only)

9) Have you enjoyed learning French this term?
♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

10) Why?

_____
_____
_____

11) What topic did you like best and why?

_____
_____
_____

12) Did you enjoy working with your French partner?
♥♥♥♥ ♥♥♥ ♥♥ ♥

13) Would people be more interested in learning French if they knew someone French?
Yes / No

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Part V

Ways Forward Through Plurilingual Approaches in the Language Classroom

A Plurilingual Approach to Language Education at Primary Level: An Example from Ireland

David Little and Déirdre Kirwan

Introduction

This chapter describes the plurilingual approach to language education developed by Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní)—St Brigid's School for Girls—a primary school in Blanchardstown, one of Dublin's western suburbs. In 2015 the school had 320 pupils, 80 per cent of whom came from immigrant families. Most of the 80 per cent spoke a language other than English or Irish at home and had little or no English when they started school at the age of four and a half. Altogether, there were fifty-two home languages in addition to English (the school had no pupils from Irish-speaking families). Reasoning that pupils from immigrant families could not be fully included in the life of the school if their home languages were

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excluded, the school adopted the policy of encouraging the use of those languages inside as well as outside the classroom. This resulted in a version of the Council of Europe's "plurilingual approach" to language education (Council of Europe 2001, pp. 4–5) in which all the languages present in the school play a role in the teaching/learning process.

Scoil Bhríde's pupils achieve high levels of age-appropriate literacy in English, Irish, French (taught in Fifth and Sixth Class, the last two primary grades), and (in the case of pupils from immigrant families) home languages. They also display unusually sophisticated language awareness and an enthusiasm for language and language learning that often prompts them to undertake ambitious language learning projects on their own initiative. The school regularly performs above the national average in standardized tests of maths and reading; and the Department of Education inspectors who carried out a whole-school evaluation in March 2014, judged the teaching and learning of Irish in Scoil Bhríde to be "very good" (Department of Education and Skills 2014, p. 3)—a category to which, according to the chief inspector, only 12 per cent of primary schools are assigned (Department of Education and Skills 2018, p. 9). Scoil Bhríde has no access to additional resources apart from those allocated to all schools for the provision of English language support for EAL pupils.[1] To the best of our knowledge, its approach to language education is unique, at least in Ireland.

Déirdre Kirwan was principal of the school for twenty-eight years and developed its distinctive approach to language education in collaboration with her colleagues; their chief inspiration was the child-centred ethos of the Primary School Curriculum (Government of Ireland 1999). Our case study, which focuses particularly on the teaching and learning of Irish and French, draws on a corpus of qualitative data collected by Déirdre Kirwan over a number of years: video recordings of classroom interactions, examples of pupils' written work, teachers' work plans and monthly reports, accounts of particularly illuminating classroom episodes, interviews with pupils and teachers.

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[1] We use the term "EAL (English as an Additional Language) pupil" to refer to all pupils who speak a language other than English (or Irish) at home and are thus entitled to two years of English language support.

The Irish Context

According to Article 8 of the Constitution of Ireland (1937), "Irish as the national language is the first official language", while English is recognized as "a second official language". Irish has, however, been in steady decline since the 1840s. Small Irish-speaking communities survive, mostly in rural areas on or close to the south-western, western and north-western seaboards, but most of the native population is English-speaking and there are no monolingual Irish speakers. Irish-medium schooling is available at primary and post-primary levels, but the majority of the population is educated through English. Because of its official status, Irish is an obligatory curriculum subject from the beginning to the end of English-medium schooling. The results of the 2016 census confirm that this does not produce widespread bilingualism. Only 39.8 per cent of census respondents said they could speak Irish (Central Statistics Office 2017, p. 66), and 30 per cent of respondents aged between 10 and 19 said they could not speak Irish, even though most of them were attending school (ibid.). Only 1.7 per cent of the population said they spoke Irish daily outside the school system (ibid., p. 67), while 24 per cent said they never used the language. Like some other primary schools, Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní) ensures that Irish is part of each pupil's daily communicative experience.

Historically, Ireland has been a country of emigration rather than immigration, but this has changed dramatically over the past three decades, especially since the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007. According to the 2016 census, 17.3 per cent of Irish residents (800,000) had been born outside Ireland (Central Statistics Office 2017, p. 46). Immigration on this unprecedented scale has brought linguistic diversity into the education system at all levels, and with it the challenge of providing for children, adolescents and young adults who are not native speakers of English. The Irish government funds two years of English language support for primary pupils and post-primary students whose home language is neither English nor Irish. Schools themselves decide how this support should be structured and delivered. A robust system of resources and regular in-service seminars for teachers was

developed between 2000 and 2008 by Integrate Ireland Language and Training, a not-for-profit campus company of Trinity College Dublin (Little and Lazenby Simpson 2009). But funding was withdrawn in 2008, since when no new resources have been developed and schools have been without specialist in-service support. In 2017, the Irish government published *Languages Connect: Ireland's strategy for foreign languages in education* (Department of Education and Skills 2017; see also Bruen, this volume), one of whose goals is to support the home languages of immigrants for the benefit of themselves and the country as a whole. It will never be possible to provide formal instruction in more than a handful of the estimated 200 languages that now exist in Ireland. Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní), however, has found a way of supporting home languages without explicitly teaching them.

Most primary education in Ireland is state-funded and most schools are managed by the churches, the majority (90 per cent) by the Roman Catholic Church and the rest by the (Anglican) Church of Ireland on behalf of itself and other Protestant denominations. Catholic schools are generally larger than Protestant schools and thus have more teachers; some Catholic primary schools are single-sex. Since 1984, Educate Together has been formally recognized as a patron body that is independent of religious affiliation; its patron functions are discharged by a company limited by guarantee. There are currently eighty-two Educate Together primary schools in Ireland. The first state-funded Islamic school was established in 1990 under the trusteeship and patronage of the Islamic Foundation of Ireland; at present there are two Islamic primary schools. Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní) belongs to the Roman Catholic parish of Blanchardstown.

Primary schooling comprises two preliminary years (Junior and Senior Infants) and six grades (First to Sixth Class). Equivalent to pre-school in other countries, the two Infant classes are optional, though most children take them. Children are admitted to Junior Infants when they are between four and five years old, which means that they move on to post-primary school when they are between twelve and thirteen. The primary curriculum has seven areas: language (English and Irish); mathematics; social, environmental and scientific education (history, geography, science); arts education (visual arts, music, drama); physical education; social, personal

and health education; religious or ethical education (the responsibility of the different patron bodies). Although foreign languages are not included in the primary curriculum, Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní) teaches French in Fifth and Sixth Class; otherwise all teaching is concerned with delivery of the curriculum, but in ways that accommodate and further develop pupils' plurilingual repertoires.

Scoil Bhríde's Plurilingual Approach

A Whole-School Policy

Scoil Bhríde's decision to include EAL pupils' home languages in classroom discourse is enshrined in a whole-school policy document endorsed by the Board of Management and shared with parents. Regularly reviewed and updated, the document (Little and Kirwan 2019, pp. 174–178) provides teachers with a "shield" if inspectors question their teaching methods. In keeping with the policy, all languages present in the school are visible on the walls of classrooms and corridors and regularly heard in readings, recitations and performances of various kinds. Recognizing that regular affirmation is empowering and motivating, the principal and all staff members, including non-teaching staff, show an interest in pupils' linguistic efforts and achievements. To encourage pupils to develop plurilingual reading skills, the school library includes books in English, Irish and as many home languages as possible (books are often donated by parents). Teachers are free to implement the language policy in whatever ways suit their preferred teaching style. Their commitment to the policy is confirmed by the annual, termly and monthly/fortnightly plans and monthly reports they are contractually required to submit to the principal. In addition, teachers are encouraged to maintain an archive of particularly interesting pupil work that can be drawn on for displays and exhibitions and used at staff meetings to inform discussion of the language policy and its implementation. Some teachers also find it useful to keep their own log, recording classroom exchanges and pupil

contributions of special interest as well as words and phrases that they learn in EAL pupils' home languages.

Including Home Languages in Classroom Discourse

Since the 1970s, pedagogical research has emphasized the importance of involving learners in dialogue, understood as reciprocal communication in which all participants have initiating rights. Dialogue—exploratory talk (Barnes 1976, 2008), thinking together (Mercer 2000; Mercer and Littleton 2007)—is the means by which teachers and learners forge links between old and new knowledge; when classroom communication proceeds dialogically, the generation of knowledge is a collaborative effort in which pupils and teachers support one another. This has long been considered the basis of good pedagogical practice in Irish primary schools—as the Primary School Curriculum insists, "the child is an active agent in his or her learning" and "the child's existing knowledge and experience form the basis for learning" (Government of Ireland 1999, p. 8).

Scoil Bhríde's approach to language teaching and learning is also dialogic. EAL pupils develop proficiency in English as a result of their involvement in dialogue with their teacher and other learners, who scaffold their attempts to speak and write; and all pupils become proficient in Irish because each day they are involved in dialogic use of the language. Teachers model pronunciation and orthography, correct non-judgmentally, and focus on linguistic form not for its own sake, but as a feature of pupils' own spoken utterances and written texts. Pedagogically, "grammar" is not a set of rules but a matter of producing well-formed utterances with appropriate pronunciation and well-formed sentences with correct orthography. If dialogic classroom talk *is* learning, when language is in focus, dialogic classroom talk is also *language* learning.

Scoil Bhríde has a long tradition of teaching Irish by using it. Teachers include Irish in the presentation and discussion of curriculum content and use Irish to communicate with pupils and one another outside the classroom. Although teachers are free to arrange their timetable in whatever way they choose, most begin the day with Irish followed by English and maths; this fills the morning. In the afternoon they teach

science, geography and history (collectively known as SESE—Social, Environmental and Scientific Education) as well as art and music. This arrangement has the benefit of activating pupils' Irish at the beginning of the day, and it gives the teacher an opportunity to introduce and practise language that she will return to in later lessons. Teachers of Junior Infants have reported, moreover, that at the beginning of the school year EAL pupils are most likely to use their home languages in Irish lessons, presumably because the switch away from English licenses plurilingual expression.

There are three ways in which EAL pupils use their home languages in the classroom. First, when they are working in pairs or small groups, they use them to communicate with pupils who have the same or a closely related home language; secondly, they use them for purposes of non-reciprocal display ("this is what we say in my language"); and thirdly, they use them as a source of intuitive linguistic knowledge that they share with the teacher and the rest of the class. By inviting pupils to use their home languages and share their linguistic insights, teachers are acknowledging the unique contribution that each language can make to the life of the classroom, something that EAL pupils find motivating and empowering.

Beginnings: The Infant Classes

From the beginning of Junior Infants, Irish and EAL pupils' home languages are used, as well as English, in the teaching and learning of curriculum content. Pupils are taught how to greet one another in Irish using the salutation *Dia dhuit*, and this is extended to all the languages of the classroom by asking if anyone knows a different way of saying *Hello*. Pupils quickly learn that while one child says *Dobri den*, another says *Salut*, a third says *Ciao*, and so on. In this way all pupils' languages are acknowledged, and children are exposed to a new and important fact: that there are many different ways of performing simple communicative acts. According to the Primary School Curriculum, pupils in Junior Infants should be able to count from 1 to 10 in the language of schooling, identify the numerals involved and put them in the correct order. Some pupils already know how to do this when they start school, and others do

not. When pupils can confidently count from 1 to 5 in English, they are taught how to do so in Irish, and EAL pupils tell the class how they count from 1 to 5 in their home language. Repeating the task in different languages reinforces basic curriculum learning. It also presents early opportunities to identify cross-linguistic similarities, for example, *a dó*, *deux*, *duo*, and *trois*, *three*, *a trí*. The same approach is used when teaching addition. Pupils sometimes mix languages when they make simple calculations, for example, *a two agus a two sin a four*, but this is a short-lived phase. Colours are also taught in English, Irish and home languages (parents provide the necessary written forms), and all the languages in the classroom are used when playing games like "Head, shoulders, knees and toes". Regularly performing simple learning activities multilingually lays essential foundations for the increasingly complex processes of plurilingual learning in later years. Even at this early stage, oral learning is supported with print; for example, the days of the week are written in each of the languages of the classroom, again with help from parents, and displayed on the classroom wall.

Both in the classroom and in the immediate environment, pupils' observational capacity supports language learning, and using Irish as the language of communication encourages pupils to associate the language with interesting events. For example, on a walk around the school grounds, the teacher stops and signals to everyone to be very quiet and listen to and/or look at the object of her attention. *Éistigí! Ar chuala sibh é sin?* ("Listen! Did you hear that?") or *Féach ar sin! Cad é?* ("Look! What's that?"). Using body language to indicate what she is listening to or looking at, the teacher waits for a response from the children, who answer in English or Irish. The teacher confirms their answers in Irish: *Is éan é. Ta sé ag canadh* ("It's a bird. It's singing"). Back in the classroom this event is used to reinforce the language that has been learned. The teacher asks: *Cad a chuala tú? Cad a chonaic tú?* ("What did you hear? What did you see?"). With her help the children answer: *Chuala mé…*, *Chonaic mé …* ("I heard …", "I saw …"). Phrases like these are reinforced until they are fully embedded in each child's repertoire and can be used as the basis for further language development.

Developing Plurilingual Literacy

The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) points out that plurilingual competence tends to be uneven (Council of Europe 2001, p. 133). Most of us attain greater proficiency in one language than in the others we know; and we may use our languages for different purposes—one predominantly for informal oral communication (EAL pupils' default use of their home languages), another mostly for academic purposes. However, Scoil Bhríde's policy assumes that it is the function of education to help pupils to develop the highest possible levels of age-appropriate literate proficiency in all their languages: English, Irish, French and (in the case of EAL pupils) home languages. According to the consultation that informed *Languages Connect*, "It is difficult for students from immigrant communities to maintain their languages without additional supports including qualified teachers who are registered with the Teaching Council" (Department of Education and Skills 2017, p. 17). Scoil Bhríde's experience shows, however, that EAL pupils can transfer the literacy skills they develop in English and Irish to their home languages without benefit of explicit instruction. Clearly, parents play an essential role in this process, as do older siblings; and some pupils attend weekend schools organized by their community. But it is also clear that from an early age, pupils' general enthusiasm for languages and language learning enables them to make significant progress on their own. This is mostly done by writing parallel texts in two or more languages—texts that are identical in content and structure (for examples of texts in EAL pupils' home languages, see Little and Kirwan 2019).

Pupils take their first steps towards plurilingual literacy in Junior Infants. From the beginning they are taught in a print-rich environment and are used to looking at pictures in which items are labelled in English and Irish. As they approach the end of the year, they use both languages for very simple written communication. One hot May afternoon, for example, the principal bought ice cream for everybody. The next day the class recalled this happy event and decided that they should send the principal a thankyou card. The teacher wrote the appropriate

phrases—*Thank you* and *Go raibh math agat*—on the whiteboard and pupils copied them onto the card they had already decorated.

In Senior Infants, teachers produce simple worksheets for pupils to complete in English, Irish and (in the case of EAL pupils) their home language—basic personal information, types of fruit and vegetable, items of clothing, and so on. In First and Second Class, as pupils gradually develop the ability to write longer texts, the production of parallel texts sometimes starts with Irish rather than English. For example, an Irish version of a story pupils are already familiar with is written collaboratively by the whole class. The teacher scaffolds pupils' contributions to the story, writing them on the whiteboard and correcting errors without comment. The pupils write the story in their copybooks and for homework translate the story into English and/or their home language. If the original story were written in English, it would be beyond most pupils at this level to produce an Irish translation without help, whereas producing an English translation of an Irish text is straightforward and reinforces their learning of Irish. Sooner or later, EAL pupils begin to produce parallel texts in English, Irish and their home language, and in Third and Fourth Class it is not unusual for pupils to produce parallel texts that run to several pages. Not to be outdone by their EAL peers, some Irish pupils produce text in English, Irish and a language that is not taught at school—an older sister may be learning Spanish at secondary school or a neighbour may be a native speaker of Italian.

An "Integrated" Approach to Teaching and Learning French

By the time French is introduced, in Fifth and Sixth Class, most pupils are able to speak and write Irish spontaneously and EAL pupils can read and write their home language with confidence. Although foreign languages are not part of the Primary School Curriculum, Scoil Bhríde includes French in the Fifth and Sixth Class timetable. One lesson a week is used to introduce new language, which is then reused and reinforced in the treatment of general curriculum themes. One Sixth Class teacher's monthly report, for example, explained that for French she had

combined simple question forms with a francophone focus on the weather. The question forms were:

Quel temps fait-il aujourd'hui?
Quel temps fait-il en France?
En quelle saison sommes-nous?
Nommez les mois d'hiver.
Quel temps fait-il en hiver?
Quels vêtements porterons-nous en hiver ?

The rest of her report read as follows:

Theme: La météo/les temps
Vocabulaire: Il fait beau, il fait mauvais, il y a du soleil, il y a du vent, il pleut, il neige, il fait froid, il fait chaud etc.
Linguistic awareness: Il fait/il y a.
Cultural awareness: We read about the weather in different parts of France. We looked at the Côte d'Azur and talked about the Mediterranean climate. We compared and contrasted the weather in Ireland with the weather in France.
Chanson: We sang the song "A Calais, il fait mauvais"
Cultural and linguistic awareness: We went to see a French film "Une vie de chat" in the Irish Film Institute as part of French film week. We did a lot of follow-up work on this, including ordering, sequencing and matching activities as well as artistic responses to the film.

The four Fifth and Sixth Class teachers collaborate on monthly plans for the language dimension of the curriculum, which is implemented at a higher level in Sixth than in Fifth Class. Figure 1 shows the plan for speaking in relation to the theme of house and home (there are similar plans for listening, reading and writing); Fig. 2 shows a Fifth Class pupil's illustrated description of her house, with text in Irish, French, Malayalam and English.

The following example shows the kind of text pupils can write in French by the time they move from Scoil Bhríde to post-primary school. Shortly before the end of the summer term, one Sixth Class asked their teacher if they could organize a fashion show and invite their parents and

Speaking	Labhairt	Parler	Speaking
• **Vocabulary:** different types of home – apartment, bungalow, terraced/semi-detached/ detached house etc. Furniture inside the house, amenities in the neighbourhood – swimming pool, cinema, sports complex etc. • **Revising:** There is/there are • **Sayings/Expressions:** "There's no place like home", "Blood is thicker than water" • **Questions and conversation:** 1. Where do you live? 2. What type of house do you live in? 3. How many rooms are there? 4. How many bedrooms? 5. Describe your bedroom. 6. Would you prefer to live in the city or the country? Why?	• **Foclóir:** árasán, teach, seomra folctha, seomra leapa, seomra suí, cistin, seomra bia, seomra teilifís, urlár, linn snámha, pictiúrlann, stad an bhus, faiche, teach scoite, teach leath-scoite, bungaló, teach sraithe, thuas staighre, thíos staighre, cúldoras, cúlghairdín, páirceanna, abhainn, simléar. • **Ag dul siar:** Tá mé i mo chónaí, tá tú i do chónaí srl. • **Nathanna:** plódaithe le daoine, bhí an saol is a máthair ann, i lár na cathrach, go deas ciúin. • **Ceisteanna agus comhrá:** Cá bhfuil tú i do chónaí? Cá bhfuil cónaí ort? Tá mé i mo chónaí/Tá cónaí orm/ Cónaím. Déan cur síos ar do theach/Cé mhéad seomra i do theach? Cén saghas tí atá agat? Cé mhéad seomra leapa atá ann? Céard atá i do sheomra leapa? An maith leat do theach? An maith leat bheith i do chónaí i dtír eile? Ar mhaith leat bheith i do chónaí faoin tuath? Cén fáth?	• **Vocabulaire:** une maison, un appartement, la cuisine, la salle de bains, le salon, la salle à manger, les chambres, le grenier, la salle de télévision, la cave, le cinéma, la piscine, la bibliothèque, l'école, les champs, les jardins publics • **Les questions/la conversation:** Tu habites où? Dans un appartement? Il y a combien de pièces? Il ya a combien de chambres? Décris ta maison. Qu'est-ce qu'il y a dans ta chambre? Tu préfères la ville ou la campagne? Pourquoi?	• Children will offer vocabulary from their own languages. Words can be compared and links drawn. Example: in English, *trousers* is plural but in French it is not. In Albanian, *pantalone* is also trousers and it is singular. **Questions/conversation:** The children will translate the following questions into their own language. Children can compare questions and answers. 1. Where do you live? 2. Do you live in a house or an apartment? 3. How many rooms are there? How many bedrooms? 4. Describe your house. 5. Describe your bedroom. 6. Would you prefer to live in the city or the country? Why?

Fig. 1 Fifth and Sixth Class teachers' monthly plan for teaching the language dimension of the curriculum

grandparents to attend. The teacher said they could, but she imposed two conditions. First, the show itself must make use of all the languages present in the class—English, Irish, French and home languages; and second, each pupil must invent a model, give her a name, and write a brief text about her in as many languages as possible. One pupil wrote the following text in English (transcribed without correction):

My name is Marceline. I am 15 years old. I am in Holly Star High. I am not that girly. I do alot of sports. My favourite is Basketball. I have many trophies from Basketball. I really like the colour blue and aqua, don't you think is beautiful? I really love my friends! I always go shopping with them and go skate-boarding with them! Here is a small part of my story. Enjoy!
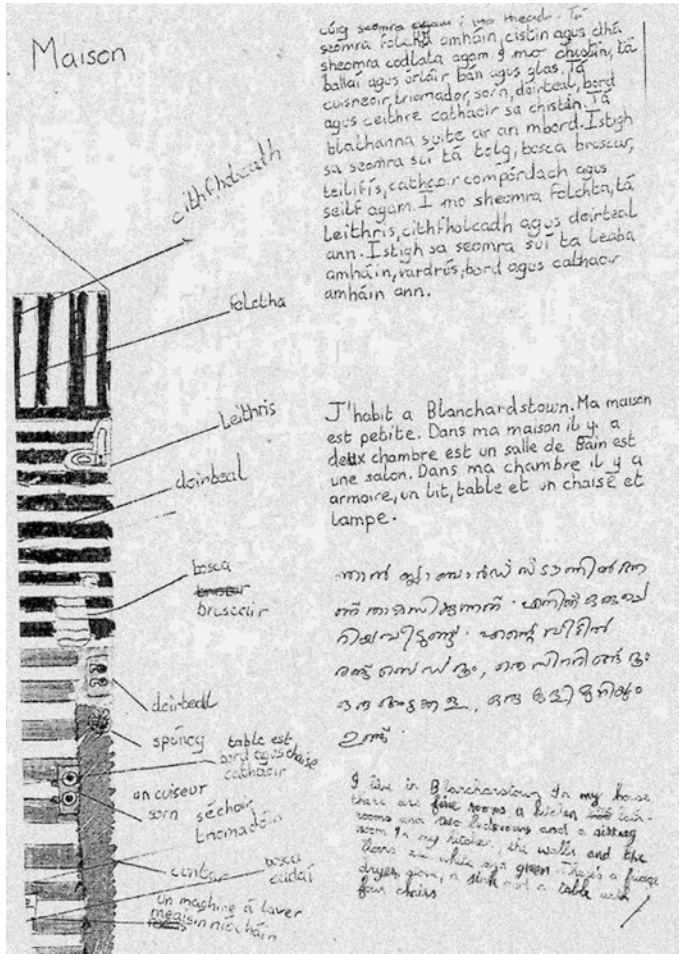
Fig. 2 A Fifth Class pupil's description of her home in Irish, French, Malayalam and English

She also wrote versions of this text in Irish, French and her home language (Mandarin). Here is her French text (again transcribed without correction):

Je m'appele Marceline. J'ai quinze ans. Je vais à l'école "Holly Star High". J'aime le sport. J'adore le basket. J'ai gagne beaucoup de [*words missing*].

J'adore les couleurs bleu et aqua. J'adore mes amis—je fais le magasin tou-jours! Je vais avec mon ami! Amusez-vous bien.

Although the errors are easy to spot, this pupil has produced a coherent piece of French discourse. Clearly, she will take with her to post-primary school the confidence and ability to use French for her own communicative purposes—something that, as *Languages Connect* acknowledges, is not always the case with school-leavers: "our competency levels remain low" (Department of Education and Skills 2017, p. 6).

Autonomous Learning Projects

The emphasis that Scoil Bhríde places on language and languages generates high levels of interest and motivates pupils to undertake language learning projects on their own initiative. For example, the European Day of Languages inspired one Second Class (7½+ years old) to translate the song "It's a Small World" into all the languages of the classroom. For a week they devoted their breaks to learning the different versions of the song and on Friday they were able to sing it in eleven languages. A Filipino pupil in Third Class wrote her dog's diary in Irish. Four Sixth Class pupils—Polish, Ukrainian, Romanian and Irish—spent their lunch break devising a shopping role-play designed to illustrate intercomprehension between closely related languages: the shopkeeper speaks Polish and the customer speaks Ukrainian. When Déirdre Kirwan retired, each pupil in the school had to write her a letter in two languages thanking her and wishing her well for the future. A Nigerian pupil wrote a letter in Spanish and English. She had been to Spain on holiday and fallen in love with the country, so she decided to teach herself Spanish. She started with two Spanish textbooks she found in the school library, then progressed to the internet. Her Spanish was confident, fluent and mostly correct. By encouraging EAL pupils to use their home languages in the classroom, Scoil Bhríde invites them to take discourse initiatives; discourse initiatives require the exercise of agency; and the exercise of agency fosters the development of learner autonomy.

S	*[handwritten]*	S	Dia duit.	S	Hello (God be with you).
D		D	Dia is Muire duit.	P	Hello (God and Mary be with you).
S		S	Cad atá ag teastáil uait?	P	What do you want?
D		D	Tá arán ag teastáil uaim más é do thoil é.	P	I want bread please.
S		S	Duit fhéin, an ea?	S	Is it for yourself?
D		D	Sea, dom fhéin.	P	Yes, it's for me.
S		S	Seo dhuit, seo dhuit an t-arán.	P	Here you are, here is the bread.
D		D	Cén praghas atá ar an t-arán?	P	How much is the bread?
S		S	Dhá euro agus caoga cent.	S	Two euro and fifty cent.
D		D	Seo cúig euro.	P	Here is five euro.
S		S	Agus seo dhuit an sóinseáil - dhá euro agus caoga cent.	S	And here's your change - two euro and fifty cent.
D		D	Go raibh maith agat.	P	Thank you.
S		S	Fáilte romhat.	S	You're welcome.
D		D	Slán go fóill.	P	Good bye for a while.
S		S	Slán leat - tar ar ais arís.	S	Good bye - come back again.

Fig. 3 Irish dialogue written by an eastern European pupil aged 9+ after six months' exposure to the language

Autonomous learning initiatives sometimes arise quite unexpectedly. A pupil from a non-EU country was admitted to the school at the beginning of Third Class (8½+ years old), by which time her classmates had been learning Irish for four years. After one term she and her parents returned to their country of origin. She was readmitted to Scoil Bhríde at the beginning of Fourth Class and towards the end of the first term spontaneously wrote the Irish dialogue reproduced in the first column of Fig. 3. Much of it reflects her familiarity with informal classroom interaction—expressions of greeting, thanks and farewell; asking what someone wants and responding appropriately; asking who the recipient of an item may be; giving something to another person. This confirms the importance of using Irish in situations that have everyday relevance for the learner. The corrected version of this pupil's Irish text, provided for purposes of comparison, shows that her spelling is often approximate, but the dialogue is a significant achievement for a pupil who is still relatively new to the language.

The Pupils' Perspective

Towards the end of their time in Scoil Bhríde, Déirdre Kirwan asked EAL pupils in one Sixth Class, "What would it be like if you couldn't use your home languages in school?" Their responses included the following words and phrases: *closed*, *not fair*, *terrible*, *not able to speak*, *empty*, *wouldn't*

understand, *pretending*, *rejecting*, *devastated*, *without an arm or a leg*, *sad*, *very shocking*. She then asked them, "What are the benefits of using your home languages in school?" This time their answers included these words and phrases: *possibilities*, *advantage*, *exploring*, *yes*, *personal*, *friendship*, *knowledge*, *expanding*, *closer*, *warm*, *spark*, *point of view*, *perspective*, *together*, *help*, *learn*, *supports*, *great*, *speak out*, *be courageous*. This is a fair reflection of the ethos and atmosphere created by Scoil Bhríde's language education policy, which also embraces native-born Irish pupils. In her introduction to *England: Poems from a School*, a collection of poetry written by immigrant pupils at Oxford Spires Academy, Kate Clanchy writes: "Our school speaks more than thirty languages, maybe fifty dialects. This creates something magical – a community without a majority culture or religion, and a mix so extreme that no one can disappear into their own cultural grouping: everyone has to make friends, companions, and enemies across racial and language divides" (Clanchy 2018, p. xiv). These words also apply to Scoil Bhríde, though on the whole without the enemies, and with the added magic of a pupil population, all of whom leave the school with fully integrated plurilingual repertoires.

Conclusion

Defining plurilingualism as "a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact" (Council of Europe 2001, p. 4), the CEFR argues for a plurilingual approach to language education. In doing so, it calls for a move away from the practice of teaching languages in isolation from one another: "Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertory in which all linguistic abilities have a place" (Council of Europe 2001, p. 5). Subsequent Council of Europe publications insist that the plurilingual approach entails a change of perspective but does not require pedagogical innovation (Cavalli et al. 2009, p. 7; Beacco et al. 2016, p. 15). This is puzzling. For sixty years the Council of Europe's language education projects have been animated by the desire to improve language learning outcomes; and the CEFR is, among other things, confirmation that earlier targets were not met. The example of Scoil Bhríde shows that

plurilingual repertoires are reliably developed by ensuring that all the languages in play—English as the dominant medium of instruction, Irish as the second language of the curriculum, French, and EAL pupils' home languages—are woven together in classroom discourse and thus form part of each pupil's "everyday lived language" (García 2017, p. 18). This is certainly not what happens in most schools and classrooms in Ireland.

A new Primary Language Curriculum was introduced in Ireland in September 2019 (NCCA, 2019). Developed partly under the impact of Scoil Bhríde's example, its goal is to integrate the teaching of English and Irish while making space for the home languages of EAL pupils. Successful implementation will require two things: a move away from treating Irish as another school subject confined to its daily timetable slot, and towards giving it much greater prominence in classroom communication generally; and a readiness on the part of teachers to include EAL pupils' home languages, of which they themselves know nothing, in the linguistic life of the classroom. As this chapter has attempted to show, both things are possible if schools and teachers are committed to the dialogic principles that underpin the Primary School Curriculum.

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Using Critical Language Awareness to Disrupt Global English Hegemony in US Higher Education

Emma R. Britton

Introduction

While the United States is an Anglophone country, it is also a nation that has rich linguistic diversity and no official language. Recent estimates indicate that a record high of 61.8 million residents above the age of five (21% of the populace) currently speak a language other than English in their home (Camarota and Zeigler 2014). Moreover, sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that phonological variations between regional and racialized varieties of American English continue to increase, so that people across the country currently speak more differently than in past decades (Labov 2012). Such ethnolinguistic diversity is not only strongly represented in the country as a whole, but also within Higher Education.

The last decade has seen heightened numbers of students who are international, resident immigrant, bidialectal, or otherwise multilingual

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in US universities. Approximately 24% of undergraduates are either born abroad or have at least one parent born abroad. While there has been some stagnation in the last three years, the number of international student enrollees reached its high point in 2015 (Arbeit et al. 2016; Fischer 2019) and the number of domestic students attending universities outside their home state has grown substantially since 1986 (Strayer 2016). As there are more differences in students' geographic origins, universities have increasingly become "contact points" not only for students using English as a Lingua Franca (Jenkins 2014) but also for students who draw on the different regional varieties spoken across the country.

Despite the nation's ethnolinguistic diversity, monolingual practices continue to hinder plurilingual practices in universities. Monolingual and monoglossic ideologies are reified not only through enrollment policies, but also through traditional English pedagogies in universities. While most universities maintain robust general education requirements, Matsuda (2006) notes that first-year English writing is often "the only course that is required of virtually all college students" (p. 641). Moreover, long-standing traditional pedagogies within these courses are premised on monoglossic assumptions: that linguistic heterogeneity is problematic for communication, English is ideally uniform, and that writing instruction should reduce linguistic differences (Horner et al. 2011). These assumptions often appear so normalized that learners can unwittingly perpetuate the monoglossic assumptions that plurilingual practices seek to disrupt.

In this chapter, I embrace language ideology (LI) as a theoretical perspective that enables researchers to elucidate connections between individual learners' beliefs about language learning and broader institutional systems that reify such beliefs (Gal 1998; Woolard 1998), thereby making it an important lens for future language learning studies. While learners' beliefs about language learning are malleable, fluctuating, and multiple, this perspective does not view such beliefs as internalized. Rather, it makes visible the links between the global domination of English and the belief systems that reinforce it within educational institutions and macro circulation (De Costa 2011; Metz 2018; Riley 2012; Surtees 2016, see also Gorden et al., this volume).

In what follows, I advance two pedagogical arguments from my standpoint as a writing and L2 instructor. Firstly, as English composition courses are required for many students, they are important sites for the advancement of plurilingualism within universities. Secondly, English instructors and administrators have a heightened responsibility to disrupt monolingualism and monoglossia with critical language awareness (CLA) pedagogies. CLA aims to raise learners' consciousness of the relationships between language varieties, language ideologies, language statuses, and societal inequities (Fairclough 1992).

I begin with a description of the interconnected theoretical and pedagogical frameworks. Drawing on classroom data from a larger qualitative self-study, I describe some of the strategies I have adopted to foster students' critical L1 and L2 awareness as a part of their ongoing literacy development, and the tensions I have experienced while seeking to disrupt English's global hegemony. I next examine two domestic and two international students' essays, which were written during a persuasive writing unit focused on language differences. The textual analysis of their writing shows how students formulate their own understandings about the role of linguistic variation in L1 and L2 learning and highlights the ways in which their expressed LIs can both foster and hinder CLA development. Ultimately, the analysis of students' writing illuminates both possibilities for other writing instructors to bring plurilingual practices into their classrooms and challenges that arise when contesting views and misconceptions emerge among students.

Dominant and Critical Language Ideologies

Broadly defined, LIs are belief systems shared by members of a group that apply to language use. Such beliefs become evident through individuals' ideas about the meaning, function, form, use or value of language. LIs are intertwined with an individual's moral and political interests, and are often used to justify particular language usages or structures (Woolard 1998). LIs emerge in many forms, but three typifications are of interest: language acquisition ideologies, dominant language ideologies, and critical language ideologies.

Within educational contexts, learners assume language acquisition ideologies (LAIs). These become evident through beliefs about the process of learning a language and can encompass ideas about what makes a learner good, what makes a particular language variety worthy of learning (i.e., for political or economic reasons), and how one should learn a language (King and Hermes 2014). According to Riley (2012), LAIs range from "semi-conscious and fluctuating intuitions" to resembling "fully fleshed and institutionally applied theories" (p. 494).

Interrelated to LAIs are three manifestations of dominant language ideologies. These include (1) Herderian LIs, (2) standard LIs, and (3) modal LIs. Herderian LIs manifest as nationalist discourses, associating one nation with one language. These are exemplified through the rhetoric of the English-only movement in the United States, which espouses ideas that everyone needs to know English, and English should be the sole language used in instruction (Wiley and Lukes 1996; Woolard 1998). Perhaps less readily discernible are standard LIs. These are recognizable through individuals' proclivities toward an imagined, idealized, prestige standard English variety, which is often modeled by the written language patterns of upper-class Whites (Lippi-Green, 2011; Riley 2012). Standard LIs advance monoglossic assumptions that language is stable, uniform, and unchanging (Garcia and Torres-Guevara 2009). Third, modal LIs express that one mode of communication has elevated status over others, such as the belief that written practices are elevated above orality (Riley 2012).

All manifestations of dominant LIs can be held in opposition to critical LI alternatives. As noted by Metz (2018) critical LIs often grant legitimacy to the use of other language varieties, encompassing "beliefs that associate positive characteristics with speakers of historically stigmatized varieties" (p. 12). Critical LIs uphold values of plurilingualism and bilingualism. They represent multiple languages to be valuable for instructional and communicative purposes. Such LIs may also grant legitimacy to multiple modes of communication (i.e., orality, literacy).

Research on learner beliefs has demonstrated that learners may hold beliefs that (a) are multiple and conflicting at the same time (Gal 1998; Metz 2018) and (b) evolve over time (Higgins et al. 2012). An inquiry into LIs does not discount the multiple or fluctuating nature of LIs to be

a sign of human irrationality, rather illuminating such dissonance prompts insights into those who benefit when a particular LI is invoked and the institutional linkages that exist (Gal 1998; Surtees 2016). Illuminating dissonance can also provide language instructors with insights to inform future instruction.

Critical Language Awareness (CLA) Pedagogies

The term "CLA" first materialized during the early 1990s through a small group of UK-based scholars' efforts to ensure that the Language Awareness (LA) movement include a critical branch (James 1999). As a language pedagogy, LA aims to draw students' attention to the forms, structure, and properties of language, raising "consciousness of how linguistic systems work" (Svalberg 2007, p. 290). This is achieved when learners actively investigate language and engage in analytical classroom talk about their discoveries (ibid.). Some LA approaches foster awareness of linguistic variation, treating non-dominant English varieties as a subject of study, and involving learners in investigation of particular linguistic features associated with such varieties (Higgins et al. 2012).

While early CLA scholars largely agreed with the basic tenants of the LA movement, they also saw it as insufficient in addressing the underlying power dynamics surrounding language use and conventions (Fairclough 1992). If the social processes of domination through which the standard variety assumes higher status are not probed, an awareness of language variation does not develop CLA (Clark et al. 1990). As Godley et al. (2015) offer, "to be truly critical, language pedagogy must teach students to question existing language ideologies and become aware of the ways in which language upholds systems of privilege and discrimination" (p. 43). Thus, applying the term "critical" to LA raises consciousness of the relationships between language varieties, language ideologies, language statuses, and societal inequities (Fairclough 1992). It entails an analysis of the relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and inequity as they emerge by and through language (Wodak 1995).

Course Context

Setting and Participants

CLA has offered new and critical directions to my instructional practices as a writing and L2 instructor. While I have been teaching ESL (both conversational and writing courses) in a variety of contexts over the last ten years, the four students featured in this chapter were participants in ENG 111, a developmental writing and diversity course at Westpond University, a pseudonym for a large public university in the Northeastern US. ENGL 111 was considered prerequisite to the university's first-year English composition course, and most students' enrollment was determined through a placement exam. While the course was not considered to be an ESL course, there was great ethnolinguistic diversity represented among enrollees.

I therefore selected four students' writing samples to showcase a range of (a) ethnolinguistically diverse participants, and (b) critical and dominant language ideologies that each student formulated. These students granted permission for me to analyze their writing (as part of a larger dissertation study), and I selected pseudonyms to protect their privacy. Table 1 summarizes their backgrounds.

Integrating CLA into ENG 111

The larger goals of ENG 111 were to acclimate students to academic writing practices they would engage with in the university, and to enable students to integrate theories of language and literacy into their writing.

Table 1 Participant backgrounds

Pseudonym	Gender	Student status	Race	Linguistic identity	Country of origin
Bryan	Male	Domestic	White	Monolingual	US
Cameron	Male	Domestic	Black	Bidialectal	US
Ai	Female	International	Asian	Bilingual	China
Yubi	Female	International	Asian	Bilingual	China

Given that CLA implies that students will direct their attention to the ideological nature of language and articulate their own stances on language issues, I found it fitting to the larger course goals and introduced students to a CLA framework through a variety of readings, writing prompts, and activities over the course of five writing units.

Students generated the writing featured in this chapter during a persuasive unit, where they developed their own arguments about language differences. At the beginning of this unit, I provided students with a list of possible inquiry questions, guiding them in selecting a socially significant topic. These questions prompted students to explore topics such as (a) grammar and racism, (b) language variation in schooling, and (c) L2 acquisition. Table 2 indicates the inquiry question that each student selected.

Moreover, the adoption of a process-based writing pedagogy enabled me to provide CLA-informed comments on students' in-process works (i.e., asking them to not only to reflect on the different forms of language varieties and the (il)legitimacy of such forms) and ask for revisions.

As I tried to balance the multiple objectives of CLA, irresolvable dissonances emerged. CLA does not discredit conventional uses of language but rather adds a critical understanding to such uses (Fairclough 1992). As Mahboob (2014) offers, academic writing includes communication with broad audiences that the writer has a higher social distance from in terms of factors such as geographic origin, age, or gender. It includes patterned ways of using language that are not native to one geographic region, as unmeasured uses of localized language forms may limit the writer's engagement with wider audiences. Therefore, my students still learned about more widely practiced academic writing conventions related to citation, mechanics, syntax and grammar. At the same time, I

Table 2 Inquiry questions

Inquiry question	Participants answering
Is grammar racist?	Bryan
Should schools teach students about Black English?	Cameron
Should schools teach students about different varieties of English?	Ai
	Yubi

exposed them to critical understandings about such conventions. When conventions were a class topic, I incorporated critical activities on the same day, asking students to find out information about a non-dominant English variety unfamiliar to them. They noted a few characteristic features of the variety (i.e., syntax, lexicon, phonology) and shared their discoveries in class. When appropriate, I also encouraged students to incorporate their discoveries about linguistic variation into their essays to open up possibilities for exploring critical ideological perspectives as writers.

Developing (Critical) L1 Awareness as Writers: The Cases of Bryan and Cameron

This section presents Bryan's and Cameron's essays. While both students identified English as their L1 and both attended US schools, together their writing showcases contrasting ideological perspectives on the role of prescriptivism in language learning. Their views emerged through their engagement with course content, and reflection on their prior learning experiences. For brevity, I represent their original writing using a combination of direct quotation and paraphrase and follow with an analysis that reveals their complex LIs at play.

Is Grammar Racist? Bryan's Response

To answer the question about racism and grammar, Bryan offers that it is "in many cases, utterly unrealistic" for immigrants to learn "the accents and grammar in speech resulting from the widespread use of standard English." He views the grammar rules of "standard English" to be "very rigid" and "extremely difficult" to learn. Yet, Bryan's argument is about "the way that grammar is used in writing, and not the way it is used in speech."

 To develop his point, Bryan draws upon Amy Tan's (1990) account of her linguistic experiences growing up in a Chinese immigrant family. He maintains that as a Chinese immigrant, Tan's mother was "well read" in

"standard English," reading "every book by Shirley MacLaine without any difficulty." At the same time, Tan's mother was "treated with significantly less respect and dignity" because of her spoken "Chinese dialect."

Bryan then argues that the teaching of written grammar is not racist:

> The purpose of written grammar is not to be used as a tool for racism or to label those who have differing language backgrounds (other than standard English), but rather for organization and clear communication among a vastly linguistically diverse American people … If elementary and high schools did not standardize English writing, students would be judged and graded differently based on the teacher's personal language bias, leaving those students who have drastically different writing styles than the teacher hugely disadvantaged … When it comes to writing, grammar … is necessary to help students learn how to effectively communicate with others across America. (Essay 4/16/19)

Next, Bryan showcases the views of a classmate, Wang, a Chinese international student. Wang also believes that "grammar should be standardized."

Bryan acknowledges "there is a gloomier side to the story" for immigrants who are "wrongly misinterpreted or pushed off" for their speech. Bryan believes such mistreatment occurs because of the wrongdoer's perception that "speech, like grammar, has strict rules." Bryan believes differently: spoken varieties have "value" and show "cultural uniqueness," but "speech does not have structured rules like grammar does." For him, "grammar is the tool that connects these different language varieties."

In this complex essay, Bryan showcases the multiple and contradictory nature of LIs, aligning himself with critical and dominant views. He grants legitimacy to non-dominant varieties (Metz 2018), viewing them favorably as expressions of "cultural uniqueness." He takes an empathetic perspective toward those who may face linguistic marginalization, representing the opinion of a multilingual peer (Wang) and problematizing acts of linguistic discrimination. However, Bryan's larger argument appears to uphold dominant LIs. By representing "standard English" as fixed, rule governed, and superior for formal instruction, his LAI intertwines with standard and monoglossic LIs. By heightening the value of

written communication above orality, he represents a modal LI (Riley 2012). This modal LI is conflated with the linguistic fallacy that "speech does not have structured rules." Linguists have long debunked this fallacy, showing that spoken language varieties are also systematic and rule governed (Labov 1969).

Should Schools Teach Students About Black English? Cameron's Response

In the introduction to his essay, Cameron defines his argument that Black English has a place in American schools:

> Schools are teaching children prescriptively using Standard English and are unopened to teaching different variants of English. Ebonics for example is looked down upon on society … The Language someone speaks shares one's social identity and one's identity should not have to change in order to have some sort of power in the world … Given that languages can be used as political instruments and that schools usually teach prescriptively, schools should teach a variety of English's such as Black English to students.

Citing James Baldwin (1979), Cameron explains the historical significance of Black English:

> [In the era of American slavery, slaves of] different African tribes spoke different languages … The language barrier was used against them by colonizers as a political instrument. Black English came later … [Its] formation united slaves and became powerful enough to counteract the political instrument that was used against them by colonizers. This history should be taught in classes as it shows how Ebonics is part of the US … [Ebonics] is just as important to Standard English. (Essay, 12/11/18)

Cameron continues, highlighting the problems with "prescriptivist" language teaching methods he experienced in secondary schooling, and asserts that variation has a place in schools. "All throughout the earlier part of life," he has heard that there is "one and only correct way of speaking," yet this "way of thinking is outdated as language is ever changing."

Cameron considers his own "social identity today" to be linked to "speaking a mix of both Standard English and Black English," and "learning more about Black English" as a college student has meant understanding more about himself and his culture. He believes that all children should be taught about the "different variants of English" to create "unity between races," and to eliminate "the discrimination seen today." He also believes this approach will help to "divide the power that Standard English holds over other forms of English" so that other variants can "hold the same political power."

Cameron's essay expresses critical LIs and LAIs together, presenting a counternarrative to traditional monoglossic schooling practices. As the instructor, I supported the development of Cameron's counternarrative, encouraging him to define "prescriptivism" and describe the personal impact of "prescriptivist" schooling. To this end, he recalls the monoglossic teaching methods he experienced to be advancing the ideology that there is only one "correct way of speaking." Cameron dispels such methods, presenting a number of LAIs about what makes Black English a variety that is worthy of learning in schools (Riley 2012). He notes that the variety is significant from a US historical standpoint. He makes an argument that is at once both personal and egalitarian, explaining that Black English is an important part of the "social identity" of individuals (like himself) who associate with it. By making the argument that Black English should be taught to dismantle the unequal political power that the standard variety carries, Cameron demonstrates his developing CLA. To this end, he shows understanding of the ideological nature of language, and argues to disrupt the dominance through which "Standard English" carries higher status (Clark et al. 1990).

Developing (Critical) L2 Awareness as Writers: The Cases of Ai and Yubi

This section presents Ai's and Yubi's essays. While both students learned English in China, together their writing illustrates contrasting ideological perspectives on the role of linguistic variation in L2 learning. Their views

emerged not only through engagement with course content, but also through distinctive L1 language socialization experiences. Ai consistently lived in the capital city, Beijing, where she identifies "Standard" Mandarin as the variety in use. As a teenager, Yubi moved with her family from the North to Southwestern Hainan province and gained extensive exposure to the Hainanese dialect.

"Standard American English Only": Ai's Response

Expressing her challenges learning English, Ai argues that schools should not teach students about English language variation:

> As a person who does not speak English as the first language, I think there is only one kind of English in the world, which is a foreign language that I cannot use properly right now. To my surprise, there are over fifty kinds of English in the world. There is one that I am saying right now—Chinglish … For the unification of the national language and our international students who cannot communicate easily in the United States, I think the teacher should not teach students about other varieties of English writing and speaking before they attend to university. (Essay, 12/11/18)

From Ai's perspective, students "born in an English-speaking environment" and "foreigners" have different needs surrounding linguistic variation. While she understands that domestic students want to "understand" the "diversity of English" spoken in "different regions," she maintains that "foreigners" face difficulties that are "unimaginable for Americans," who "perhaps" cannot understand how "painful" it can be to learn English by "the rules, not in life." This includes learning "grammar, phrases, and even templates for writing." If learners try using "words and sentences" that are "translated," rather than written in "standard English," they may be graded harshly and be given "a low score by teacher[s]."

Ai identifies "Chinglish" as one such translated variety observed in the speech of Tan's (1990) mother, a Chinese immigrant in the United States. When opposing the purchase of a costly furniture item, the mother uses "Chinglish," saying "Not waste money that way." Ai understands clearly, explaining that the phrase follows Chinese grammar, "In Chinese, we

usually put 'no' at the beginning of a sentence and directly express the negative meaning." Yet Ai always prefers to say, "Don't waste money," to reflect "Standard English."

Ai concludes that China has "many dialects, just like America." However, "as a student" from "the capital," she "only hear[s] Mandarin in class," and students are "not allowed to speak language[s] other than standard Mandarin in schools." Standard Mandarin has "the highest status" because students must take an assessment in this language/dialect. To unify "the national language" and to "make it easier" for "foreigners" to "accept" English as a new language, she believes that only the standard variety should be taught.

Ai invokes dominant LIs as she recounts her experiences learning both Mandarin and English in China. By aligning herself with the language policy that only Mandarin be spoken in schools, Ai invokes the Herderian LI that there should be one unified language for each nation (Woolard 1998). Ai also expresses dominant LAIs; to avoid negative consequences, she believes it is "difficult," but necessary to learn a new language by a process that involves internalizing the "rules" and writing "templates" associated with the standard variety.

While Ai ultimately upholds dominant LIs in her essay, she also exhibits some emerging critical L2 awareness, which I encouraged during feedback on her earlier draft. During a conference, I asked her to include a "counter argument" about the importance of linguistic variation. With this suggestion, she included a new paragraph explaining that learning English variation could be important for native speakers. I also asked her to explain the linguistic logic underlying the "Chinglish" phrase, "Not waste money that way." She subsequently added an explanation which established grammatical relationships with Mandarin. While Ai maintained that she prefers to use the "standard" phrase "Don't waste money that way," she also identified this explanation as the "favorite passage" in her essay.

"Identity Creates Language Diversity": Yubi's Response

In contrast to Ai, Yubi emphasizes that the English language varies internationally and variation is a valuable subject in schools:

> Society is developing at an accelerating rate, and the language is changing correspondingly … More and more people use English … since [they] come from different countries, their expression of English is different … From my point of view, schools should support the phenomenon that other varieties of English exist in school keeping abreast of the times and be open to change. (Essay, 12/11/18)

Yubi comments on the use of "Chinglish":

> Chinglish has its own way to express English … Compared to American English, sometimes it sounds like a sentence not finished, the word order is different… I think the main reason for the varieties of English is different ways of thinking lead to different ways of expressing … In my country, when we say, "there are so many people", we express "people mountain, people sea". In Chinese, this is an idiom. It's like a metaphor for the number of people. And Chinese people directly translate into English … Each language has its own logic. Chinese is my mother tongue … I accept the Chinese way of thinking. When I study English, I feel that there are some expressions that are different from what I think.

Yubi recounts more recent experiences in the United States. When she first arrived at the airport, she tried to "order food" at McDonald's. However, she "couldn't pronounce the name of the food correctly" and "used the number instead." This "was an awkward experience" but it illustrated how "American English" is different from the "TOEFL test." In daily life, she cannot use the "way of [the] test" to communicate … because it's too academic." Instead, she needs to "try to learn another way" to formulate expressions because "language difference also exists in the same language." In Yubi's university, "there are many students" from "different countries" who have different "way[s] of expression," but still they can communicate and understand each other, "not just by us[ing]

Standard American English." While Yubi recognizes that the standard variety is "widely used, especially on paperwork," she believes that "other varieties of English" should not be regarded as "non-standard."

In this essay, Yubi presents a sophisticated argument about language acquisition that both debunks monoglossic principles and advances critical LIs. In contrast to Bryan and Ai, she views language change as continuous, as English functions increasingly as a "common language" internationally. By describing her challenges using an informal register to order food at McDonalds, she suggests features associated with the standard variety can be "awkward" and "too academic," espousing her LAI that learners need to become aware of register variation in different communicative contexts. Moreover, by explaining that the "Chinglish" expression, "people mountain, people sea," is rooted in the "logic" of a Chinese metaphor and a part of "the Chinese way of thinking," she grants legitimacy to it and rejects labeling as "non-standard." Yubi's discussion of "Chinglish" within her essay resulted directly from classroom activities; prior to drafting, students found information about a non-dominant English variety and I encouraged them to integrate findings into their drafts.

Discussion

As other chapters in this volume express, it is of great importance to address the global dominance of English in relation to the decline of additional language learning in Anglophone countries. This chapter adds to the conversation by offering LI as a theoretical perspective for future language learning studies and CLA as a pedagogical framework enabling L2 and L1 learners to interrogate LIs that hinder plurilingualism in and beyond English instruction.

LAIs are a central aspect of L2 learning because they delineate learners' perceptions toward the process of learning a target language. By centering LAIs, we can trace connections between learners' individual perceptions and macro educational factors (De Costa 2011). To this end, the L2 learners featured in this chapter demonstrated a range of critical and dominant LAIs which were linked to prior educational experiences. Yubi

held positive attitudes toward linguistic variation, viewing it as integral to her ongoing experience learning English. Prior to her US university studies, Yubi gained extensive exposure to dialect difference during the time she spent in Hainan province of China, cultivating positive attitudes toward Hainanese. In contrast, Ai's formative schooling occurred in Beijing, where she experienced monolingual and monoglossic policies to be strongly upheld in her schools, and Mandarin to be the dialect carrying the "highest status." With these earlier experiences, it is not surprising that Ai later perpetuated the dominant views encountered in her formative schooling years.

As Lindberg (2003) offers, fostering LA is of equal concern to L1 students, yet the linguistic attitudes of native English speakers are an area that is less frequently addressed. Both of the L1 students featured in the chapter developed distinctive stances on the significance of linguistic variation and prescriptive approaches to L1 instruction through the CLA and process-based writing curriculum. Bryan's case illustrates how students can hold conflicting beliefs and misconceptions about variation given that his writing exhibits a range of dominant and sometimes more critical LIs (Metz 2018). Yet, Cameron's writing exemplifies critical LIs. Cameron's advocacy that Black English become a part of English instruction developed as a form of resistance to his formative schooling experiences. As a young man, Cameron realized that his ethnolinguistic identity as a bidialectal Black man was not reflected in the prescriptive English curriculum he experienced during his formative schooling.

Conclusion: Ways Forward

From my standpoint as a writing instructor, English composition courses are important sites for the disruption of monolingualism and monoglossia and English instructors carry a heightened responsibility to provoke this disruption. My analysis of student writing illuminates both possibilities and challenges that emerge through such attempts at disruption, as students inevitably formulate contesting ideological perspectives on the significance of linguistic variation in L1 and L2 learning. It also reveals

misconceptions that students may have about the role of language variation in language acquisition.

For any language curriculum focused on variation, it is important for teachers to learn about students' preexisting beliefs so that these may be addressed in subsequent instruction. As Metz (2018) offers, one of the "primary tenants" of a culturally and linguistically "relevant pedagogy is the incorporation of student knowledge and experiences in instruction" (p. 9). To this end, written assignments enabled me to gain insight into dissonance in students' beliefs, as to address such dissonance in subsequent instruction. Bryan's writing in particular revealed a linguistic fallacy (that speech is not rule governed). In future instruction, I plan to share declarative statements like these and ask students to debate them in the classroom.

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Thinking Beyond "Languaging" in Translanguaging Pedagogies: Exploring Ways to Combat White Fragility in an Undergraduate Language Methodology Course

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Introduction

With the multilingual turn in second language acquisition (May 2014), the field of teaching English as a second language (TESOL) has had to reexamine the ways in which teachers are prepared to work in settings where all linguistic resources are valued and strategically utilized. To this end, scholars have identified and examined practices which welcome and leverage students' linguistic resources. More specifically, the theory of *translanguaging*, which posits that all speakers selectively draw from one linguistic repertoire to make and negotiate meaning, has been applied

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pedagogically to enhance the instruction of multilingual students (García et al. 2017; García and Li 2014, see also Britton, this volume). In translanguaging classrooms, teachers work collaboratively with students to "use their different language practices to teach and learn in deeply creative and critical ways" (García et al. 2017, p. 2).

While multilingual practices, like translanguaging, are slowly becoming more common and accepted in education settings, their adoption is not without consequences. Given the neoliberal state of education worldwide that often values financial profit ahead of students' needs, multilingual language policies often feed directly into corporate agendas by producing plurilingual, predominantly White elites (De Costa 2019). As parents from dominant social and racial groups seek to increase their own children's cultural capital by equipping them with access to minoritized languages, language-minoritized communities still face inequities. Flores and Chaparro (2018) describe how bilingual programming policy decisions can result in racialization, or "processes by which racial meanings are attached to particular issues" and "the manner in which race appears to be a, or often the, key factor in the way they are defined and understood," (Murji and Solomos 2005, p. 3). In addition to policy, others (e.g., Bucholtz 2016; Cammarota and Aguilera 2012) describe how teacher practices and student behaviors within the classroom can lead to racialization and the reproduction of racial hierarchies.

To prevent and combat language-based racism, teacher education programs need to be reimagined. Specifically, pre-service teachers (PSTs) need to be adequately prepared to become critical educators capable of talking about race with each other and their future students. Given the increasing cultural, linguistic, and racial diversity in U.S. classrooms paired with the predominantly White, monolingual teaching force, the call for more social justice-oriented teacher preparation is hardly new (e.g., Gomez 1994; Milner 2003); however, the need is especially pertinent for TESOL PSTs who (1) work closely with multilingual youth and families, and (2) serve as important resources and advocates in and outside of schools. In this chapter, we use DiAngelo's (2011) concept of *white fragility*, or the defensive behaviors exhibited by White people when confronted with racial stress, to frame our findings and subsequent discussion of ways TESOL teacher education can challenge racism and racialization.

Unpacking Race in TESOL

During the past decade, the inextricable link between race and language has been increasingly theorized and explored. In 2006, Kubota and Lin raised concern about the lack of discussion of race in the field of TESOL. Their 2009 edited book, *Race, Culture, and Identities in Second Language Education: Exploring Critically Engaged Practice*, emerged from their "experiences of difficulties in discussing issues of racism with colleagues in second language education" (Kubota and Lin 2009, p. viii). Such difficulties, akin to white fragility, are counterproductive to combating racism because they "function to reinstate white racial equilibrium" (DiAngelo 2011, p. 54).

While fields like anthropology, linguistics, and education have long examined race and language, the contemporary field of *raciolinguistics* purposefully foregrounds the complex relationship between race, ethnicity, and language (Alim et al. 2016). Raciolinguistic perspectives build upon the intersectionality of race and language by recognizing the power of language ideologies in reproducing racial hierarchies and marginalization. Consequently, raciolinguistic perspectives "can contribute to understandings of the ways that categories are intersectionally assembled and communicatively co-constituted" (Rosa and Flores 2017, p. 15).

The adoption of raciolinguistic perspectives in an effort to more fully understand the racialized position of culturally and linguistically diverse youth is essential for PSTs. Although frameworks for the preparation of teachers who work with multilingual students often include the need to raise linguistic and cultural awareness, explicit focus on race is overlooked. For instance, the three dimensions of teacher knowledge and skills for mainstream teachers working with English language learners [ELLs] from de Jong et al. (2013) does not specifically use the words "race" or "ethnicity"; rather, it emphasizes understanding students' "linguistic and cultural experiences" and the role of "language and culture" (p. 91).

As Kubota and Lin (2009) explain, such emphases on "culture" may be an attempt to use a more "benign and acceptable signifier than race" (p. 4). To many, the concept of culture is synonymous with or inclusive of race, which may be why race is buried in many of these types of

frameworks. Similarly, DiAngelo (2018) argues that even in multicultural courses or trainings, racism and White privilege are not always talked about directly; thus, she contends that naming racist practices, including White supremacy and White power, is a central step in changing the conversations about race. Colorblindness, or the denial of racial privilege, must be vanquished "if we want to challenge … racism" (pp. 86–87). With this perspective in mind, we argue that TESOL education, in particular, needs to address colorblindness because of the large number of students of color that populate ESL classrooms worldwide.

TESOL/ESL methodology courses are a unique site where the intersections of race, ethnicity, language, and other identity markers provide opportunity for critical exploration. To this end, our inquiry seeks to understand how racism manifested and was addressed within an online undergraduate ESL methodology course conducted in a College of Education. Furthermore, we seek to understand how PSTs describe their experiences related to race and its intersection with language and how this particular course may have influenced their thinking and behavior.

With the first two authors of this chapter being White and former instructors of the course, acknowledging our own roles in the processes of racialization set this inquiry in motion. As we began to reflect on our practices and admit our shortcomings in naming racism and fostering critical engagement with racial issues in the courses we taught, we shared a desire to take responsibility and "shift the locus of change onto White people … [and] challeng[e] our complicity with and investment in racism" (DiAngelo 2018, p. 33). Our third and fourth authors, who are Asian, shared their perspectives as scholar-educators of color which enriched and nuanced our conversations about becoming more racially-aware teacher educators.

Overview of TESOL 499

TESOL 499 is a 15-week online ESL methodology course offered to upper-level undergraduates majoring in elementary or secondary education and pursuing a minor in TESOL at a U.S. public research university. This course is distinct from the other required courses for the TESOL

minor in its emphasis on the sociopolitical aspects of working with multilingual students and families; additionally, this is the only TESOL-minor course which includes a required field placement at a local K-12 school.

The goals for the course were for PSTs to develop their own stance of teaching in multilingual settings, to create meaningful instruction which draws upon the language practices and needs of emergent bilinguals and their families, and to become advocates who serve as resources in the school and community. The two required textbooks for the course were *The Translanguaging Classroom* (García et al. 2017) and *Rethinking Bilingual Education* (Barbian et al. 2017). Other course materials included scholarly journal articles, news articles, practitioner pieces, blog posts, instructor-created tutorials, and videos.

To achieve the stated goals, the course had weekly assignments plus three major assignments throughout the semester. The weekly assignments included a reading chart for summarizing course materials and generating a list of future teaching implications drawn from those materials, class discussion forums based on questions PSTs posed to each other, and application activities, such as the creation of a timeline of language policies, practice writing content and language objectives, and analysis of a lesson plan.

Data Collection and Analysis

Our qualitative inquiry draws on data from document analysis of the aforementioned TESOL 499 course materials, including student work and interviews with students who completed the course during the 2018–2019 academic year. At the end of spring 2019, nine PSTs consented to having their coursework from Google Classroom included in this study, and three of the nine PSTs participated in two follow-up semistructured interviews.

Due to the volume of data collected for each participant, the first step of our analysis was filtering the assignments which focused on race and its intersection with language and culture. To facilitate this process, we searched for eight key terms: culture, race, bias, Black, White, ethnic,

identity, and monolingual as well as six key terms related to the nationality, languages, and ethnicities of the participants' teaching communities: American, Spanish, Chinese, Mexican, Korean, and African. Based on the results of this search, we narrowed our focus to four of the course assignments along with the PSTs' weekly reading charts and discussion posts. All passages containing any of the key terms from those assignments were compiled and thematically coded in MAXQDA.

Participants

Of the nine pre-service teachers whose classwork was included in the document analysis, only one identified as non-White (Makena) and only one identified as male; the other seven students identified as White females. The three focal PSTs in the study, Chloe, Emily, and Amelia, were PSTs at the secondary level when the study commenced. Currently, Chloe (who majored in Spanish) and Emily (who majored in mathematics) are completing their fifth-year student-teacher internship through the university, while Amelia[1] (who majored in Chinese) is teaching English in China at a private language institution.

Chloe, Emily, and Amelia are all in their early twenties and self-identify as White females. They each grew up in predominantly White towns in the U.S. Midwest, and each has lived abroad for several months; Chloe spent a semester abroad in Ecuador, Emily was involved with humanitarian work in Mexico and also spent a summer semester in Spain, and Amelia spent a summer abroad in China to study Mandarin.

Findings

I think translanguaging was like, yeah, probably the most valuable and the most consistent throughout the course. (Chloe, July 24, 2019)

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[1] Although the first and second authors have both taught the course before, only two of the nine participants, including Amelia, were students of the first author.

As alluded to by Chloe, the focus of TESOL 499 was on the theory and pedagogy of translanguaging. Although translanguaging theory "builds on scholarly work that has demonstrated how colonial and modernist-era language ideologies created and maintained linguistic, cultural, and *racial* [emphasis added] hierarchies in society" (Vogel and García 2017, p. 1), the attention to linguistic aspects of teaching multilingual learners in the course seemed to overshadow the readings and assignments aimed at making connections between language, race, and larger societal issues. In addition to the shallow coverage of race in the course, we also found that opportunities to discuss racism and racialization in written assignments and discussion forums were rarely capitalized on by PSTs and instructors.

Race: The Unspoken "R-Word"

Our analysis revealed that few students ever used the word "race" in their assignments and the instructors did not directly prompt them to do so. One reading that explicitly mentioned race was a reading from Gonzalez (2016) which explained that not all English learners are "Hispanic, poor, and/or uneducated," and that they instead "span a wide array of cultures, races, socio-economic levels, and academic experiences" (para. 3). Additional readings described the social construction of the terms "language" and "dialect," including some information about Black English. Since these references to race and ethnicity were embedded within the readings and not specifically highlighted, almost all of the students overlooked these topics in their weekly reading chart summaries. The only exception was Makena, our sole black participant, who repeatedly referred to herself as a "critical race English educator" and discussed how Black English was an integral part of her own identity. Makena provided many insights on this topic; however, a detailed account of how her identity influenced her teaching is beyond the scope of the current chapter.

Throughout the semester, there was only one assignment that explicitly asked students to consider race. In the third week of the course, the Language(s) in the Community assignment required students to do a walking investigation in the neighborhood surrounding their field

placement school. The students had to search demographic information of their community of investigation, including racial composition. The reflection questions at the end of the assignment focused on language rather than explicitly asking students to think about race. Consequently, student reflections focused on the languages in their community of investigation rather than commenting on race, ethnicity, and racialization present in the places they visited.

Talking About Race: "I'm Not Ready for It"

When it came to talking about race, we observed varying comfort and knowledge levels among our participants. While Makena and Amelia talked more openly and confidently about their extensive experiences related to race and racism, Chloe revealed her hesitancies. As she speculated on her ability to navigate cultural and racial issues in her future classroom, she said:

> I've probably read about it [race] and stuff like that, but that just feels so distant … but like, how would I actually do that [discuss race]? I have no idea … [b]ut at the same time, that doesn't mean that I wouldn't be able to. I think it's just a lack of having a real experience in that area that makes me feel like I'm not ready for it.

Chloe added that she was willing to engage in conversations about race in her future classroom, but she was lacking a model of how to facilitate such discussions. Even though the course materials from TESOL 499 had examples of educators addressing racism, the opportunities to discuss and reflect on those examples were not fully capitalized upon by the predominantly White PSTs and instructors.

Even when there were opportunities to explicitly discuss race, the PSTs struggled in their ability to define and distinguish race, nationality, and ethnicity in course assignments and during individual interviews. In the Language(s) in the Community assignment, one of the PSTs wrote: "This website [census data website] showed American and Asian as the most common ethnic groups in the area." Interestingly, the website did not

provide information about ethnic composition, only racial composition; thus, this PST equated the largest reported racial group, "White," with the ethnicity, "American." Since she is White, her response may be reflective of DiAngelo's (2018) "us" versus "them" discourse which is based on one's social experiences and reinforces racial boundaries (p. 46). While this racially-coded language may not have been her intent, her confusion of the terms "ethnicity" and "race" led to this problematic claim.

Grappling with the Nuances of Race

Although some PSTs confused terms like "race," "ethnicity," and "nationality," others had more complex definitions and viewed these terms as being individually and/or socially constructed. When asked to define "race" during her first interview, Emily described how a former professor of hers whose parents came from India labeled himself as "South Asian" while a friend of hers who came from the same region, labeled himself, "Brown":

> [Race is] how an individual defines themselves in society, like, within the social constructions of race. Right? I had a friend from high school who was from … the very same region [of India as a former professor of mine] but, … [he] didn't wanna refer to himself as ['Indian'], he wanted to refer to himself as 'Brown' …. [T]he way they identify themselves … was very different based on their personal experiences. So, I think understanding, like, what does the race the student holds … and what that means for them are two … very different things.

Through this brief narrative, Emily shares her awareness of how personal histories can determine how an individual labels oneself; however, her use of the pronouns "themselves," "they," and "them" parallels the "us" versus "them" discourse used by the PST described earlier who appeared to associate her own Whiteness with "Americanness." Emily's understanding of race is intersubjective in the sense that she views race as something "they" have which is in contrast to her own identity as a White person who may not be fully aware of her privilege. Schwartz (2014) explains that "this us-and-them positionality points to larger ideological orientations of

power, privilege and the opposite of difference – unspoken, hegemonic ideas of normalcy" (pp. 163–164).

Like Emily, Amelia defined race as "complicated" and something that could be "socially forced on individuals in the form of stereotypes." Despite her more nuanced notion of race, previous visits to various regions in China, and her several years' study of the language(s) and culture(s), Amelia still described China as being a "monoculture." Studying abroad in China helped Amelia disrupt some notions about her own identity, yet she believed that "most people [in China] follow the same beliefs. Most people have the same race and have the same language."[2] When asked to reflect on this comment during the second interview, Amelia noted that her recent return to China to teach English had opened her eyes to the diversity within what she used to think of as a monoculture: "I'm more aware of, like, Chinese minority groups, and … it's a lot more present now [to me]." In other words, Amelia has continued to grapple with the nuances of race, language, and culture long after TESOL 499 ended.

White Fragility: "No Matter What I Say About Race, It's Going to Be Wrong"

While there are many reasons PSTs and instructors may have avoided discussing race and racism (e.g., not enough time, lack of resources, lack of desire, lack of preparation), we found much evidence of white fragility. As DiAngelo (2018) explains, white fragility, or defensive responses to topics related to race, may be an attempt to avoid uncomfortable conversations. She notes:

> Given how seldom we [White people] experience racial discomfort in a society we dominate, we haven't had to build our racial stamina. Socialized into a deeply internalized sense of superiority that we either are unaware of or can never admit to ourselves, we become highly fragile in conversations about race. (p. 1)

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[2] The Chinese government recognizes 56 ethnic groups; multiple languages and cultural practices exist which differ from the mainstream Han culture (Central Intelligence Agency 2020).

Due to this fragility, instructors and PSTs focused on other aspects of multilingual students' identities and experiences, like language proficiency levels, immigration and citizenship status, (dis)ableism, socioeconomic status, and family composition in assignments and discussion forums.

Chloe's avoidance behavior during both interviews, in particular, denoted white fragility. When asked to define race, she stated: "I'm going to skip that question. I don't super remember the course being about that." During the subsequent interview, when asked to define her own race, Chloe hesitated again and responded:

> Nope. Do I feel like I can explain that? I know that's horrible, ... but in terms of, like, all White people … I guess the group I belong to, I don't think I can say much unless I was prompted with significant questions to get me to respond to those things.

Instead of answering the question in a way that might portray her as racist or a beneficiary of White privilege, Chloe deflected the question. Even when further probed during the second interview, she maintained her inability to speak on behalf of the group to which she belongs (i.e., White people). DiAngelo (2018) explains that this sort of white fragility "allows us [Whites] to maintain our sense of ourselves as unique individuals, outside collective socialization and group experience" (p. 86). Thus, in addition to avoiding discomfort, maintaining a sense of individualism removed PSTs, like Chloe, from institutional racism and may help explain why they were reluctant to name racism and racist practices explicitly in their assignments and during our interviews.

Encouragingly, after Emily shared the story of individuals labeling their racial identity in different ways, she described race as being a "fluid" concept; her understanding of race was quite complex, yet she admitted to being afraid of talking about race in her second interview. When asked to define her own culture and race, she noted:

> I hate labels and ... I feel like ... race, it's been assigned to me by somebody else ... I also feel like, race is, something I'm scared to talk about because I've been told by society and raised to be ashamed of being White and that

no matter what I say about race, it's going to be wrong, or it's going to offend somebody.

Emily's response reveals how fear can contribute to the confusion that PSTs have regarding definitions of race. As DiAngelo (2018) indicates in her description of the "good/bad binary," morally "good" individuals do not talk about race and are not racist, only morally "bad" people do (p. 73). Through this lens, we can interpret Emily's avoidance as an attempt to maintain her reputation as a "good" person who is *not* racist.

Combatting White Fragility: Implications and Ways Forward

> *… our institutions were designed to reproduce racial inequality and they do so with efficiency. Our schools are particularly effective at this task. To continue reproducing racial inequality, the system only needs White people to be really nice and carry on, smile at people of color, be friendly across race, and go to lunch together on occasion … But niceness is not courageous … Interrupting racism takes courage and intentionality.* (DiAngelo 2018, p. 153)

While we recognize that TESOL 499 is merely a snippet of PSTs' experiences related to race, we believe that a well-designed, thoughtfully implemented course which adapts to its students, local context, and current realities can make a difference in the criticality of future educators. There are important changes that this course, and other language methodology courses, could initiate. Although our recommendations are geared toward TESOL teacher educators, with slight adaptations, they are also applicable to other language teacher educators. In short, we agree with Milner (2017) that raising racial awareness in teacher education revolves around three primary tasks:

1. Building knowledge about race
2. Talking more often about race
3. Planning and enacting curriculum and instructional practices focused on race with students of all races and backgrounds (para. 3)

Additionally, it is important to explore the concept of intersectionality and the ways race is complexly intertwined with other identity markers, including language and culture. Without viewing "race through the lens of language, and vice versa," PSTs may not realize the complex history and parallels between racism and linguicism (Alim et al. 2016, p. 1).

In an effort to build knowledge about race, teacher educators and PSTs need to not only have a repertoire of terminology with which to discuss racism but also a genuine desire and a viable course of action to do so. Chloe and Emily's hesitation and discomfort talking about race may be partially attributed to their lack of knowledge, as highlighted by the confusion between the terms "race" and "ethnicity." However, even if provided with definitions or tasked with creating their own, PSTs may not feel the need to discuss topics that they do not feel connected to, comfortable with, or responsible for.

Thus, encouraging and facilitating reflection and discussion on race must follow the explicit naming and acknowledgement of racism and racist practices. If teacher educators and PSTs do not first name racism as DiAngelo (2018) suggests, they will not see their role in the collective institutionalization of racism as well as individual acts of racialization. As Amelia disclosed, "A part of learning is, like, self-actualization. I don't even know if you could really like lead people to that point [discussing racism] if they don't want to be led." According to DiAngelo (2018), it is easier to "block out other realities by not discussing them, [because] we can pretend that they don't exist, thereby assuming a shared racial experience" (p. 86). Thus, TESOL teacher educators have a responsibility to make the connections between race and language explicit so that students realize the problematic nature of not acknowledging race in conversations about language since these "categories are intersectionally assembled and communicatively co-constituted" (Rosa and Flores 2017, p. 15). Analyzing the local context to uncover how "racial and ethnic identities are (re)created through continuous and repeated language use" (Alim et al. 2016, p. 5) may facilitate PSTs' adoption of a multilingual stance once they realize how central linguistic resources are to identity.

By reflecting on one's own racial experiences as well as those of others, PSTs can begin the process of debunking the myth of a "shared racial experience" and challenge "us" versus "them" discourses. Many of those

who advocate for pedagogy informed by Critical Race Theory recommend using narrative approaches to carefully reflect on one's past experiences (e.g., Nash 2004). In addition to White PSTs identifying particular instances in their lives when they noticed race or encountered experiences that shaped their views on race, the counter-narratives of people of color can further expose microaggressions or other realities that would often go unnoticed by those in positions of power. In this manner, White PSTs may begin to acknowledge their role in the collective institutionalization of racism as well as individual acts of racialization.

The required textbook for TESOL 499, *Rethinking Bilingual Education* (Barbian et al. 2017), provides exactly these kinds of counter-narratives from people of color, but the narrative content was often overlooked. Rather than reference specific stories from these readings, instructors' and PSTs' attention was usually drawn to other readings that may have been more comfortable to talk about as well as course logistical details, like assignment requirements. When asked about potential course changes, several of the PSTs mentioned the heavy reading load; with so much content to cover each week, they reported not being able to delve into each individual piece in a meaningful manner.

Once students are willing to talk about race, teacher educators not only need to find time but also need to plan in advance to create a classroom atmosphere where discomfort and vulnerability are welcomed. In an online atmosphere, the richness of face-to-face conversations may be lost, but the psychological distance provided by online courses may help facilitate difficult conversations (Smith and Singer 2006). Some relevant conversation facilitation guides recommend setting ground rules, like respecting everyone's opinion, but DiAngelo (2018) warns that such practices may actually be counterproductive. Instead, teacher educators should connect difficult topics to the course's learning objectives and take time to reflect on their own vulnerabilities and trigger points related to the topic of discussion.

While there is no "toolbox" of anti-racist pedagogies, PSTs do need some models and practical information about how to avoid racializing students and how to talk comfortably with students about race. Emily shared with us the need to:

talk about how you specifically implement them [strategies to raise cultural and racial awareness] into your [class]room, which I know can look a lot different. But I know it's good to talk about concepts, but sometimes I feel like I wish there was something I could grasp, like, something I could try out and, like, bring to the classroom instead of having [theoretical readings].

In an effort to model what critical race discussions might look like, teacher educators should (1) share their own experiences of reflecting on instances of racialization, and (2) integrate local issues concerning race into their instruction. Giving students the skills to be critical ethnographers (McPherron and Randolph 2013) allows them to consider the ideologies and hidden power that may be at play in everyday events and settings. Such critical mindsets—paired with the notion of lifelong learning—are key to identifying racially-inflected microaggressions.

Finally, it is necessary to acknowledge that a single course can only do so much, hence, the importance of encouraging PSTs to be involved in other university and community events. Besides mentioning other courses they had taken, the PSTs commented on the influence of non-course experiences on their racial awareness. Amelia, for example, was mostly comfortable talking about race because she said it was something that she had done so many times. Her role as an intercultural aide in the residence halls not only provided her with multicultural and diversity trainings but also brought her into what Pratt (2001) describes as "contact zones" or "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other often in contexts of asymmetrical relations of power" (p. 34). In this way, PSTs have a better chance of forming more authentic relationships with people of color.

Conclusion

I offer that we must never consider ourselves finished learning…It is a messy lifelong process, but one that is necessary. (DiAngelo 2018, pp. 153–154)

Even though the PSTs in our study felt like they walked away from this ESL methodology course with a firm grasp on the theory and pedagogy

of translanguaging, they were not as fully aware of the complex sociopolitical implications of multilingual practices. More specifically, the intersectionality of race and language was largely overlooked due to a lack of clear definitions of key terminology, a lack of opportunities to discuss racism and racialization, and white fragility of the predominantly White PSTs. This limited coverage of race in the course led to PSTs not feeling prepared to discuss cultural and racial issues in their own future classrooms.

To avoid silence and the perpetuation of racial hierarchies and the racialization of linguistically diverse students, teacher educators should play a key role in not only designing their courses appropriately but also serving as models of critical educators. We suggest that teacher educators carefully reflect on their own experiences, biases, and positions in society in order to help their PSTs do the same. Together, instructors and PSTs can build their knowledge of race, talk more often about race, and consider the intersectionality of race and language in an effort to plan and enact critical and empowering pedagogical practices that will sustain the messy lifelong learning process about race underscored by DiAngelo (2018) and other critical language educators.

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Preparing Monolingual Teachers of Multilingual Students: Strategies That Work

Qianqian Zhang-Wu

Introduction

According to data from the US Department of Education, currently around 10% of the student populations are identified as English language learners, bringing over 800 different languages into American public schools; yet there is a severe lack of teachers who are fully trained to support those students (Cross 2016; Takanishi and Le Menestrel 2017). Additionally, despite the growing diversity in student populations in American K-12 education, the U.S. teaching forces remain dominated by white, middle-class, monolingual English-speaking females (Assaf et al. 2010; Sleeter 2008, see also Sterzug and Shin, this volume), among whom a significant number have been found to "have doubts about their ability to create a culturally enriching classroom environment" due to their lack of exposure, awareness, and training in relation to cultural and linguistic diversity (King and Butler 2015, p. 48). In response to the

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current situation, it is crucial to diversify American teaching forces and raise educators' awareness of culturally and linguistically responsive instruction, which supports multilingual students' English development and content-subject learning without sacrificing the diverse cultural and linguistic resources they have brought into the classrooms (de Jong et al. 2013; Echevarria et al. 2013; Zhang-Wu 2017).

Unfortunately, due to the overwhelming popularity of English, deficit perspectives are still prevalent toward multilingual students and their home languages. Research has shown that many mainstream educators in the United States believe that since they are not language teachers, it is not their responsibility to support bi/multilingual students (Gallagher and Haan 2018; Lee and Oxelson 2006). Such an ideology is both erroneous and harmful. Because bi/multilingual students are learning English while simultaneously learning content-subject knowledge through English, language is always the unspoken requirement across all disciplinary curricula in American K-12 classrooms. All teachers, regardless of their disciplines, should be fully aware that they are in essence also language teachers who are responsible for drawing upon multilingual students' cultural and linguistic resources to enhance their English learning and academic excellence (Brisk and Zhang-Wu 2017).

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce three hands-on, practitioner-oriented activities. By raising awareness of linguistically responsive instruction (LRI) (de Jong et al. 2013; Echevarria et al. 2013; Zhang-Wu 2017), these activities could function as helpful resources in preparing monolingual teachers of bi/multilingual students. While originally designed with the US context in mind, these activities can easily be adapted to cater to the needs of other Anglophone educational settings. The three activities include:

1. Field Trip to Bi/Multilingual Communities
2. Writing without Letter "N"
3. Are You Really Monolingual?: Rethinking the Role of Heritage Language

The nature of the text in this chapter is a practitioner reflection rather than research report. In other words, in this chapter I share with readers three pedagogical activities in preparing teacher candidates to teach in

culturally and linguistically diverse contexts, based on which I discuss my research-informed reflections as an instructor and teacher educator. All sample student work, instructional observations, and participant reflections introduced in this chapter were collected as part of an empirical research project approved by the Institutional Review Board. However, these data are introduced in this chapter for the purpose of contextualizing and explaining the three focal activities, rather than to lend support to any pre-determined research questions.

Theoretical Orientation

In this chapter, I have adopted the term "bi/multilingual students" to refer to learners who "obtain communicative competence in more than one language, with various degrees of proficiencies, in oral and/or written forms, in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages in a given society" (Butler 2012, p. 112). This working definition emphasizes individuals' language usage and communicative experiences rather than their levels of proficiency; in this process, individuals' bi/multilingual funds of knowledge are regarded as valuable assets.

Traditionally, bi/multilingual individuals were often defined as those who have achieved native or near-native proficiencies in additional languages other than their mother tongues (e.g., Bloomfield 1933; Haugen 1953). Nevertheless, with the recent trends of international mobility, earlier views on bi/multilingualism valuing proficiency levels over usage have fallen short in capturing the fluidity and dynamics of linguistic diversity in today's globalized society. For instance, in the context of American K-12 education, while very few newly arrived immigrant students could meet the traditional definition of being bi/multilingual to demonstrate native or native-like proficiency in both English and their heritage language, almost all of them are likely to "need and use two or more languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (Grosjean 2010, p. 4) and are constantly demonstrating "more than one language competence" (Valdés and Figueroa 1994, p. 8). Therefore, in this chapter I embrace a working definition of bi/multilingualism which puts emphasis on the dynamics and actual usage of various languages among individuals.

Aligned with the bi/multilingualism framework adopted, I have chosen to use the term "bi/multilingual" as a substitute for "English language learners" throughout this chapter to value the cultural and linguistic resources nonnative English-speaking students are bringing to the classroom and the entire society at large.

Advocating for multilingual students and valuing their cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge, LRI lends itself to be the guiding theoretical framework for my activity design and reflections (de Jong et al. 2013; Echevarria et al. 2013; Gallagher and Haan 2018). As a pedagogical approach, LRI addresses the growing diversity in education settings and supports academic success of linguistically diverse student populations by providing language support in content-subject classrooms, especially those traditionally situated in monolingual norms. Since the traditional mainstream K-12 classrooms in Anglophone countries are primarily designed for native speakers of English and are likely to be dominated by monolingual norms, LRI stands out as a helpful guiding framework informing teacher preparation activities in support of awareness raising among teachers working with students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Context of Activities and Overview of Design Rationale

The three focal activities were developed when I was teaching a teacher preparation course on multilingualism, multilingual theories, and practices at a private research university in the northeast United States. This course was among the required core courses open to elementary and secondary education teacher candidates at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. I have taught the course three times between the years 2018 and 2019. The enrollment cap for the course was at 30 students. In this course, around 90% of my students were female. Approximately 80% of my students self-identified as white, middle-class, native speakers of English, while most of the rest identified themselves as Latinx or Black. During summer 2018 and spring 2019, I have also had one Chinese

international student per semester. All students enrolled in this multilingualism teacher education course have had at least one semester of practicum experiences at local K-12 schools. While the vast majority of my students were pre-service teacher candidates, each time I taught the course there were two to three in-service teachers who worked full time during the day and took classes at night in pursuit of their Master's degree.

During the first class of the semester, I always conducted a quick in-class survey asking my students about their linguistic backgrounds. Although all teacher candidates have had at least four years of foreign language learning experiences, very few considered themselves bi/multilingual. Interestingly, their inclination of self-identification as monolingual speakers did not seem to be related to their duration of foreign language study; even teacher candidates who had learned Spanish and French for over eight years still felt reluctant to describe themselves as bi/multilingual. On the one hand, this was partially due to their strong belief in the more traditional perspectives on bi/multilingualism, which emphasized high and equal proficiency in two or more languages (e.g., Bloomfield 1933; Haugen 1953). On the other hand, their lack of personal contact with people from culturally and linguistically diverse communities has further contributed to their self-identified monolingual-ness (e.g., friendship with bi/multilingual immigrants, growing up in bi/multilingual neighborhood). Consequently, despite their good intention to advocate for inclusiveness and social justice, their self-perceived monolingual, English-dominant identity may in turn result in their feeling of lack of connectedness with their students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, which could further impede them to embrace linguistic diversity and support students from linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Richards et al. (2007) once pointed out, "Although the curriculum may be dictated by the school system, teachers teach it. Where the curriculum falls short in addressing the needs of all students, teachers must provide a bridge…" (p. 68). Because classroom teachers are the ones who take "the central role" in the process of implementing LRI (Zhang-Wu 2017, p. 34), it is important for teacher educators to implement hands-on activities that could help prepare pre-service teachers to understand the needs of their bi/multilingual students, develop cultural and linguistic sensitivity and empathy, and resume their roles as future

classroom-level policymakers and advocates for students from culturally and linguistically minoritized backgrounds. With these goals in mind, I would like to share three activities that I have implemented and yielded positive results in my own teaching, discuss my students' takeaways, and reflect on my observations. While all three activities were designed with my specific pedagogical contexts in mind, they could be modified and adapted to be implemented in other teacher education contexts.

Activity 1: Field Trip to Bi/Multilingual Communities

The first awareness-raising activity is a self-guided field trip to local bi/multilingual communities. This activity was developed to address my pre-service student teachers' reported difficulties in empathizing and connecting with their bi/multilingual students. Since most of the teacher candidates reported in lack of first-hand exposure to cultural and linguistic diversity, I found it challenging to fully engage them with some course materials. While they were able to memorize the key concepts of multilingualism, it remained a daunting task for them to put those theories into practice. Since a lack of exposure to cultural and linguistic diversity may hinder educators' capability to create an embracing classroom atmosphere which could consequently exert negative impacts on students (King and Butler 2015), I decided to adopt this field trip activity to provide my students with first-hand exposure to the everyday life of people living in diverse communities. It was hoped that my students could leverage takeaways from this activity to establish a better understanding of course materials and eventually to put these theories into practice.

Description of Activity

My students devoted approximately 6 hours to complete this activity, including 2 hours of self-guided bilingual community field trip, 1.5 hours of presentation preparation, and 1.5 hours of in-class roundtable

discussion. Finally, they spent another hour after class to write about their takeaways from the entire activity.

Firstly, my students were instructed to visit a bilingual community or space of their choice (Chinatown, Italian town, Korean town, and Sunday heritage language schools, etc.). They were allowed to take their bilingual community field trip on their own, with a few classmates, or with friends outside of the class. During the field trip, they were expected to interact with people in the bi(multi)lingual space, conduct participatory observations, take pictures and videos to document their experiences, and reflect on what they see. A series of guiding questions were also provided, including (1) How do bilingual people communicate? What do bilingual communities look like? (2) How is your experience talking with bilingual individuals? (3) How do bilingual people preserve their heritage language? (4) What are some of your thoughts and reflections?

After the field trip, my students were asked to reflect on their experiences, observations, and interactions in the multilingual communities and share their thoughts during an in-class roundtable discussion. Finally, drawing upon takeaways from the entire activity, each student was asked to write a 500-word reflection to specify how this field trip has informed their instructional practices when serving diverse learner populations.

Participants' Takeaways from the Activity

This activity has been viewed positively by graduate and undergraduate pre-service teachers alike. Through their involvement in local bilingual communities, my students started to rethink the notion of multilingualism. Referring to this field trip as "an eye opener," they realized that even in Anglophone countries like the United States, knowing English alone was not enough to fully engage in local communities and neighborhoods, where multilingualism has been the everyday life of their residents (Observation Notes, 8.9.18). For example, one of my students visited Chinatown and was amazed by the beautiful Chinese characters everywhere in the neighborhood (Fig. 1). As someone who self-identified as a typical middle-class Irish American, this student wrote in her reflection that she was shocked that despite its overwhelming popularity, English

Fig. 1 Sample student artifact during field trip

was not the only way of life; multilingualism was far from just being a course topic, but rather "the reality of today's globalized world" (Student Reflection, 8.10.18).

Similarly, conversations with local people in bilingual communities have drawn my students' attention to the importance of heritage language maintenance and the need to maintain a linguistically rich classroom environment. One teacher candidate wrote in his reflection:

> While multilingual individuals' heritage languages are not valued as much as English in many academic settings, those languages are part of their identity and culture. We as teachers need to create an inclusive environment to help them learn English without losing their L1s. (Student Reflection, 8.10.18)

My Reflections as a Teacher Educator

Through this activity, pre-service teachers were exposed to multilingual people's everyday life in linguistically and culturally diverse communities, thanks to which they were able to reflect deeply on multilingualism and its pedagogical implications. Beyond graduate and undergraduate level pre-service teacher training courses, this activity could also be adapted as part of the professional development training for in-service educators across elementary through tertiary levels. It is hoped that these first-hand

experiences with multilingual people and their communities could help educators reconsider the central position of English in today's world and deliver culturally and linguistically responsive education to our future generations.

Activity 2: Writing Without Letter "N"

Research on writing assessment has found that monolingual English-speaking instructors may get distracted by surface-level language problems such as grammatical accuracy and vocabulary choice, which could consequently lead to biased evaluation of texts produced by bi/multilingual writers (Lindsey and Crusan 2011). Way too often, brilliant ideas are muffled by teachers' red marks. Excessive emphasis on bi/multilingual writers' surface-level language issues without properly evaluating other aspects of the essays may even result in instructors' misconceptions toward their actual capability in critical thinking (Zhang-Wu forthcoming). To help teacher candidates think beyond surface-level language problems in evaluating bi/multilingual writers' essays, and more importantly, to raise their linguistic sensitivity and empathize with their bi/multilingual students, I have developed the following awareness-raising activity.

Description of Activity

The estimated time required for this activity is 30 minutes, including 2 minutes of writing exercise, 8 minutes of think-pair-share and 20 minutes of whole-group discussion. Firstly, teacher candidates were instructed to spend two minutes writing about how they spent their previous weekend. There was no specific word limit or genre requirement. However, they were instructed to follow the "no letter 'n' rule," prohibiting the usage of the letter "n" anywhere in their essays. Should the rule be violated anywhere in their essays, the participants would fail the entire writing excise.

Throughout this strictly timed two-minute writing exercise, teacher candidates were required to constantly pay attention to the "no letter 'n' rule" while actively seeking alternative ways to express their ideas. Although the activity may sound simple, it was rather challenging to accomplish. For instance, one participant who had intended to write "Last weekend I went to the zoo with my boyfriend" had to cross out this sentence due to its multiple violations of the "no letter 'n' rule." She was forced to come up with an alternative expression: "Last week, after five workdays, I drove to the zoo with my male lover" (Observation notes, 9.3.19). Upon finishing the writing exercise, participants worked in pairs to (1) conduct peer review to check for any violations of the rule, and (2) share their reflections based on the activity. Followed by the 8-minute think-pair-share was a 20-minute whole-group discussion, during which participants reflected on their takeaways from this activity.

Participants' Takeaways from the Activity

This writing activity was described as "fun," "challenging," and "thought-provoking." Through this activity and its subsequent reflections, teacher candidates came to realize that despite their identities as monolingual, native English speakers, how nerve-racking and difficult it could be if they were forced to produce writings following a certain unfamiliar language rule. Thanks to this activity, my participants started to empathize with their nonnative English-speaking students, who were faced with similar challenges every day. This has raised their awareness of the importance to put emphasis on ideas over surface-level language problems when evaluating multilingual writers' essays. One participant shared her experience during the whole-class discussion:

> As a monolingual, English is my only weapon. But I just couldn't express myself… Not even to say things that were so basic. This was ridiculous! I wanted to say 'last weekend I did XYZ,' but I was shocked that 'weekend' was not allowed to describe my weekend. Then I wanted to talk about places I went to, but I was not supposed to use 'went' either. I can't believe how hard it is for my multilingual students to read, write and study in

English every day. From now on, I will be more understanding of their grammatical errors and pay more attention to their ideas. I'm not saying grammar stuff is not important, but those are just rules; ideas are more crucial. (Observation notes, 9.3.19)

Consequently, this awareness-raising activity has pushed my teacher candidates to think critically about their own instructional practices. Toward the end of the reflection activity, they came up with the idea to invite their bi/multilingual students to draft out their ideas using their home languages first before re-organizing them to fit the norms of academic English writing. Echoing the key principles in translanguaging pedagogy (García and Kleyn 2016), this strategy has firmly reflected participants' embracing attitudes toward multilingualism.

Something worth noting was that, allowing home language usage in the processes of academic paper writing by no means required multilingual students to write their entire essays in L1s before translating them into English, which could be extremely time-consuming. Instead, linguistic resources other than English should only be used to outline key words and main ideas, so that multilingual writers' depth of thinking would not be weakened or compromised when expressing those ideas in English. As one participant explained, "Once ideas are documented in L1s, the only remaining task is to expand them into English. It's better than squeezing out ideas while also simultaneously trying to get the grammar right. That often jeopardizes the qualities of both" (Observation notes, 9.3.19).

My Reflections as a Teacher Educator

This short writing exercise has been designed to simulate the academic experiences of many bi/multilingual students. The discomfort and anxiety participants tend to experience in this strictly timed activity further mirrors multilingual students' constant fear in everyday academic life, worrying about violating grammatical rules, choosing improper vocabulary, and failing to respond in time. Although they may have clear ideas and could easily express these ideas using their home languages,

bi/multilingual students often find it extremely challenging to communicate in English, an unfamiliar language with unfamiliar norms and structures.

This awareness-raising activity functions as an awakening call for educators to develop a welcoming attitude toward cultural and linguistic diversity. Empathy generated through this activity can translate into an important teaching moment for teacher candidates to understand multilingual students' challenges in meeting the written linguistic demands in academic English. Consequently, this activity prompts educators to reflect on how LRI-oriented practices such as translanguaging pedagogy (García and Kleyn 2016) could strategically draw upon students' home languages as a resource to facilitate their academic excellence in English-dominant educational contexts.

Activity 3: Are You Really Monolingual?: A Multi-stage Activity

Educational research has found that many mainstream monolingual English-speaking teachers are likely to hold the misconception that it is not their responsibility to support the heritage language maintenance of their students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds (Gallagher and Haan 2018; Lee and Oxelson 2006). Among those educators, many believe that given the importance of English in students' academic enhancement, heritage language maintenance is simply unnecessary.

It is undeniable that English plays a crucial role in multilingual students' academic enhancement and overall well-being in Anglophone countries. Nevertheless, because an individual's linguistic repertoire does not consist of two separate and static language systems (L1 vs. L2) but rather a dynamic, fluid, and interconnected whole, heritage language maintenance is a dispensable part in multilingual individual's identity development and linguistic functioning (García and Kleyn 2016). Awareness of this important aspect therefore lays the foundation for

educators to better support bi/multilingual students' language and identity development.

The purpose of this multi-stage activity is to question the concepts of "monolingualism" and "monolingual speakers of American English" and raise awareness of the importance to support bi/multilingual students' English development and academic enhancement by drawing upon their diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds as resources.

Description of Activity

Step 1 After the very first class, students were instructed to post a 300-word essay to the course's online discussion board about their linguistic identities and philosophies of teaching students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Upon completion, students were required to comment on at least two other posts from their classmates. Since the first class had focused on course introduction and syllabus overview without any explicit instruction of course content, these short essays authentically captured students' beliefs before taking this bilingualism course.

Step 2 During the first 15 minutes of the second class, my students were provided paper and colorful markers to portrait themselves based on their cultural and linguistic identities. They were told to creatively use colors and patterns to represent their linguistic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds, and were encouraged to take consideration of their family history and language usage among various family members (e.g., grandparents, parents, uncles, and aunts). After completing their self-portraits, students were instructed to discuss their work in pairs for five minutes before they came back together for a whole-class discussion debriefing common themes emerged and takeaways from this activity.

Step 3 During subsequent classes, students were also engaged in readings and discussions around topics such as culturally and linguistically responsive teaching, heritage language loss and its consequences to

families and society, recent anti-bilingual policies in the United States and its negative impact on students and teachers, as well as translanguaging theory and practice as a potential way to draw upon multilingual students' heritage languages as a means to facilitate their English language development and academic success in English-dominant educational settings. At the end of each class, I asked students to create MEMEs to capture their thoughts and reflections and post their creative work onto the course's online discussion board. Upon completion, students were required to comment on each other's posts.

Step 4 At the end of the semester, my teacher candidates were asked to re-visit their initial philosophies of teaching multilingual students written at the beginning of the semester. Based on reflections of their initial teaching statements as well as things learned throughout the semester, they were instructed to write a 1500-word essay to discuss their evolution of ideologies and proposed instructional strategies in supporting learners from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Participants' Takeaways from the Activity

This multi-stage activity ran through the entire span of the semester. The constant and reciprocal reflections generated throughout the four stages have successfully raised pre-service teachers' awareness of the value of multilingualism and the importance of heritage language maintenance in addition to their support on multilingual students' English language development. In this process, a clear evolvement could be observed with regards to their ideologies of teaching students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

The initial teaching statements (see Step 1) reflected pre-service teacher candidates' thoughts on their philosophies of working with multilingual students prior to taking my course. Two common themes were visible across many of my students' initial teaching statements. On the one hand, self-defined as monolingual English speakers born and raised in the United States, many teacher candidates found it challenging to connect

with their multilingual students and fully understand their needs. On the other hand, although agreeing with the importance of supporting multilingual students, most teacher candidates were either unclear about how to put those good intention into practice or held the misconception that they, as future content-subject teachers, were only expected to support the work of ESL instructors without the needs to directly working with students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

As the semester progressed, pre-service teachers' ideologies have witnessed several substantial changes. The cultural and linguistic identity self-portrait (see Step 2) has pushed teacher candidates to go beyond the overly simplified notions of "I am White," "I am just an American," and "I am a monolingual English speaker" to contextualize their linguistic and cultural identities by also taking consideration of their family history and home language practices. Through this activity, my students started to realize that despite their presumed identity as "White, monolingual English speakers born and raised in the U.S.," they might not be as white or monolingual as they thought. They started to realize that in reality they had much more in common with multilingual students than they had originally thought, which has set the foundation for them to better connect with their diverse learner populations and understand their needs and challenges studying in an English-speaking environment.

For example, one of my teacher candidates self-portrayed as a light-skinned young woman wearing a colorful dress filled with colors and patterns symbolizing her affiliations with the United States, England, and India (see Fig. 2). Born and raised in the United States, she had originally self-identified as a white, monolingual speaker of English in her initial teaching statement (see Step 1). However, thanks to this cultural and linguistic self-portrait, she started to realize that despite her nationality, appearance, and accent-free American English, she herself was in fact an immigrant descendant growing up in a multilingual family environment with grandparents originally from England and India. While she could not speak any Kannada (the native language of Bangalore) or British English, she grew up hearing her grandparents talking in these languages and were exposed to food and traditions of both countries in addition to American culture and language. Reflecting on her reflections through this activity, she told the class that she had never felt more connected with

Fig. 2 Sample student work: cultural and linguistic identity self-portrait (This artifact was slightly modified to erase any identifiable information of the student)

learners from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, because they were not strangers but "younger versions" of her grandparents. Feeling slightly guilty for her failure to inherit any of her own heritage languages, this student added that she also felt obliged to support her multilingual students' English language development without sacrificing their heritage languages and cultural roots.

Thanks to the readings and discussions on bilingual education policy-making, theoretical foundations and pedagogical practices (see Step 3), pre-service teachers in my class came to the realization that multilingual students' English language proficiency should not be enhanced at the cost of their heritage languages; English development and heritage language maintenance should never be regarded as an either-or choice. By adopting research-informed pedagogical practices such as translanguaging (García and Kleyn 2016), multilingual students' home languages could be drawn upon as valuable resources to facilitate their English learning and content-subject learning through English.

Consequently, awareness raised in this activity has prompted my teacher candidates to think critically about the pedagogical influences of

recent anti-bilingual legislations[1] across multiple states in the United States. Rather than being passive followers of these top-down educational policies, my pre-service teachers felt obliged to take an active role as classroom-level policymakers to advocate their multilingual students through a bottom-up approach. For instance, one of my students created a MEME to firmly state his position against top-down anti-bilingual policies which could put multilingual students' academic well-being at risk (see Fig. 3). With enlarged font, the teacher candidate wrote at the bottom of his MEME that an English-only policy would "be a no for [his] dog," which has clearly revealed his strong commitment to be an advocate and language policymaker in his own classroom in support of learners from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Finally, rewriting their philosophies of teaching multilingual students at the end of the semester (Step 4) not only allowed teacher candidates to revisit their initial teaching statements, but also prompted them to conduct reflections based on their takeaways throughout the semester. Their papers clearly documented a shift of their perspectives. In contrasting to their initial feelings of disconnection with students from diverse backgrounds, teacher candidates in my class were able to establish personal connections with their multilingual learners. My students' reflections on

Fig. 3 Sample student work: MEME created after lecture on anti-bilingual policies

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[1] In 1998, 2000, and 2002 respectively, three U.S. states (California, Arizona, and Massachusetts) passed laws to ban bilingual education throughout kindergarten to secondary education in public school systems.

their cultural and linguistic identities have pushed them to problematize the existence of the so-called monolingual speaker of American English. Given the history of the United States which has been largely defined by immigration, it would almost be certain for all Americans to have family members from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Awareness of this face has made my teacher candidates feel much more relatable to their multilingual students.

Such personal connections identified have further facilitated these teacher candidates' critical understanding of state-level educational policies. Rather than passively obeying top-down educational policies, they realized the need to approach these regulations with critical eyes and act as classroom-level policymakers and advocates for their students. As one teacher candidate wrote:

> We may not be able to change those top-down policies even though they are problematic. But since we work closely with multilingual students, we have the responsibility to make classroom-level decisions to make sure that all students' heritage languages are respected and valued as a resource to facilitate their English learning. (Student's Final Paper, 5.1.18)

A common theme that emerged from my students' final papers was that despite their future goals to be content-subject teachers at the elementary and secondary levels, they started to embrace their second identity as an English language teacher. This was not to say that they would actually take ESL teaching jobs; instead they realized that supporting multilingual students' English development by drawing upon their heritage languages as resources was part of the requirements of being good content-subject teachers.

For instance, one pre-service mathematics teacher shared his practicum experiences working with two newly arrived immigrant students from China, who he described as highly talented in math. Despite their capability in solving math problems presented in the form of numbers and math symbols (e.g., $23 \times 15 =?$), these emergent bilinguals consistently failed in language-heavy quizzes. A simple math problem like "Tom has 5 candies. Mary has **3 times more** candies **than** Tom. How many candies does Mary have?" was extremely challenging for them, as

they were unclear about the distinctions between "3 times more than" and "3 times as many as." However, by allowing the two immigrant students to use bilingual dictionaries in mathematics classes and by encouraging them to make quick clarifications with each other in Chinese, they were able to perform better in those language-heavy quizzes. This has cautioned the math teacher candidate that while his discipline was traditionally misperceived as number-driven and language-free, students' English language proficiency was very often implicitly measured in math problems (Brisk and Zhang-Wu 2017). This made him understand his dual responsibility of being not only a content-subject but also a language educator: "[Y]ou have to be an English teacher first before you can be a math educator. Heritage language is not a distraction but rather a way to make bilinguals understand English better and consequently do better in mathematics" (Student's Final Paper, 5.1.18).

My Reflections as a Teacher Educator

The strengths of this activity are two-fold. Firstly, thanks to the four steps of the activity that last throughout the semester, my students were provided ample opportunities to be engaged in constant reflections. During their evolution of ideologies toward their philosophies of teaching multilingual students, they were able to approach popular, dichotomic concepts such as monolingual/multilingual and native/nonnative speakers with critical eyes. Consequently, they realized that their connections with multilingual students were much closer than they had originally thought, which has set the foundation for their willingness to support those learners.

Secondly, this activity made it possible for learning to be extended beyond the four walls of the classroom. Thanks to the integration of online discussion boards as a platform for my students to post their work and continue discussions outside of the class, a strong community of practice has been created. Additionally, my incorporation of self-portraits and MEME as creative ways for learners to reflect on course readings and discussions has made the learning processes enjoyable and engaging.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have introduced three instructional activities designed to raise educators' awareness of LRI, to connect to their bi/multilingual students, and to generate reflections upon putting LRI into practice. While English is the mostly popular language in academic and professional settings in the United States, our students may come from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This requires educators to embrace an inclusive perspective on bi/multilingualism that focuses on language usage and bi/multilingual funds of knowledge (Butler 2012). To provide the best education for our future generations, a welcoming attitude toward linguistic diversity and a commitment to create an inclusive space to embrace and value linguistic diversity is the first step in the long endeavor to put LRI into practice.

While being positive toward the tremendous potentials for teachers to act as change agents and strong advocates in supporting multilingual students and promoting LRI, many challenges remain. Dramatic contrast is still evident between the skyrocketing cultural and linguistic diversity among the student population in the US education system and the overwhelmingly homogenous teaching force that is underprepared for its increasingly heterogeneous student population (Cross 2016; Takanishi and Le Menestrel 2017). Additionally, a lack of systematic integration of LRI awareness-raising and pedagogical practices into mainstream teacher preparation programs across the United States may lead to misconceptions such as "I am a content-subject teacher, so supporting multilingual students is not my business" and "I am a monolingual American teacher, so I have nothing in common with those non-English-speaking foreign students" among well-intended teacher candidates. Although we still have a long way to go in addressing these challenges ahead, LRI awareness raising can be the first step forward. Let's start here and today to take that step.

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Resistance to Monoligualism: School Principals and Head of Languages' Voices on Factors that Promote and Deter Languages Education in Queensland, Australia

Adriana Díaz, Marisa Cordella, and Fabiane Ramos

Introduction

Australia's increased status as a receiver country of migrants—particularly after World War II—has contributed to it being considered one of the most multicultural and linguistically diverse nation-states in the world. Indeed, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) latest census data, 49% or nearly half of Australians have either been born overseas (first generation Australian), or one or both parents have been born overseas (second generation Australian) (ABS 2016). While English remains the de facto national language—albeit with no official status—the latest census data reveal that one in five people (21%) speak a language other than English at home. Among these, there are 300 separately identified

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languages, of which Chinese Mandarin and Arabic are the most widely spoken. This is in addition to more than 250 Indigenous Australian languages,[1] including 800 dialectal varieties still spoken nationwide (Simpson and Wigglesworth 2019).

Against this overtly multilingual backdrop, however, Australia's engagement with the provision of languages education[2] can only be described as paradoxical. Indeed, despite being considered a pioneer in language-in-education policy among many English-dominant societies (Djité 2011; Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2017), currently Australia sits close to the bottom of the list of 34 OECD countries in terms of classroom time spent learning a language as well as in terms of the number of high school students graduating with a second language (OECD 2018). This is not surprising given that "languages have by far the lowest enrolments of any learning area nationally" (Kohler et al. 2014, p. 3). This was not always the case, however. Up until the 1960s, when the study of languages was a prerequisite for accessing tertiary education, the national average of high school students graduating with a language was around 40% (Mason and Hajek 2018). The unravelling decline of language studies began with Australian universities' decision to eliminate a language as an entry requirement (Baldwin 2019), a decision that has had a profound and irreversible effect on all levels of education.

For the last five decades therefore, languages, as one of the eight curriculum learning areas (ACARA 2011), have been reduced to having a "Cinderella" role: undermined, marginalised and isolated, stuck in a state of continuing fragility, and, in some cases, fighting for survival (Norris and Coutas 2014). This disheartening characterisation of language studies in Australia stands, however, in stark contrast with the steady succession of policy documents, declarations and nationwide initiatives stressing

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[1] This figure can be contrasted with the 700 to 800 language varieties of Australian Indigenous languages spoken at the time of colonisation (Simpson and Wigglesworth 2019). Here, it is therefore important to consider critically the legacy of Australia's colonial history, through which "the enforced marginalisation of Indigenous people not only resulted in social, political, economic and historical domination, but also linguistic genocide" (Jones Díaz 2014, p. 272).

[2] In this chapter, when we refer to the promotion of 'languages education' we refer to modern/foreign and community languages, which, in most jurisdictions, do not include Indigenous Australian languages or sign languages. In Australia, 'languages' in its plural form is the term that has been officially adopted by education policies including the recently developed national curriculum. In the past, other terms such 'languages other than English' (LOTE) have been used and may still be found in various policy documents and scholarly publications.

and affirming the significance of language studies. Following the 1987 *Australian National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco 1987), a relatively constant ebb and flow of such government declarations can be traced back to the 1989 *Hobart Declaration on Schooling* (Australian Education Council) and the *Adelaide Declaration on National Goals for Schooling in the Twenty-First Century* (MCEETYA 1999) through to the most recent Council of Education Ministers *Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians* in 2008 (MCEETYA 2008). The last of these, which provided the impetus and rationale for the newly developed national curriculum (ACARA 2011), emphasises the development of "responsible *global* and local *citizens*" who are "able to *relate to and communicate across cultures*, especially the cultures and countries of Asia" (MCEETYA 2008, p. 9, our emphases). Nevertheless, as Scarino (2014) incisively observes, these are all "well-intentioned but highly abstract expression[s] of national goals," which, in practice, have ultimately failed to recognise "the central mediating role of languages and cultures in student learning," that is, their constitutive function as "interpretive resources through which students make sense of their learning" (p. 290).

The promotion of languages education in Australia has indeed been characterised by a utilitarian focus, going from employability and other economic interests to national security concerns. Furthermore, several sporadically recurrent, largely short-term, federal and state government initiatives have centred on the injection of funding into selected, strategic language programmes with ambitious targets around student participation (Murray 2010). Despite some positive changes, without a coherent and concerted long-term vision to ensure the sustainability of languages provision for all learners, across sectors, little has changed on the ground, particularly at the chalk face of languages teaching. Overall, a weak language policy environment and the loss of collaborative language policy processes across sectors, states and territories (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2017) have thus far resulted in a largely fragmented and fragile language programme provision nationwide.

Against this backdrop, numerous government-commissioned reports and scholarly publications have attempted to chart the complex ecology of enabling and hindering factors impacting on students' participation and retention rates leading to the success (or failure) of language

programmes, particularly in the compulsory education sector (see, inter alia, ACSSO 2007; Asia Education Foundation 2014; Liddicoat et al. 2018; Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009, 2017; Mason and Hajek 2018). What emerges from this corpus of publications is the need to consider the interrelatedness of the macro and micro factors that come into play locally, nationally and globally. Macro-level factors include, but are not limited to, policies, teacher education, mainstream state/national culture(s) and globalisation. Micro-level factors include school culture and structures as well as key stakeholders' (teachers, parents/carers, students) values and beliefs. Among key stakeholders' perspectives, in particular the literature presents a clear triadic focus on teachers, students and parents. Against this backdrop, however, the views and agentive impact of stakeholders in schools' leadership positions remain largely under-researched.

The underlying theme permeating the analysis of both macro and micro factors appears to be a pervasive and now oft-cited 'monolingual mindset.' This concept, put forth by Australian sociolinguist Michael Clyne (2004, 2008), refers to a worldview which assumes that monolingualism is the norm which thus "privileges a single language (English) within what is in reality a plurilingual context" (Liddicoat and Crichton 2008, p. 2). This framing appears to transversally underpin numerous "fallacious clichés" (Clyne 2008) in Australian education: from the sufficiency of global English to privileging the acquisition of English literacy in an 'overcrowded curriculum' as well as the perceived 'unfair advantage' of students who engage in learning their heritage language. Numerous studies have urged stakeholders across educational sectors to interrogate critically these deeply embedded ideological assumptions (see, for instance, Scarino 2014). The far-reaching impact of these assumptions, however, also appears to be co-opted in order to rationalise a state of inertia in the development and implementation of policy.

The Queensland Context

The paradoxical state of languages education could not be more startling than in the state of Queensland, where the percentage of high school students graduating with a language other than English went from 50% in the early 1960s (Wykes 1966) to consistently hovering around 8%, for the last 30 years (Department of Education website). This percentage can be contrasted with the slightly better national average of 10% (Lo Bianco and Slaughter 2009; Wilks-Smith et al. 2018, also c.f., Asia Education Report indicates that this percentage may vary and even reach 19% in some jurisdictions, particularly in the states of New South Wales and Victoria).[3]

Compared to other states, research on languages provision and student retention in Queensland is scarce. Paucity of studies focused on the Queensland context may be attributed to the comparatively low proportion of the state's population who speak a language other than English at home. According to the latest census data (ABS 2016), the overall percentage for the state is just over 11% or half of the national average (only reaching 16% in greater areas around Brisbane, its capital city). These figures can be compared with the ones from New South Wales and Victoria, which exceed 25% (and even reach 33% in Greater Melbourne areas). This is reflective of the fact that the capital cities in these two states have been historically more attractive for various waves of migrant groups.

The most comprehensive report on the past and future of languages in education in Queensland dates back to the early 1990s (Ingram and John 1990). This government commissioned report put forth 94 policy recommendations with timelines, roles and responsibilities. These recommendations included strategies to increase teachers' language proficiency standards and professional competence, status, career paths, and

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[3] The absence of complete and definitive data concerning languages education across Australian states and jurisdictions remains an ongoing challenge standing in the way of policy-making (cf. Murray 2010). Even across sectors (state, private and catholic), there are no consistently reliable reporting practices. Moreover, the figures for individual languages may conceal, for instance, "the fact that the numbers in some languages, such as Chinese, appear to have increased only because of the inclusion in the data of international students who are first language users of Chinese" (Scarino 2014, p. 294).

even projected teacher supply between the years 1990–1995 and 1996–2001. Some of these recommendations were implemented with greater or lesser levels of success; however, 30 years after its publication, not much has changed. More recent studies have oscillated between a focus on the retention and attrition of students in secondary language programmes (e.g., Ham 2008) to the professional development, retention and attrition of languages teachers (see, Endicott 2011; Mason 2016), and only more recently, on the standards of language programmes (Mason 2018).

At present, in terms of macro policy factors, there are two key state policy guidelines concerning the provisions of languages in state education. The first one is the *Languages in Queensland State Schools* (Department of Education and Training [DET] 2016a) which established that from 2015 the provision of languages from Years 5 (10 years of age) to 8 (13 years of age) would be mandatory. This added a year to previous policy, "under which only those students in Years 6–8 were required to learn a language" (Kohler 2017, p. 8). The second one is the *Global schools through languages: A plan for supporting successful global citizens in Queensland state schools* (DET 2016b). This statement has three clear objectives: (1) to expand the study of languages from Prep—compulsory year prior to Year 1—all the way to Year 12 with a focus on Asian languages; (2) to build the intercultural capability of students, teachers and school leaders; and (3) to market Queensland's education sector internationally (DET 2016b, p. 1).

It is important to note, however, that in these guidelines, schools are encouraged, *where possible*, to offer a languages programme from Prep to Year 12 (DET 2019). Furthermore, according to these guidelines, it is principals, in consultation with their school community, who will make decisions about the choice of language and the year levels of provision—aside from the compulsory ones. The languages prioritised in these documents are mainly Asian languages (particularly, Chinese, Japanese, and Indonesian), which has raised concerns regarding the way in which the notion of 'global citizens' is conceptualised in the policy (Poyatos Matas and Mason 2015). Nevertheless, schools can also choose to provide Aboriginal languages and Torres Strait Islander languages to fulfil these requirements.

The *Queensland Curriculum and Assessment Authority* (QCAA) offers 11 languages plus Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages, which can be studied at the senior secondary level. According to Kohler (2017), while time allocations for all other learning areas are defined by the Department of Education, time allocations for the languages area are stipulated by the QCAA and follow the same times as the new Australian Curriculum. Here, it is important to note that the time dedicated to language teaching may differ in independent (private) schools. The recommended times are outlined in Table 1.

Since the announcement of the QCAA guidelines, several strategies have been implemented—some currently under way—to support the new policy. These include a major curriculum development programme to help teachers align their practice with the new national curriculum, as well as incentive schemes to support transition into university language studies. Overall, however, the absence of an explicit action plan to evaluate these strategies and to assess implementation and quality outcomes (Mason 2018; Poyatos Matas and Mason 2015) means that these series of guidelines and recommendations may not be adequately enforced to secure the equitable and sustainable provision of languages education in Queensland.

In the study presented here, therefore, we turn to investigate the situation in state high schools whose language programmes may be considered counter-examples to the current state of play; programmes whose sustained existence effectively challenges the insidious impact of the 'monolingual mindset.' Furthermore, given the important—and largely

Table 1 Time allocations for languages in Queensland state schools

Year levels		Time allocated (minimum)
Primary school level	Prep-year 6	46 hours/year if 37 teaching weeks
		50 hours/year if 40 teaching weeks (1.25 hrs/week, 85 mins/week)
Lower secondary school level	Year 7–9	74 hours/year if 37 teaching weeks
		80 hours/year if 40 teaching weeks (2 hrs/week, 120 mins/week)
	Year 10	70 hours/year if 35 teaching weeks
		76 hours/year if 38 teaching weeks (2 hrs/week, 120 mins/week)

under-researched—role that school principals have with respect to the selection of languages and administration of languages programmes in Queensland, their views, along with those of the head of languages departments (HOLs), provide a window into local agency as a central analytical component of language policy and planning research (see, Liddicoat 2019).

Methodology

In this chapter, we draw on analysis of 18 semi-structured interviews with school principals and head of language departments in ten South-East Queensland state high schools whose language programmes may be considered counter-examples to the current state of play in the national/state languages 'eduscape' described in earlier sections. Participating schools were selected from within the Metropolitan Region—one of the seven regions identified by the Queensland's Department of Education regional structure—following set criteria, including: history of the language(s) programme(s), number of enrolments, and, in particular, the percentage of Year 12 graduates with a language over a three-year period (2015–2017). The cut-off rate for this criterion was set at 5%. This threshold was considered appropriate given the state's 8% average over the last three decades. Accordingly, out of the prospective pool of 46 metropolitan state high schools[4] with a languages programme, only schools with consistent language enrolment rates of at least 5% in Years 11 and 12 over the given three-year period were considered to have established, and 'successful' programmes, relative to the rest of the state. Of all the schools that met these criteria (n = 18), only ten were successfully recruited to take part in this study. Information regarding individual school sizes and statistical data regarding students' enrolments were obtained through the Queensland Department of Education publicly available online platforms. Languages programmes at these schools included Chinese, French, German, Modern Greek, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Spanish and Vietnamese.

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[4] This pool of prospective schools included both secondary schools and 'combined' schools, that is, schools that offered primary and secondary education programmes.

Table 2 Profile of participating schools

School	Participants	Area	ICSEA (index of community socio-educational advantage)	Percentage of language background other than English (LBOTE) students
1	Principal and HOL	Outskirt suburb	Below average[a]	50%
2	Principal and HOL	Inner-city	Above average	47%
3	HOL	Inner-city suburb	Above average	44%
4	Principal and HOL	Inner-city suburb	Above average	40%
5	Principal and HOL	Outskirt suburb	Slightly above average	23%
6	HOL	Inner-city suburb	Above average	19%
7	Principal and HOL	Metropolitan area	Below average	11%
8	Principal and HOL	Metropolitan area	Slightly above average	11%
9	Principal and HOL	Inner-city suburb	Slightly above average	11%
10	Principal and HOL	Outskirt suburb	Slightly above average	9%

[a]Note: this average refers to the state of Queensland's average, not the national average

As can be seen in Table 2, while all participating schools were located in a metropolitan area, their socioeconomic and linguistic profiles were varied. Descriptors used to qualify their socioeconomic profile follow those by the *Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage* (ICSEA).[5] The schools' linguistic profile is based on publicly available data indicating the percentage of students with a Language Background Other than

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[5] The *Index of Community Socio-educational Advantage* (ICSEA) is a scale of socioeducational advantage that is computed for each school. This information is made publicly available to Australian parents and caregivers through the "My School" website. The scale results from a formula which includes information relating to parents' occupation, school education, non-school education and language background obtained from student enrolment records (direct data) as well as the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data (indirect data). (See: https://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/Guide_to_understanding_2012_ICSEA_values.pdf).

English (LBOTE) in each of the school's overall enrolment cohorts. Nevertheless, as illustrated in Table 2, no correlation between these two variables could be drawn with respect to the relative stability and success of their language studies programmes.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted at participating schools' premises over a period of seven months (between September 2018 and March 2019), after obtaining ethical clearance from both the University of Queensland and Queensland Department of Education. All 18 semi-structured interviews were conducted by the same interviewer following an open set of questions aimed at eliciting participants' views regarding the main factors that enable the development and maintenance of language studies in their schools as well as potential deterrents leading to discontinuation of programmes in other school contexts. Each interview lasted approximately 50 minutes, which resulted in close to 15 hours of audio-recorded data. Interviews were fully transcribed by Outscribe, and two discourse analysts (one of whom is an author in this paper) independently checked the transcripts against the audio files before coding the dataset to ensure reliability and validity.

The analysis of the interviews entailed several iterations in which the views of the two participant groups (principals and HOLs) were coded and categorised. The researchers (and authors in this paper) then identified four main themes as well as the interrelated network of elements and actors involved in the sustainability of languages programmes in the schools under investigation.

Key Findings and Discussion

The dataset revealed four main recurrent themes: (1) social actors; (2) resources (finances, timetabling and marketing); (3) curriculum; and (4) partnership networks (e.g., sister and feeder schools). Themes appear to be operating in synergy with each other, contributing to a 'school culture' that nurtures and enhances the provision of language study. In particular, the value that social actors place on language learning appears to be strengthened by partnership networks and the decisions made on the school's resources and curriculum.
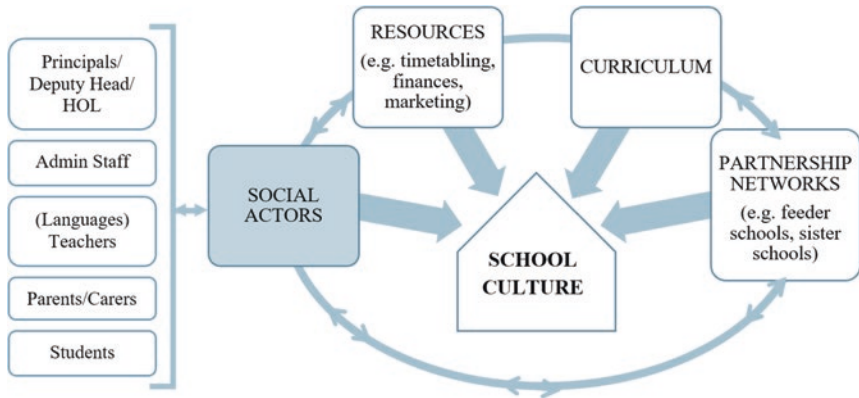
Fig. 1 Visual representation of recurring themes

A visual representation of these themes can be found in Fig. 1. Following Deal and Peterson (2016, p. ix), 'school culture' can be conceived as the "existential tenor" of a school, or the unwritten, localised constellation of beliefs and practices that shape school structure and functioning. What emerged clearly from the data analysis is that each of these elements could potentially become an enabler or a hindering factor; that is, each of them could be interpreted as an impediment, or, alternatively, as key to the success of a languages programme. According to the data, the key mediating factor is the 'social actors': school principals, deputy heads, head of languages departments (HOLs), administrative staff, (languages) teachers, parents/caregivers, and students. Social actors are key micro-level enactants of the various school culture components; they hold the agentive, brokering power to respond actively and creatively to structural challenges in ways that support the study of languages (Liddicoat 2019). In this section, we focus on two specific themes emerging from the dataset: Resources (i.e., timetabling) and Partnership networks (i.e., feeder Schools) to illustrate how participating schools respond to and engage with opportunities and challenges.

Usually, perceived rigidity of timetabling planning represents a concrete barrier to the continuity of programmes (Liddicoat 2019; Liddicoat et al. 2018). Conversely, when adequate consideration is given to the timetabling of language classes, this potential barrier can become a key

enabler to ensure the sustainability of language programmes. In Excerpt 1 below, we see how the inclusion of language studies may easily be seen as problematic due to the low number of students choosing the subject and due to the competition with other learning areas that appear to hold equally low status in the 'hierarchy' of curriculum learning areas, namely, the arts.

Excerpt 1: Timetabling Languages Is a Challenge "don't have enough students to take the language" (I11)

- "subjects in the same line (…) competition not with STEM but the competition comes with other electives like the arts or the technologies." (I15)

By contrast, in Excerpt 2, we have two alternative responses to such challenges. On the one hand, the choice to offer languages before school hours and, on the other hand, the conscious decision to ensure that there is no competition with other similar learning areas such that this does not have an impact on students' choices to continue studying the language in post-compulsory years.

Excerpt 2: Timetabling Languages Is Possible **Organising times outside normal class hours:**

- "I teach off-line [before/after normal school hours] classes… German, Japanese does too…at 7:30 in the morning, so the kids have less clashes with other subjects… […] that allows them to do their Italian as well as their physics […] and maths B, etc. so that support is huge." (I13)

Not having language classes compete with other learning areas:

- "we offer languages in Year 10 and 11 and 12. I look after which lines they're on so they're not having languages competing with music. […] because they're often going to be the same children. […] so we're just really careful about where we place languages on the subject lines for choices." (I9)

While timetabling is in the hands of 'social actors,' so is the engagement with partnership networks. The data show that partnership networks with domestic and overseas institutions, sister schools, and feeder schools play a complementary and supportive role in sustaining viable language programmes. In the case of feeder schools, principals and HOLs refer to the benefits of network relationships in their interviews by using words such as "base," "continuity," "transition" and "fill-in" as shown in examples under Excerpt 3.

Excerpt 3: Benefits of Feeder Schools So that's [language programmes in feeder schools] enabled us to get good numbers in each of Japanese, French and German now and given us a *base* on which to have students *continue* their elective study in year 9 and 10. (I5)

- I see key was the fact that um the relationships with our feeder schools is *fantastic*. […] we have *amazing connections* with um the deputies and the, and the HOCs um at those feeder schools. So they can see, you know, the, the, *the fill-in*. Um ah the *flow-in*, I should say, and the *transitioning* um here. (I10)

Principals and HOLs also report on the hindering factors that impact on partnership relationships and language provision. In the case of feeder schools, the misalignment of language provision between primary and high school; students coming from outside feeder schools having learnt different languages; and language programmes that are highly dependent on feeder schools.

The analysis shows that, in both cases—contexts in which languages programmes thrive and contexts in which they struggle—the dynamic interrelationship among the identified themes also has the potential to become fixed, thus creating static structural constraints. This resonates with studies highlighting that "structures … become firm, fixed and unquestioned, and over time (and for convenience) become residualised, shaping possibilities for learning and teaching, the use of time, human resources, etc., and constraining change." Moreover "[a]s residualised elements of the school culture, they become powerful forces for inertia" (Fink and Stoll 2005, discussed by Liddicoat et al. 2018, p. 11).

Overall, the results suggest that schools that enhance their school culture through active engagement of 'social actors' can effectively withstand the otherwise fragmented and fragile state of play in languages education.

Conclusion

The study presented in this chapter contributes to the extant body of literature by considering three under-researched dimensions in the Australian context. First, the specificities of the Queensland linguistic eduscape; second, the case of secondary schools whose languages programmes could be considered counter-examples within this paradoxical eduscape; and third, the perspectives from stakeholders in decision-making, leadership roles (principals and heads of language departments). Overall, what emerged clearly from the data is that resistance to the oft-cited 'monolingual mindset' in the participating metropolitan state high schools is achieved through the dynamic interaction of several elements within the ecology of the school culture. In these schools, social actors play a key role in enacting a school culture that is conducive to safeguarding the continuity of language programmes.

One of the clear limitations in this study is its focus on schools located within Queensland's Metropolitan Region. In future studies, it would be important to cast a wider net across the state in order to recruit participating schools from across the other seven regional areas and also explore schools whose language programmes present a less stable trajectory. Complementary quantitative analyses derived from exploration of variables such as geographic location and socioeconomic status might also shed additional light on students' participation in language studies (see, for instance, the study by Wilks-Smith et al. 2018 and Cruickshank et al. 2020). In-depth exploration of the interplay between accessibility to languages education and socioeconomic variables in Queensland would contribute to an emerging body of studies with this focus in other Australian states, specifically, New South Wales and Victoria.

By focusing on the comparatively successful languages programmes in participating schools, we hope to have contributed to re-thinking the static nature of Australia's oft-cited 'monolingual mindset.' The data

suggest that it is time to consider an "evolving linguistic 'mindscape' where people develop and adjust their mindsets from monolingual propensity to multilingualism and cultural diversity" (Xu et al. 2019, pp. 197–198).

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Conclusion

Ursula Lanvers, Amy S. Thompson, and Martin East

The goals of this book are twofold: (1) to map out the current language learning crises in Anglophone countries, both at school level (Parts I) and in Higher Education (Part II); and (2) to illustrate positive ways forward to address the crisis, via Immersion and Lifelong Learning (Part III), Online and Virtual activities (Part IV), and Plurilingual Approaches (Part V). In our Introduction, we argued that the common underlying features of the language crisis in Anglophone countries often share one or more of the following components (named 'linguistic myopias'): (a) ignoring how

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the context of Global English exacerbates language learning for Anglophone learners, often in combination with tacit assumptions that '*English is enough*'; (b) *essentialising* English L1 learners as somehow inherently incapable of language learning; (c) conceptualising both the problem, and its solution, within the remit of *individual* schools or universities; and finally (d) ignoring existing *plurilingual* skills within their own communities. By the same token, we saw many positive examples illustrating answers to the crisis, tackling one or several of these myopias.

Regarding current descriptors of the crisis, we observe striking overlaps, given that writers from three continents and six Anglophone countries, all with different education systems and language education policies, contributed to these sections (Parts I and II). In the Higher Education contributions (Liddicoat, Thompson, Minagawa & Nesbitt), we observe the effects of the myopia of *Individualising* the crisis to the level of individual HE institutions. Here, language education provision and policy, left to individual HE institutions, results in a lack of joined-up thinking, with the effect that language education programmes are neither tailored to students' pedagogical demands (Liddicoat) nor seen as worthwhile in a context where language skills are under-valued (Minagawa and Nesbitt). We also saw that seemingly diverse contexts did not necessarily have more students enrolled in LOTE classes at the university level, which was unexpected (Thompson). In chapters reporting on the secondary sector (Lanvers and Martin), primary sector (Collen, Mason and Hajek), or school provision in general (Hancock and Davin, Bruen, Sterzug and Shin, East), we also observe how individual schools struggle, under given education systems and policy directives, with the aim to improve language provision or uptake: Lanvers and Martin demonstrate how 'choice' to continue with studying languages, left to individual students alone, is unlikely to increase uptake in the UK's current education setup, while other chapters on this sector demonstrate the difficulties of individual schools to improve language tuition in the face of continually changing policy directives about language learning (e.g., Mason and Hajek). Contributions from all corners of the globe also demonstrate how the myopia of *disregarding existing community plurilingualism* (Sherzug and Shin, Bruen, East) leaves schools to lose out on the excellent opportunities to challenge monolingual mindsets, to combat 'English is enough'

fallacies, and enrich their language classrooms. Finally, the palpable absence of joined up planning, from goal setting through to operationalising and financing the (at times, laudable and ambitious) policy goals that contributions from all represented continents (East: Australasia, Bruen: Europe, Sterzug and Shin; Hancock and Davin; Barbosa: the Americas), suggests that the ultimate political commitment behind many policies remains questionable, at best, and that some progressive policies might indeed serve as window-dressing for underlying 'English is enough' beliefs. Regarding learner attitudes, while acknowledging that unhelpful beliefs exist among students (Mason and Hajek) and the wider communities (Sterzug and Shin), Part I also documents how generally positive learner attitudes can be stifled by systemic hindrances at school level (Lanvers and Martin, East). Nonetheless, there were also indications of hope in these first sections in terms of language learning resources and the determination of some students to overcome the pressure of maintaining an *'English is enough'* attitude (Thompson), as well as specific initiatives to encourage learning a language other than English (Hancock and Davin).

Regarding ways forward, the emerging theme from all contributions in Part III (Immersion and Lifelong Learning) is learner and community resilience against both a conscious embracing of linguistic diversity, thus countering the '*English is enough*' fallacy (Buckingham), and any misconceptions that English L1 learners are *inherently poor language learners* (Barbosa, Mitchell and Tracy Ventura) who can succeed in an immersion setting (Bower). In the same vein, the language ideology of inherent linguistic inferiority or superiority was also disputed via a community engagement project (Barbosa). Similarly, the uplifting contributions containing online solutions to the language crisis (Part IV) demonstrate how awareness of plurilingualism can be brought into the classroom through life interaction with other language communities (Innes and Huang, Feick and Knorr), thus countering English monolingual biases. The real-life L2 classroom use with authentic target language users, moreover of similar age, can positively influence students' language awareness, motivation, autonomy, and enjoyment, thereby challenging monolingual mindsets in our increasingly global societies. Tolosa et al.'s contribution furthermore demonstrates how online pedagogical solutions can

contribute to overcoming geographical isolation, and poor teacher expertise in the target language. Walker-Morrison et al. make clear the possibilities for blended learning at the tertiary level in the face of decreasing student numbers. Finally, in Part V, we find studies demonstrating how to successfully implement plurilingual approaches at the school or class level, mirroring some of the missed opportunities described in Part I. Both Little and Kirwan's and Diaz et al.'s chapters demonstrate how schools can buck the trend of 'English only' attitudes, positively influence all aspects of the curriculum, and successfully break English 'monolingual bubbles' at a young age. Chapters by both Britton and Gordon et al. unpack monolingual hegemonies and bring to light how to better integrate plurilingual ideologies into the current course context. Britton does so by incorporating the concept of critical language awareness into a writing class, whereas Gordon et al. do this by illustrating the importance of explicitly addressing language and racism in a pre-service teacher methodology course. Zhang-Wu provides further examples of activities that can increase multilingual awareness.

This volume started with the basic premises that the global pervasiveness of English is the largest contributor to the language learning crises we observe in many Anglophone countries today, and that global English has fundamentally changed the conditions under which English L1 speakers learn languages. As a consequence, we find similar systemic and attitudinal problems that face the English L1 learner, across various Anglophone countries around the globe, but also similar innovative and promising solutions. Regarding current language education policy developments in Anglophone countries, of particular concern is the tendency to develop ambitious policies and goals that receive little financial support or long-term planning (Bruen, Lanvers and Martin), or, in spite of levels of investment, face an uphill struggle to convince students, or others in that context, of the value of language learning (East, Mason and Hajek, Hancock and Davin, Sterzug and Shin). Such scenarios are especially vulnerable to the *individualisation* misapprehension, whereby the pathway to reaching set goals is handed to either schools or individuals, but the many handicaps to foster language study (staffing, grading, language options, financial support for language departments, among others) are not removed. Under such conditions, the socio-economic divide

we observe in many Anglophone countries between those who engage in language study and those who do not is likely to continue. We also observed that in some contexts, only the most successful and reputable institutions of higher learning are able to offer more extensive language programmes (Liddicoat, Minagawa and Nesbit).

Conversely, our forward-looking chapters demonstrate how dedication by individual pedagogues (Barbosa; Britton, Feick-Knorr, Gordon et al.; Zhang-Wu), individual institutions (e.g. Little & Kirwan), and individual learners (e.g. Mitchell and Tracy-Ventura, Thompson) can successfully break monolingual habits, and instil a love for language learning, even against the many predicaments set against the L1 English learner. Furthermore, as our Part IV contributions demonstrate, the digital revolution makes it feasible to bring authentic target language speakers together with learners of that language, offer exciting, authentic teaching materials, and raise awareness of the vast plurilingual world beyond the classroom, all from the comfort of one's own classroom. For these reasons, the opportunities afforded by online solutions to the problems of monolingual myopia remain almost infinitely scalable, and a most promising pedagogical avenue to pursue (Feick and Knorr, Innes and Huang, Tolosa et al.).

The outstanding concern, however, is that all positive examples and ways forward demonstrated here depend on the input of dedicated individuals to bring about personal, pedagogical or institutional change. Therefore, these examples are subject to the haphazard distribution of such singular commitment. A critical reflection on what the future might hold for L1 English language learners must return to the question of how Anglophone countries can be helped out of the language crises in a more systematic and comprehensive manner. This means addressing the macrolevel of language education policy and planning. Here, despite some promising policy initiatives in several Anglophone countries (such as in Scotland and Wales, see Bruen, or in the North American context, see Sterzug and Shin), the lack of long-term planning, financial backing, and clear pathways towards improving language pedagogy is concerning. Also concerning is the absence, in the language education planning in all Anglophone countries, of any explicit pedagogical awareness-raising of the special predicaments of the English L1 learner. *'English is enough'*

attitudes exist (Lanvers and Martin, East, Mason and Hajek, Diaz et al.), whether we like it or not, and in order for learners to understand why they should engage with language learning at all, they should be given the opportunity to tackle the linguistic myopias that develop all too easily in Anglophone countries. In the long run, only the learner understanding the wider purpose of their study will be successful, as the study by Mitchell and Tracy Ventura illustrates.

In order to best serve our Anglophone societies, more widespread awareness for the need of LOTE study should be created. Additionally, as Thompson notes in her chapter, students, parents, and the society at large all need to understand concrete connections between the importance of being a proficient user of a LOTE and career success. Monolingualism, long held as the gold standard for language learning proficiency, is not the reality of most people worldwide; those in Anglophone contexts should be made explicitly aware of this discrepancy, as well as of the predicaments that L1 English speakers face when learning a LOTE.

As we were finishing this project, the effects of COVID-19 had already begun to change the educational landscape at all levels worldwide. In a time when self-isolation is the norm and travel is greatly restricted, it is crucial now more than ever to conceptualise and articulate the importance of LOTE study in Anglophone contexts. Certainly, messaging can include rationales for learning a language for instrumental reasons, such as dreaming of travel when the borders are again opened. However, a more poignant message is that of language learning to increase tolerance of ambiguity, as well as tolerance for others from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In the introduction, we addressed certain current events, which indicated certain xenophobic tendencies in Anglophone contexts: Brexit, Trump's build a wall campaign, and references to COVID-19 as the "Chinese virus." While we cannot naively think that learning a LOTE would single-handedly solve certain non-inclusive tendencies, facilitated learning of a language certainly creates awareness, understanding, and connections to people different from oneself. In these times of relative isolation, it is imperative to find mechanisms to increase connectivity, not to reduce it. Certainly, more ideas of progressive policies across contexts, as well as collaboration on the logistics of these

policies, would be a mechanism for producing principled and connected global citizens.

Thus, we conclude this volume with an urgent plea addressed to all those involved in language policy and planning for LOTEs. In order to overcome the language learning crises in many Anglophone countries, we need to (a) raise awareness of the predicaments facing LOTE learners, and the dangers that the 'English is enough' fallacy entails; (b) promote awareness of the ubiquity of plurilingualism, globally, as well as in learners' own environments; (c) address the crisis in a comprehensive and concerted manner, and include all education sectors in the planning of improved transition from one sector to the next. Together, we can improve LOTE education on a global scale.

Correction to: Introduction: Is Language Learning in Anglophone Countries in Crisis?

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Correction to:

Chapter 1 in: U. Lanvers et al. (eds.), *Language Learning in Anglophone Countries*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-56654-8_1

"The original version of this chapter incorrectly stated that Little and Kirwan 'present a multilingual project funded by the Council of Europe in three Irish primary schools'. The Council of Europe did not provide any funding, and the study only examines a single primary school. The correct sentence is "Little and Kirwan present a multilingual project in an Irish primary school."

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