Kashif Raza
Christine Coombe
Dudley Reynolds *Editors*

Policy Development in TESOL and Multilingualism

Past, Present and the Way Forward

Springer

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"In this edited volume, the contributors provide a unique, panoramic view of the complex relationship between English(es), English language teaching, and localized linguistic and cultural practices. Each chapter presents vivid and well-researched examples of policies and practices and reflects not only diverse geographies but also a wide range of educational TESOL settings, including higher education, primary and secondary education, and teacher education. The book takes a global perspective in support of a mandate for conceptualizing English as integral to the process of becoming multilingual yet also outlines the economic, ideological, and policy implementation challenges to construct and enact multilingually oriented policies. The book provides not only a comprehensive reference for those interested in learning more about educational language policy but also serves as a blue print for change agents who seek to move toward more just educational systems for all language learners."

—Ester J. de Jong, EdD, *Director, School of Teaching and Learning, Professor, ESOL/Bilingual Education, President, TESOL International Assocation (2017–2018), Univerity of Florida*

"Whether it is our inability to forge a responsible custodianship for our planet, or the persisting injustices and inequalities that blight the lives of millions, or even the catastrophic damage inflicted by a tiny rampaging microbe, a series of accumulating crises beset our contemporary world. A radically more equal communication order is needed to allow fairer participation of the world's regions and peoples in forging solutions. Educators, specifically teachers of languages and literacy, have a particular responsibility in constructing this new communication regime.

Policy, both explicit and implicit, is the technology authorities use to organise interventions, deploy resources and make the arrangements for human communities to tackle problems. What is ultimately required is a policy literacy to comprehend the environments in which teaching and learning of languages occur, and for effective participation in the changes our conflicted world needs.

This book is expertly edited to produce the coherent sequence of description and argument of this intersection of policy, TESOL and multilingualism. It is an important instalment in building the confidence educators require to understand and critique policy and foster global citizenship among learners. We all need to lift our eyes above the demands of the immediate to scrutinise the context of decision making and authority that constrains and shapes what is possible from language education today, and to widen the range of voices represented there. The contributors have reimagined a shared future in which multilingual education can be an authentic and substantial practice in schools and universities globally, an essential prerequisite for more participatory and fairer prospects for all."

—Joseph Lo Bianco, *Professor Emeritus, University of Melbourne*

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Editors

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Foreword

A few years ago, the noted linguist Claire Kramsch observed "there has never been a greater tension between what is taught in the classroom and what the students will need in the real world once they have left the classroom. In the last decades, that world has changed to such an extent that language teachers are no longer sure of what they are supposed to teach nor what real world situations they are supposed to prepare their students for" (2014, p. 296). This gap between language practices and language pedagogies or policies has continued to grow wider in the context of globalization, mobility, and technological inventions. While language policies and pedagogies are normative and monolithic, language practices are becoming fascinatingly diversified. There are new genres and technologies of communication, bringing different languages and multimodal resources together. And communities are coming into greater contact, shuttling in and out of each other's languages.

In some ways, this gap is not surprising. Language planning experts would argue that policies are by nature static and top down and cannot address the diversity in everyday life. Language teachers also find it convenient to focus on monolithic norms of one language at a time and assume that such monolingual *competence* would ensure *performance* in infinite contexts of communicative practice. However, such policies and pedagogies are not just irrelevant for the actual communicative practice of our students, they go further to inflict untold social damage. That is, the language repertoires students bring with them are suppressed. Their heritage languages might die. With multilingual repertoires damaged, the knowledge and cultures associated with them will also be affected, harming ecological and social sustainability for all communities.

The struggle to narrow this gap is especially challenging for teachers of English, given this language's history and geopolitical status. English was promoted as a tool for colonization in the global South since the sixteenth century. While decolonization in mid-twentieth century led to many communities empowering their local languages and cultures, recent neoliberal ideologies and economic networks have given a new lease on life to English as an imperial language. English has been promoted as an efficient lingua franca for transnational interactions; a coveted linguistic capital that ensures progress for individuals and nations; and a profitable business proposition for textbook publishers, testing industries, and educational institutions worldwide.

With all this, some "fallacies" of linguistic imperialism that Robert Phillipson (1992) identified have gained universal appeal. That is, people adopt Darwinist ideologies of natural selection and hold that English is a superior language that will become globally dominant, while other languages will die; that the best way to teach English is by avoiding contact with other languages; and that native speaker teachers are superior because their grammatical norms are the most legitimate.

However, ongoing geopolitical, environmental, and interracial crises remind us of the urgent need for diversity and inclusivity for a more sustainable and harmonious existence for all communities. The chapters in this book demonstrate that it is possible to foster competence in English while developing proficiencies in the other repertoires of the students; that the localized Englishes around the world are systematic, meaningful, and creative; that the cultures and knowledge of different communities can be resourceful in teaching English; and that languages can coexist rather than compete with each other. The book brings together teachers from different countries who are acting creatively to devise pedagogies and policies that counter-biased language fallacies and demonstrate inclusive alternatives. It inspires us with the examples of teachers who attempt to narrow the policy/pedagogy/practice gap so that language classrooms can be in the forefront of the shared human struggle for social coexistence and environmental sustainability for all of us.

December 2020

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Christine Coombe I dedicate this book to my students and colleagues at Dubai Men's College, Higher Colleges of Technology, UAE, who continue to inspire and encourage me to keep developing and learning not only about my profession but also about life in general. Gratitude goes to my co-editors, Kashif Raza and Dudley Reynolds, whose respective visions inspired this volume. They have been fantastic to work with. I also thank our chapter authors who have provided much-needed insight into multilingualism and TESOL policy from their respective contexts around the world. Finally, thanks to my family and especially my sister, Cindy, who remain my motivation now and forever.

Dudley Reynolds This volume owes much to the vision and determination of our first editor, Kashif Raza, and the expertise in all things publishing of our second editor, Christine Coombe. It has been a pleasure and honor to work with them both. I also appreciate the support of my institution, Carnegie Mellon University in Qatar, which has given me the time and encouragement to pursue new directions in my research. Most importantly, thank you to my wife Marlaine. There are not enough words in any language to capture what you mean to me.

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Christine Coombe has a Ph.D. in Foreign/Second Language Education from the Ohio State University. She is currently an Associate Professor of General Studies at Dubai Men's College in the UAE. Christine is co-editor and co-author of numerous volumes on F/SL assessment, research, leadership, teacher evaluation, and TBLT. Her most recent publications are The Role of Language Teacher Associations in Professional Development (2018, Springer) and Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching: The Case of the Middle East and North Africa (2019, Palgrave MacMillan). Christine served as President of the TESOL International Association (2011–2012) and in 2017 was named to TESOL's 50@50 which "recognizes professionals who have made significant contributions to the TESOL profession within the past 50 years." Dr. Coombe is the 2018 recipient of the James E. Alatis Award which recognizes exemplary service to TESOL.

Dudley Reynolds is Teaching Professor of English at Carnegie Mellon University Qatar. He served as President of TESOL International Association in 2016–2017 and has been a teacher and researcher of multilingual language learners for over 30 years working primarily with learners of English. His research addresses issues in language education policy, developmental patterns in additional language learning, curricular and pedagogical approaches to literacy development, teacher education and learning. Among his recent publications is a report on *Language Policy in Globalized Contexts* for the World Innovation Summit for Education (wise-qatar.org).

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Chapter 1
Past, Present, and Ways Forward: Toward Inclusive Policies for TESOL and Multilingualism

Kashif Raza, Christine Coombe, and Dudley Reynolds

Abstract Teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) has always entailed helping students to become more multilingual, but from a policy perspective it has often been perceived as a monolingual endeavor. As evidenced by advocacy statements such as TESOL International Association's *Action Agenda for the Future of the TESOL Profession* (2018), the World Innovation Summit for Education's research report on *Language Policy in Globalized Contexts* (Reynolds, 2019), edited volumes such as *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and Bilingual Education* (May, 2014), and many recent volumes on translanguaging pedagogies (e.g., Rabbidge, 2019; Turner, 2019), this perception is changing. Policies that position TESOL as an instance of multilingual education are emerging. *Policy Development for TESOL and Multilingualism: Past, Present, and the Way Forward* provides both historical context and supporting exemplars for educational practitioners and administrators looking to address practical issues in English language teaching including curriculum development, learner assessment, program management, and teacher education. At the same time, it serves as a resource for those interested in how we design educational systems that recognize the linguistic and cultural resources that all students bring to their classrooms and build more inclusive societies.

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Teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) has always entailed helping students to become more multilingual, but from a policy perspective it has often been perceived as a monolingual endeavor. As evidenced by advocacy statements such as TESOL International Association's *Action Agenda for the Future of the TESOL Profession* (2018), the World Innovation Summit for Education's research report on *Language Policy in Globalized Contexts* (Reynolds, 2019), edited volumes such as *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and Bilingual Education* (May, 2014), and many recent volumes on translanguaging pedagogies (e.g., Rabbidge, 2019; Turner, 2019), this perception is changing. Policies that position TESOL as an instance of multilingual education are emerging. *Policy Development for TESOL and Multilingualism: Past, Present, and the Way Forward* provides both historical context and supporting exemplars for educational practitioners and administrators looking to address practical issues in English language teaching including curriculum development, learner assessment, program management, and teacher education. At the same time, it serves as a resource for those interested in how we design educational systems that recognize the linguistic and cultural resources that all students bring to their classrooms and build more inclusive societies.

One of the objections that TESOL has faced over time is that when promoting English as an additional language in a country or a community, local and indigenous languages are often ignored and suppressed. At the same time, migrants in countries where English is widely spoken may find that the language resources they have relied on for previous schooling are seen as little more than stepping-stones on a path to English. TESOL as a field must address these concerns by devising policies that do not enhance English language skills at the expense of ability to use other languages, policies which respect and promote diversity in communities. Equally important is the representation of local teaching practices, beliefs, and contexts when designing and implementing a language policy for a specific setting. Policy development is too often focused on national or supranational levels, ignoring the necessity of giving importance to the ground realities (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007). The chapters in this volume show that policies for a re-imagined TESOL begin with a clear ideological stance on the equal value of all languages and all linguistic resources. They also show that it is possible to teach English in ways that continue to build literacy and competency in other languages while modeling and scaffolding multilingual communication. Finally, they remind us that policy is only as useful as the willingness and ability to implement it.

In February 2017, a Summit on the Future of the TESOL Profession was organized by TESOL International Association in Athens, Greece. One of the four major themes discussed at the summit was a focus on the position of "English in multilingualism." Recognizing the significance of linguistic diversity and a need for understanding how other languages function as a condition for the sustainable development of the field of TESOL, the summit emphasized improved collaboration between TESOL professionals and specialists from other language groups for decision making related to language policy development, instructional methods, supporting materials, and assessment tools. To achieve this objective, there was a call for redesigning English language education programs with priority given to

embracing linguistic diversity as an asset, improving intercultural dialogues, embedding educational technologies, increasing information about the role of English as a lingua franca, and engaging in reflective practices as TESOL professionals to revise policies (tesol.org/actionagenda). Many of the chapters here illustrate and advocate for such collaborations as a pathway to a more equitable future.

The next 21 chapters are organized according to their orientation toward policy development: past, present, or a way forward. Chapters in the past section describe policies around language teaching as they have developed over time in particular contexts. In the present section, chapters provide accounts of policies that are currently shaping how languages are being taught and learned. The final section envisions opportunities for change and moving forward. Although each section looks at language policy development from a different angle, all chapters end by addressing the way forward for policies that foster collaboration between TESOL and multilingualism.

1 The Past

The first section of the book comprises seven chapters that provide critical examinations of previous initiatives and accomplishments in the area of language policy development, especially with regard to how efforts have been made to recognize and embrace linguistic diversity at national levels. It provides a detailed discussion of how language policies have strengthened the notion of co-existence between TESOL and multilingualism in diverse countries and continents.

Maria Chiras and **Angelica Galante** focus on the multilingual context of Montreal, Quebec, Canada. They examine the history of provincial (Quebec) and federal (Canadian) policies on language and language education, with their discursive construction of representations and perspectives of multilingual speakers, pedagogical practices, and the consequences of these policies in higher education. Their chapter highlights the incongruences between official language policy and societal multilingualism and argues for multilingual approaches in higher education in order to initiate opportunities for curriculum and policy reform in both local and global contexts.

Introducing us to language issues in Brazil, **Luciana de Oliveira** and **Camila Höfling** provide an overview of current laws and guidelines for bilingual programs for other languages, namely Brazilian sign language, border schools, and indigenous schools. After critiquing the new guidelines for bilingual education in Brazil, they propose principles of plurilingual pedagogies for bilingual education programs as they conclude that the absence of such policies leaves the country with little information about how to structure these programs. Turning to China where policies aimed at standardizing language assessment have impacted the teaching and learning of foreign languages, **Chen Li** and **Shahid Abrar-ul-Hassan** present a synthesis of the reforms and developments in language testing practices in China over three decades and highlight the role these policies have played in the teaching

and learning of foreign languages at Chinese universities. Their main argument is that with the development of technology-enhanced language assessment, current practices of computer-assisted language assessment need to be analyzed from technological, educational, and social perspectives so that goals for English education can be leveraged and opportunities for integrating multilingual resources in language assessment can be increased.

The next chapter by **Ribut Wahyudi** introduces us to the power struggle between the global North (e.g., American, European) and South (e.g., Asian, African) and how such tensions construct ELT key themes in the national policies and curriculum documents of two Indonesian universities. Using Foucauldian discourse analysis in combination with Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory*, Wahyudi concludes that ELT Methods were loosely interpreted in the national policies and TEFL curriculum documents of higher education, which reveals that the negotiation of power between the two poles is not easy. His chapter challenges the dominance of the North in influencing the construction of social science courses and calls for an ecological approach to TEFL policies that promote linguistic diversity and multilingualism. Continuing the debate on ELT development and its increasing association with academic excellence, enhanced job opportunities, and personal growth, hence its dominance over teaching and learning of other languages, **Awatif Boudihaj** and **Meriem Sahli** unpack controversies and politics around the enactment of language policies in multilingual Morocco where policy enactment heavily relies upon political maneuvers rather than educational and expert opinions. Their chapter highlights the challenges in promoting a linguistic environment where national/official languages (Moroccan Standard Arabic and Berber) and foreign languages (English, French, and Spanish) can co-exist and develop under cultural harmony.

A similar situation is observed in African classrooms by **Barbara Trudell** who argues that the dominant positioning of English in formal education contexts is rooted in a series of inaccurate, largely disproven myths about the role of English in learning and life. Critiquing the English dominated multilingual practices, she proposes that the appropriate use of the L1 and English, as mediums of instruction and subjects in primary classrooms, can make these languages into two strong pillars of successful learning, among children for whom the likelihood of successful learning is otherwise not high at all. If African states are to attain a multilingualism that benefits learners and the nation as a whole, the roles and expectations of English must be reevaluated and addressed.

With increasing immigration and growing number of international students who bring with them multiple languages, some countries have adopted bilingual education policies. One such country is Singapore where an "English plus one" policy has been implemented that mandates English as the first language for all Singaporeans and one of the mother tongue languages (Mandarin, Malay or Tamil) as the second language. Reporting on the results of this policy, **Catherine S. K. Chua** discusses how supra-macro-language policy, i.e., bilingual policy and context-based micro-planning, strengthens the co-existence between TESOL and multilingualism in Singapore. Her chapter highlights the assumptions, successes, challenges, and

tensions in promoting diversity in languages through a unified English language approach in modern Singapore.

2 The Present

The second section includes nine chapters and delves deeper into particular aspects of language teaching: degree requirements, pedagogical strategies, teacher recruitment, social justice initiatives, and building stakeholder investment. These are not new aspects of language teaching, but together these chapters demonstrate the impact that shifts from monolingual to multilingual language ideologies are having on how languages are learned in a range of geographic and educational contexts.

Peter De Costa, Kasun Gajasinghe, Curtis A. Green-Eneix and **Robert A. Rahdez** argue that despite calls for recognizing and supporting local and indigenous languages of English language learners, the education system in the USA has been complicit in not providing adequate space for these languages to develop in schools. Following a brief trace of how such inequalities have characterized US language education, they review recent English language redesign attempts to prepare linguistically responsive teachers to serve emerging bilinguals and provide a critique of a recent bottom-up language policy initiative: the Seal of Biliteracy. They contend that although the Seal acknowledges multilingualism as a resource on a wide scale by providing opportunities to develop the home languages of emergent bilinguals, there are challenges associated with the implementation of this initiative in the USA that TESOL practitioner-policymakers and educational linguists should address to make this initiative a sustainable endeavor for TESOL professionals.

Despite current claims for embracing diversity in the use of English as an international language, South Korean stakeholders, on the other hand, favor speakers from specific native English-speaking countries as teachers and aim to prepare Korean English teachers following the standard English norms of these countries. Using educational policies that affect teacher recruitment and teacher education as examples, **Youngeun Jee** and **Guofang Li** illustrate the entrenched nature of the native speakerism and standard English ideologies in Korean EFL education. Their analysis reveals significant gaps between current scholarship for English as an international language and actual teacher education and recruitment policies implemented in South Korea, suggesting the need for policy reforms.

Kashif Raza shifts the focus of language policy debates from educational settings to economics where monolingual ideologies dominate local and indigenous languages, especially in administering mega economic projects. He presents the case of Pakistan, a linguistically diverse country with more than 70 recognized languages, which has decided to use English, spoken by only 8%, and now Mandarin, at the expense of its vernaculars in the operationalization of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor project (CPEC-P). He argues that the current practices in the context of the CPEC-P where English and Mandarin are used as the official languages for communication are a missed opportunity to promote the national and local languages of

Pakistan. Using an economic approach to language policy and planning as its theoretical base, he proposes enacting a multilingual economic policy to administer the CPEC-P so that a harmony between the use of English, Mandarin, and Pakistan's national and local languages can be created to provide equal opportunities for all language speakers. As a unique case of its kind, such a policy can also become an example for other linguistically diverse countries to follow as well as expanding research in the field of language and economy.

Recent developments in neoliberalism have encouraged many countries to introduce privatization and corporatization in the education sector and promote teaching in English at higher education as a strategy to increase graduates' competitiveness in the job market. This shift has not only affected local but also immigrant and refugee students in accessing quality education. **Tamara Al Khalili**'s chapter examines the role that English language policy plays in educational access and future success in Lebanon and how the English-dominated education system there exposes marginalized students to stress and inequality because of prior poor schooling experiences.

In light of the recent turn to the way multilingualism is viewed, **Irene Theodoropoulou** reflects upon her teaching experience in the context of higher education in Qatar, by focusing on the merits and limitations of an educational approach she has developed over the years, which she calls "humoristic translanguaging", and explores its potential contribution to policy development. Such an approach is practice-based, and the meanings that are shaped in the context of this interaction are created through an assemblage of diverse linguistic, semiotic, and sociocultural resources. The chapter provides evidence in favor of employing humoristic translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy and suggests that teachers and students can use it as a resource to secure their autonomy and constant motivation to improve their respective teaching and learning performance.

Shelley K Taylor highlights current issues linking the fields of TESOL and English as a medium of instruction (EMI) and discusses language ideologies, plurilingualism, translanguaging, and their implications for professors' personal language policies and instructional practices. Her chapter takes a bottom-up view of the role that EMI professors' lived experiences, and language ideologies can play in their enactment of *parallel language* policy and adoption of initiatives in a Nordic university. Her findings highlight how EMI professors aware of their students' linguistic resources may adopt pragmatic solutions to students' language-related academic challenges. Moving the discussion beyond the typical dichotomy between top-down and bottom-up approaches, **Fiona Willans** reminds us that language policy is a constantly evolving process that is created and sustained through overlapping and interrelated practices and discourses. Using a change in medium of instruction policy in Vanuatu as the focus of her discussion, she puts forward a sideways model of policy change in which engagement is required simultaneously with high-level decision-makers, classroom influencers such as curriculum developers, assessment units and teacher trainers, teachers, and the communities that they serve. She argues that by working sideways, it becomes easier to involve actors at all levels in the interrogation and occupation of the ideological spaces that emerge.

Taking advantage of the relatively stable and dominant position of the subject English in Finnish schools, **Johanna Ennser-Kananen, Kristiina Skinnari,** and **Päivi Iikkanen** explore opportunities for teaching English through frameworks that foster language awareness and equity in educational contexts (and beyond). Through an analysis of the recent changes in Finland's national curriculum that promote a language-aware approach that is inclusive of students' multilingual backgrounds, they explore the interaction between multilingual pedagogies and educational approaches that promote social justice. Problematizing the common assumption that multilingual pedagogies are, by definition, equity-oriented, they ask whether and how multilingualism and language awareness may become stand-ins for equity pedagogies and fail to push for social change or self-critical and in-depth discussions of language in interaction with social factors, and thus remain sociopolitically toothless.

The final chapter in this section by **Anastasia J. Khawaja, Valerie S. Jakar,** and **Brigitta R. Schvarcz** explores the roles for English in the Israel–Palestine region where Arabic and Hebrew are the major languages of communication. English acts as a means of striving toward greater communication and understanding between the two language communities, with potential to foster peace and understanding in the region. They explore the focal language situations through sociolinguistic and pedagogical lenses, with a view to identifying commonalities in places, spaces, and events which evidence awareness of social justice or the manifestation of humanitarian ideals.

3 Ways Forward

The last part of the book includes five chapters that highlight opportunities for policy development that end exceptionalist notions of TESOL as a special or unique field, different from general education and broader language acquisition. The proposals in this section focus on how curriculum can be re-envisioned in ways that position TESOL squarely as contributing both to multilingual development and education that is multilingual.

The first chapter in this section by **Dudley Reynolds** notes that despite the multilingual turn in the field of TESOL, some countries/contexts are still sticking to curriculum standards that reinforce monolingual ideologies and thus present a challenge for teachers who would like to follow the field's multilingual turn. In particular, Reynolds examines curriculum standards from Texas, Thailand, and Spain and how they ignore previously developed linguistic resources and the possibility of utilizing multiple languages in the learning of new languages such as English. His chapter presents opportunities for teachers and policymakers to comply with, resist, and transform curriculum standards to build English language resources of multilinguals.

However, **Sílvia Melo-Pfeifer** takes a step further and observes that even though some curricular changes have been carried out supporting the development of a

plurilingual competence, for instance in Europe, many of these changes are still testament to a monolingual lens toward plurilingualism. Problematizing these practices, Melo-Pfeifer argues that if English has become the most taught (foreign) language worldwide, it could be an ally in foreign language learning and teaching if combined with learners' first and foreign languages. To do so, she calls for conceptualizing teaching other languages to speakers of English (TOLSE), a move from TESOL to TOLSE, i.e., a pluralistic approach to learning and teaching as a method that allows teachers and students to capitalize on plurilingual repertoires and effectively benefit from the multilingual turn, going beyond the mere positive appraisal of linguistic diversity in the classroom and tackling its paradoxical invisibility in teaching practices. Narrowing down the debate on English education and multilingualism, and the significance of globalization in influencing language policies, to Turkey, **Melike Ünal Gezer** and **Laurie Quentin Dixon** show how the economic and geopolitical advancement of the country is shaping its perspectives on language planning and policy implementation regarding minority language (e.g., Kurdish) and foreign language (e.g., Arabic and English) education. Distilling the educational policy discourses through a multilingual framework, their chapter suggests that diversity is the reality of Turkey and only when it is embraced, will it leverage access to languages and multicultural and multilingual development with an intact identity and heritage.

Another challenge for pedagogical practice and collaboration between teachers who are different language speakers is the phenomenon of native speakerism. With respect to the power dynamics between Native Speaker English Teachers (NESTs) and Non-Native Speaker English Teachers (NNESTs), **Qinghua Chen, Angel M. Y. Lin,** and **Corey Fanglei Huang** claim that the symbolic violence of "native English" impedes NESTs-NNESTs collaboration through hindering NNESTs' ability, willingness, or confidence to contribute. They argue that such symbolic violence can be reduced by raising/increasing/escalating the importance of "non-native" English and by creating a multilingual community that NNESTs can draw upon in order to maximize the benefits of NEST and NNEST collaboration for students.

The last chapter in this section by **Larissa Aronin** presents as a pedagogical option the concept of Dominant Language Constellation (DLC), a group of vehicle languages enabling individuals and institutions to meet all their needs in a multilingual environment. Instead of focusing on a single language or the entire linguistic repertoire, the DLC perspective supports learning of the most expedient languages for a person or a group. It reflects current multilingual practices and deals with multiple language acquisition and the administrative and language policy-related issues in multilingual education. Most importantly, the DLC concept calls on teachers and researchers to consider the impact of multilingualism on education and organize target language teaching accordingly.

4 Final Thoughts

The book is aimed to be a reference book for developers of language policy. Connecting the three edges of a triangle (past, present and future), the book presents a collection of chapters that report, discuss, and question existing, currently developing and future language policies that inform teaching practices, materials development, intercultural communication, and research in the field of TESOL as it intersects with multilingualism.

This book will benefit a wide range of readership. English language teachers can use the content of the book to enhance their understanding of their profession and design materials and lessons that benefit learners from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Future teachers will find fruitful discussions and debates on various issues that they will have to face in future classes as well as in the discipline. Researchers can benefit from the book by reading about different approaches to policy development and empirical studies of policy effects. Language policy developers and administrators will find areas to consider for the creation, promotion, and enhancement of language policies.

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Part I
The Past

Chapter 2
Policy and Pedagogical Reform in Higher Education: Embracing Multilingualism

Maria Chiras and Angelica Galante

Abstract Multilingualism is on the rise in many countries, and Canada is no exception. Since the 1980s, the demographic rise in the number of students from a first-, second-, or third-generation immigrant background in the city of Montreal, which has the highest concentration of trilingual citizens in Canada, has incited an increasing interest in scholarship on teaching English to multilingual speakers in higher education. On an international scale, language education for immigrant and/or multilingual students is also an increasingly important issue. Despite the need to support multilingual speakers' development of English, there is a growing prevalence of standardization in language and language education policies, which present as one potentially problematic site. Examining the extent to which language policy and educational practices affect student academic success, particularly among multilingual students, is important. This chapter focuses on the unique multilingual context of Montreal, Quebec, Canada. It examines the history of provincial (Quebec) and federal (Canadian) policies on language and language education, with their discursive construction of representations and perspectives of multilingual speakers, pedagogical practices, and the consequences of these policies in higher education. The chapter concludes by discussing the incongruences between official language policy and societal multilingualism and arguing for multilingual approaches in higher education in order to initiate opportunities for curriculum and policy reform in both local and global contexts.

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1 Introduction

The prevalence of cultural and linguistic diversity in many countries, including Canada, suggests the need to investigate current standards for language use in official mandated language education policy documents. Additionally, policies are situated within specific historical, political, and social contexts that may no longer represent current multilingual realities. In higher education, examining policies can reveal how the concept of language is constructed and how multilingual students are discursively positioned within these policies. The results of such examination can inform how language education is configured in institutional and classroom settings.

This chapter examines discourses about language and language education in policy documents related to English courses in English-speaking colleges in the city of Montreal, located in the official French-speaking province of Quebec, Canada. Results can inform perceptions about language criteria for English language and language education policies in higher education at national and international levels.

2 Historical and Social Context for Language Education and Language Policy in Quebec and Canada

On a global scale, language policies that define a "common language" or a "common culture" are often found in language and policy planning. The definition of a "common language" in language policy documents generally refers to "an exclusive language" that is theoretically common for all residents and citizens (Kochenov & de Varennes, 2015). Different ideological and cultural references are often used to justify why the particular nation and/or society chooses to rely on a "common" language to legislate monolingual standards for all of its residents and citizens. However, legislating a "common" or "exclusive" language poses particular problems for those who do not share the majority language or who are not deemed to be proficient members of the linguistic majority. As a result, culturally and linguistically diverse communities are denied "a variety of rights or interests in the area of language" (Kochenov & de Varennes, 2015, p. 5), which pose a barrier for academic success in higher education.

2.1 Official and Non-official Languages in Canada and Quebec

Canada and Quebec both have a multilingual and multicultural population (Statistics Canada, 2017), and language policies manage the historical and social relationship between English, French, indigenous languages, and languages from other cultural communities. Historically, however, the conflict between the English and the French

as the two colonial powers has led to the main focus being on the status of the use of English and/or French federally and provincially with the development of distinct and different language policies. For example, language policies in both Canada and the province of Quebec focus on promoting "common" languages—but with an English and French bilingual framework in Canada and a monolingual French framework in Quebec. English, and French are the "official" or "Charter" languages as outlined by the federal *Official Languages Act* (1969) but in Quebec, French is the official language as mandated by the *Quebec Charter of the French Language* (1977). The focus on the two official languages, however, leaves speakers of non-official languages at the risk of marginalization.

Linguistic diversity continues to increase in Canada. The latest national census reported that Canada's population was 35,151,728 (Statistics Canada, 2017). The number of Canadians who reported a first language other than English or French increased 13.3%, from 6,838,715 in 2011 to 7,749,115 in 2016, and 7 in 10 people with a first language other than English or French spoke one of these languages at home (Statistics Canada, 2017). Languages other than the official languages of English and French are divided into two main categories: indigenous languages and "immigrant" languages. In 2019, the Canadian Parliament passed the *Indigenous Languages Act* with the intent of protecting and revitalizing over 90 living indigenous languages in Canada. However, only Nunavut and the Northwest Territories currently have official status for indigenous languages.

The languages spoken by immigrants and descendants of immigrants are also often referred to as "non-official" languages in Canada and Quebec, since they do not have any official status either federally or provincially. Specifically, "immigrant" or "non-official" languages are an outcome of immigration after English and French colonization. Immigrants who tend to settle in major urban cities such as Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, account for two-thirds of the growth in the population between 2011 and 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017). It is particularly in urban cities that the discrepancy between multilingual speakers' language use and monolingual expectations in higher education becomes more evident and problematic.

3 Historical Overview of Language Education Policy in Quebec and Canada

The city of Montreal is the largest city in the French-speaking province of Quebec and attracts many immigrants. It has a population of over 4 million with approximately 150 languages (Statistics Canada, 2017). In 2020, first-generation immigrants accounted for 38.5% of Montreal's population, while second-generation immigrants—people with at least one parent born outside of Canada—accounted for 21% of the population; visible minorities made up 34% of Montreal's population (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2020). Notably, Montreal is the city in North America with the highest percentage of trilingual residents and citizens, where more

than 40% know French and English along with another language (Statistics Canada, 2017). While cultural and linguistic diversity is a rich resource for Montreal, Quebec legislates a French monolingual landscape, including in language education, through provincial language policies as well as governmental intercultural policies. These regulations contradict the multilingual reality of daily life for many of its residents and citizens.

Consequently, it is important to recognize the cultural and linguistic complexity and explore how institutions interpret the larger social discourses at the local level, specifically in institutional policy documents about language education. Examining policy documents is of great relevance as they produce and circulate views about language, writing, and assessment that shape how multilingual students are appraised and categorized in educational and classroom contexts, having serious implications on academic success.

The Quebec school system consists of both public and private education boards. The official language of Quebec is French, and it is the sole province in Canada that has only one official language. Given the dominance of English across Canada and the potential threats to the French language, in 1977 the Quebec government passed the *Charter of the French Language* with the primary goal of establishing French as the dominant language in the province. To achieve this aim, the *Charter of the French Language* mandated that all public communication in Quebec be in French. In addition to preserving the French language in the province, the education clause in the *Charter of the French Language* prevents access to English language schools for the majority of the population. In order to attend English language school, students need a certificate of eligibility confirming that one of their parents or one of their siblings received most of their elementary education in English in Canada; as a result, most students complete their elementary and high school education in French. At the higher education level, however, students have the choice to attend an English or French-speaking college and university.

Quebec's is a language-based education system with two distinct and parallel educational environments: English and French or *Anglophone* and *Francophone* systems. These two systems were not originally set up to accommodate multilingual students' diverse linguistic repertoires. Instead, they reflect the linguistic separation between the two founding colonial powers: the English and French. More importantly, the main focus is on the promotion and protection of French as the official language in Quebec. In 2015, 90.4% of all students in Quebec attended a French primary and/or secondary school; among multilingual students, the percentage in 2015 who attended French school rose to 89.4% from only 14.6% in 1971 (*Office québécois de la langue française*, 2017) as a result of the 1977 inception of the French mandated policies. In Montreal, the proportion of multilingual students who attended school in French in 2015 was 80% and over 62% of students in the city did not have French as a first language (*Office québécois de la langue française* 2017).

To add to this linguistic complexity, since colleges in Quebec provide the first point of access for English language education for most students, the majority of classrooms in English colleges are de facto multilingual spaces. These colleges are referred to as CEGEP, a French acronym for *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel* .

Quebec is the only province with both French and English CEGEP (college) systems that offer a *Diplôme d'études collégiales* (college diploma), which is required for admission to a university in Quebec. Thus, the implementation of provincial language policy seems to contrast with the changing linguistic demographics in Canada and Quebec and produces interesting insights into language policy that has shaped social and educational practices, in particular, for multilingual students.

3.1 The Positioning and "Othering" of Multilinguals in Canada

In multilingual and multicultural societies, there is often a dominant or *majority* culture or so-called founding nation or nations and a so-called *minority* or *Other* cultures that are comprised of indigenous peoples, immigrants, or descendants of immigrants from countries other than the "founding nations." Countries with a colonial history such as Canada have binary social systems where the *dominant* culture is the default position from which so-called *Others* are compared, judged, and assessed: a *dominant* or *majority* culture and *minority* or *Other* cultures that are members of multicultural or multilingual groups (Ng, 2005). In addition, the history of Canada as a colony of France and England also explains how so-called normative language practices can serve to preserve power over other cultural and linguistic groups (Heller, 2011). The paradigm of the *Other*—defining oneself *against another* or one of the *majority* or colonial groups—French or English—is also a result of national and provincial language legislation and/or policies.

Prior to the 1960s, Canada had an explicit assimilationist approach to immigration. Many cultural groups and communities were rejected from immigration and citizenship to Canada because they were considered incapable of cultural and linguistic assimilation (Day, 2000). After the 1960s, immigration policies changed to a point system, which allowed immigrants to come to Canada based on designated points allotted for reasons such as language proficiency, education, work experience, or family as opposed to ethnocultural background or country of origin (Day, 2000). Changes in immigration policy contributed to Canada becoming a more pluralistic and diverse society both linguistically and culturally (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2020); however, the expectation of language proficiency in one or both official languages and the integration within a dominant cultural group remains. In fact, even when new immigrants learn the dominant language, they may still be labeled as the *Other* in social and political discourses, posing challenges for full integration in the new context.

3.2 *Canada and Multiculturalism: Social and Educational Policies*

The concept of the *Other* is inherently structured in multicultural societies. In Canada, the management of the *Other* occurs through the regulative practices of social and political policy documents such as the *Canadian Official Languages Act* (1969) and the *Canadian Multicultural Act* (1988). Both policy documents emerged from the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963–1969)* whose mandate was to examine growing nationalism among French Canadians in the province of Quebec.

The Commission argued that in the context of the two "founding nations," England and France, language was a central factor in the creation of Canada as a nation and, therefore, it re-examined the role of language and culture in forming a nation and building a national sense of belonging (Haque, 2012). Consequently, the relationship between language and culture became a major focus, emphasizing the preservation of the languages and cultures of the two colonial nations, France and England, in contrast to the languages and cultures of indigenous peoples and immigrant communities. This assimilationist view promoted an understanding that integration to Canadian society required the use of English and/or French (in Canada) and only French (in Quebec). The Commission's legacy was to organize people according to linguistic categories, which only served to restructure cultural hierarchization through linguistic differentiation in language and language education policies, thereby facilitating how "language could become the basis of the *Other's* exclusion" (Haque,2012, p. 17). As a result, linguistic categories replaced ethnocultural categories in Canada.

Additionally, like other colonized countries, Canada has had many linguistic and cultural tensions. To address the historical tensions between the two colonial powers, the Canadian government officially instituted the *Official Languages Act* in 1969, declaring that English and French were the only two official languages of the country. Since the Act was passed, the rate of English and French bilingualism has continued to grow in most provinces and territories in Canada, but it is mostly concentrated in the province of Quebec with close to 60% of the population reporting to be bilingual in French and English (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Presently, federal language policies continue to maintain a bilingual identity in Canada and provincial language policies legislate a monolingual identity in Quebec (Heller, 2011). Both preserve Anglo-centric and/or Franco-centric language norms in social and educational contexts, thereby devaluing the language repertoires and learning practices of multilinguals.

3.3 The Emergence of Intercultural Language Education Policies

The analysis of Quebec's and Canada's history leads to current language policies, which conflict with the current multilingual and multicultural reality. In 1988, in order to respond to the growing cultural and linguistic diversity of the immigrant population, the federal government introduced the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, whose main goal was to promote the concept of diversity as a new social reality in Canada. In particular, the *Act* mandated the preservation of languages other than English and French, while reaffirming the two official languages in the country: English and French. However, in Quebec, after the government had successfully legislated its status as a majority French-speaking and Francophone society, the province attempted to unify diverse "cultural communities" by adopting the concept of interculturalism as its official approach to diversity. In a series of policy documents published in the last few decades, Quebec's model of interculturalism seeks to differentiate itself from Canada's policy of multiculturalism that does not officially acknowledge the distinct status of the Francophone majority in Quebec.

Whereas Canada's multicultural model supports the existence of cultural differences with no "official culture" within an English and French structure, Quebec's intercultural model supports a distinct Francophone identity and culture by promoting French as the official language. Quebec's view of cultural diversity rejects linguistic diversity to protect the distinct status of French and Francophone culture (Heller, 2011). Although Quebec's model of interculturalism aims to foster dialog between the various ethnocultural groups, i.e., residents and citizens from non-Francophone heritage, the main focus is to ensure their linguistic integration to the province by making them French speakers. Consequently, Quebec's adoption of the intercultural model emerges from the belief that the linguistic integration of immigrants is the best way to preserve Quebec's sense of national unity, conflicting with the multilingual and multicultural social reality of the province.

4 Marginalization: Linguistic Discrimination of Multilingual Speakers in Educational Settings

The prevalence of monolingualism in language education policy documents overlooks the reality and value of linguistic diversity in educational settings, in particular, since "decisions are made to favor some languages over others or to defend one language against the spread of another" (Groff et al., 2016, p. 84). In Quebec, concepts of "language proficiency" are influenced by language and intercultural policy documents, which legislate monolingual language practices that rely on so-called normative language practices. As a result, in academic institutions, language education policy documents can limit the linguistic representation—and choice—of multilingual students. Language education and intercultural policies currently

impose a strict adherence to monolingualism in both French and English educational systems. Therefore, multilingual students' ability to succeed is often determined by their perceived proficiency in the language of instruction as well as legislated language criteria that tacitly reinforce monolingualism (Tardy, 2011).

Monolingual expectations can lead to the marginalization and exclusion of those who are not so-called native speakers of "standard" English and/or who have not been exposed to academic literacy in English as mandated by policy documents on language education in Quebec. Discrimination mostly occurs in the evaluation process, for example, in assessing the language use of multilingual speakers, who are often victims of stereotypes regarding lower academic expectations and achievements. For example, in Quebec, multilingual students are more likely to be categorized as "special needs," "at risk," "remedial" and/or delegated to non-academic streams, assigned to non-credit remedial or preparatory courses, which has a negative impact on students' educational path, graduation rates, and chances of success. For multilingual speakers who wish to gain access in English-speaking higher education in other countries as well, such practices place all of the blame on the students and perpetuate a contradictory situation of allowing students entrance to higher education and, concurrently, categorizing them as "deficient" (Graham & Slee, 2008; Lamos, 2011; Rose, 1985). If students' linguistic repertoires, prior educational experiences, and diverse learning styles are undervalued or neglected in higher education, multilingual speakers' linguistic practices will remain marginalized.

5 The Way Forward: Embracing Multilingual Approaches in Policy Planning and Pedagogy and Future Implications

Since Quebec educational institutions, specifically in the city of Montreal, have an increasingly diverse student population from various linguistic backgrounds and educational experiences, it is important to re-assess how their backgrounds can be recognized and valued in updated or future policy documents.

First, language education policy in Canada and in Quebec can focus on recognizing and integrating cultural and linguistic pluralism as an important means of addressing the exclusion of immigrant languages and the oppression of indigenous languages in language learning in educational environments in both the English and French systems in Quebec, Canada. Second, Canada's commitment to multiculturalism and Quebec's commitment to interculturalism provide a privileged cultural understanding where the norm is multilingual, and which offers the ideal environment to reframe the argument on language proficiency. Therefore, we can begin by examining existing policies for ways in which they provide a space for the implementation of multilingual perspectives in language education. For example, Quebec's intercultural policies (e.g., *Une école d'avenir - Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle, 1998* and *Together we are Québec – Québec policy on immigration, participation and inclusion*, 2015) support the French language in public communication

and in educational settings, without rejecting the use of English, indigenous, or immigrant languages (Québec. Ministère de l'éducation, 1998). Third, aside from policy planning and policy reform, it is important to develop much needed pedagogy on language and writing that specifically considers the needs of multilingual students and that reflects the multilingual educational environment of Quebec and Canada. Therefore, it is also important to examine ways in which educational environments can provide students with the pedagogical tools needed to assert their own cultural and linguistic identities in their speaking and writing.

Multilingual students' linguistic abilities are composed of several personal, social, cultural, and linguistic components that interact with each other in different ways and for different purposes depending on the specific situation (Galante, 2019). For example, in English classrooms, multilinguals have been shown to rely on their linguistic repertoires and cultural competences, choosing between two or three languages during social and discipline-specific interactions (Ortega, 2013; Rymes, 2014). As well, multilinguals use their linguistic repertoires to negotiate and construct new varieties in their language practices, which suggests that language and culture are interrelated for these students (Canagarajah, 2018; Galante, 2020; Lau et al., 2016). Consequently, pedagogical practices emerging from policy documents on language education need to transcend standardized views of monolingualism toward approaches that integrate students' entire linguistic repertoire, whether stemming from languages learned at home, in social settings, or from prior educational experiences to respect their diverse learning styles, language and writing practices (Busch, 2017; García, 2019).

Re-imagining language classrooms as multilingual spaces entails "a change in underlying assumptions, a recognition that the classroom is already multilingual and that practices that imagine the existence of only a single code are limiting at best and ill-serving at worst" (Tardy, 2011, p. 654). Such approaches also expand the goals of language learning beyond the binary terms of "failure" and "success" or "good" and "bad" speaking and writing. Incorporating a "difference" instead of a "deficit" model of learning focuses on the "fluidity" of language systems for multilingual students, which contests the view that multilingual students need to conform to monolingual expectations of language use (Canagarajah, 2018; Cummins, 2017). Therefore, in multilingual contexts such as the city of Montreal where many people speak two, three, or more languages, the provision of language education that values their linguistic and cultural repertoires and advances development in the language of instruction, which is the case of English in English-speaking higher education, is of great importance.

Going forward, language education policy and planning need to adapt to the changing realities of multilingual speakers and societies and explore how the education system can revise institutional policies and pedagogical practices to make them more accessible for multilingual students. Language education policy and planning need to keep pace with the changing multilingual literacies that students bring to the classroom by considering the intersection of culture, language, and identity for multilingual students in higher education (Lau et al., 2016). Moreover, policies can ensure that a language can be taught without having a negative effect on the languages,

cultures, and identities of language learners. One of the goals is to examine policy on language and language education in specific academic contexts to influence policy-shaped and policy-shaping texts, discourses, and practices by focusing on language users and policymakers (Hornberger, 2015). For instance, language policy needs to take into account the social, political, and legislative reasons that impede students from acquiring a so-called standard version of English as well as examine ways that intercultural policies can acknowledge and value multilingual perspectives in language learning and writing practices.

Future language policy research in multilingual contexts will benefit from a focus on the relationship between multilingual students and language in higher education to investigate how academic institutions can use policy as a means to encourage cultural and linguistic diversity. Another goal is to incite discussions on pedagogical practices for multilingual students in English courses in English-speaking colleges, especially in multilingual cities such as Montreal, as well as to provide opportunities for curriculum and policy reform in multilingual educational environments.

The way forward, then, entails embracing multilingualism in language and language education policy and planning as well as in pedagogical practices for language education to adapt to the increasing cultural and linguistic reality of educational contexts in multilingual countries such as Canada and cities such as Montreal as well as in other countries and cities around the world.

To conclude, this chapter highlighted the importance of tracing the historical, political, and social contexts in which multilingual discourses have emerged to question monolingual policies and expectations in educational systems. It detailed how various social and political policy documents as well as language policy documents prioritize the learning of French and the promotion of Francophone culture in Quebec, which limit the space for multilinguals' language use. While this chapter focused on the city of Montreal, in Quebec, as it is one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse cities in Canada, many other cities and countries across the globe may have similar realities. Therefore, our chapter can inform future research in international contexts, in particular, research that challenges policy documents that may overlook and discriminate against multilingual speakers.

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Chapter 3
Bilingual Education in Brazil

Luciana C. de Oliveira and Camila Höfling

Abstract Brazil does not currently have an approved education policy for Portuguese-English bilingual programs, which is problematic in terms of considering the discourse of bilingual education in the country today. We start the chapter with an overview of current laws and guidelines for bilingual programs for other languages, namely Brazilian sign language, border schools, and indigenous schools. We then review some education laws related to the teaching of foreign languages. We present information about typical bilingual education program models to show the affordances and focus of each model. The main section of the chapter includes a discussion of new guidelines for bilingual education in Brazil which are currently being reviewed. Based on current bilingual education practices that are additive and focus on multilingualism, we propose some principles of plurilingual pedagogies for bilingual education programs in Brazil, since an absence of policies leaves the country with little information about how to structure these programs.

1 Overview of Brazil

Brazil is the largest Portuguese-speaking nation in the world. Within the context of predominantly Spanish-speaking Latin America, this provides a significant and intriguing linguistic profile for Brazil. The English language has had a strong presence in Brazil since the 1940s. In the school curriculum, the presence of French and English as foreign languages has been substantial, along with classical languages (Latin and Greek) since the early nineteenth century. The teaching of English in Brazil started with the decree of June 22, 1809, signed by D. João VI, a Portuguese Prince who ruled Brazil at the time, which stipulated the creation of a school of French and a school of English. Until then, only Greek and Latin had been taught as school subjects. At

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the time, Brazil had welcomed the English to establish commercial sites in Brazil and over 30 stores owned by the English were established, which led to their control of business and therefore industrial progress (Dias, 1999). The English advertised positions for Brazilian engineers, workers, and technicians, but the caveat was that Brazilians had to speak the English language in order to receive appropriate training and be able to do their jobs at these commercial sites. This led to the need to establish the teaching of English in Brazil as a formal foreign language (Dias, 1999). Since the 1930s, the teaching of English has grown rapidly as a result of changing national and international political and economic contexts. This growth can be witnessed through the social, cultural, and economic sectors of the country. Every year, more and more Brazilians seek to develop fluency and proficiency in English, hoping to obtain better opportunities in a competitive and intimidating job market.

Discourses around bilingual education began emerging in Brazil toward the end of the twentieth century (Fortes, 2017). Many Portuguese-English bilingual schools were established in Brazil starting in the 1990s (Megale, 2018), with curricula focused on total early immersion for students aged 4–5 years old, with English instruction for 100% of the time for the first two or three years of schooling and a reduction to 80% after that and to 50% after three or four more years of schooling (Fortes, 2017). Today, programs called "bilingual" in Brazil vary greatly and depend on the practices adopted by each school, without any kind of official regulation by the Ministry of Education. Even though some schools may identify themselves as "bilingual," their focus is on English language development through additional classes and not on developing students' bilingual skills in Portuguese and English. We have observed this tendency in particular in the institutional discourse produced by some schools on their websites and in conversations with language specialists that are part of these schools. For historical, geographic, and geopolitical reasons, Brazil needs quality bilingual education.

In this chapter, we challenge *faux bilingual education* initiatives for Portuguese-English, as we call them, to consider the goal of developing plurilingual competences and the use in explicit and purposeful ways of all the linguistic and cultural resources that students bring to language learning. Brazil does not currently have a bilingual education policy for Portuguese-English programs, which is problematic in terms of considering the discourse of bilingual education in the country today. We start the chapter with an overview of current laws and guidelines for bilingual programs for other languages, namely, Brazilian sign language, border schools, and indigenous schools. We then review some education laws such as the Base Nacional Comum Curricular (BNCC) [National Basis for a Common Curriculum] (Brasil, 2017a) to provide the context of language education. The main section of the chapter discusses new guidelines for bilingual education in Brazil which are currently being reviewed. Based on current bilingual education practices that are additive and focus on multilingualism, we propose a dual-language program model that incorporates principles of plurilingual pedagogies for bilingual education programs in Brazil.

1.1 Bilingual Education Contexts and Specific Populations

Brazil has specific populations for whom bilingual education is important, namely indigenous peoples, the deaf population, and the border area population. From the 1300 indigenous languages spoken in the 1500s, only 170 are spoken now in Brazil, with some spoken by only a few indigenous people (Cavalcanti, 1999). This sad reality for a diverse country has made the importance of indigenous bilingual education even more pronounced as a pathway for language maintenance. Despite the number of indigenous peoples and different native languages, the national curricular guidelines for indigenous school education (Brasil, 1999) were just approved in 1999 and further developed and revised in 2012 (Brasil, 2012). Through these laws, indigenous people have gained the right to a bilingual/multilingual and intercultural education. In theory, the aim is having indigenous languages as the medium of instruction (their native language), and Portuguese as a second language (L2), as it is the country's official language. Although the law-stipulated indigenous bilingual schools from pre-K to high school and Educação de Jovens e Adultos (EJA) [youth and adult education], pre-K schools are optional and there has been a lack of attendance in indigenous high schools.

The second specific population for whom bilingual programs have been developed is the deaf population. In 2002, Law number 10,436 finally acknowledged Língua Brasileira de Sinais (LIBRAS) [Brazilian Sign Language, BSL] as an official language (Brasil, 2002), determining it as a legal medium of communication and expression, assuring adequate treatment in public health services and including LIBRAS in the curriculum of teacher education. In 2005, Decree 5,626 inserted LIBRAS as a compulsory curricular course in teacher education undergraduate majors (Brasil, 2005a). For the deaf population, bilingual education has a different configuration. First, there is a constant struggle not to be seen as individuals with disabilities but as citizens who have their own language and culture. It is almost as if each individual could represent one singular type of bilingual learning, due to several contexts of Portuguese-LIBRAS bilingual education. For instance, for a deaf child born in a listener family who reaches school age without any language, the learning of first language (L1) (Libras) and L2 (written Portuguese) would be simultaneous, among several other cases. Moreover, the learning of the L2 is compulsory for deaf people, which significantly changes the learning status of L2, the country's official language.

The third specific population is the people who live on the border areas. Brazil has a vast border area, having borders with ten countries, most of which are Spanish-speaking countries. A bilateral agreement between Brazil and Argentina's Ministries of Education was signed in 2004 (Brasil, 2005b), and in 2005 a project entitled Project Bilingual Intercultural Border Schools (PEIBF) was created. The project created "mirror schools" in a Brazilian city and a border city from one of the countries that would function as an "operational unity" (Brasil, 2008), building a model of bilingual and intercultural education. During the week, teachers would interchange—Brazilian teachers would go to the other country to teach Portuguese, while the partner country's

teachers would come to Brazil to teach Spanish. The objective was to use the L2 as a medium of instruction. It is important to point out that this linguistic policy is currently suspended due to diverse issues related to this project, such as funding, lack of school autonomy and teacher autonomy, lack of assistance, structured goals, and poor planning by the governments (Cañete, 2014).

1.2 Education Laws About Foreign Language Teaching

Even though to-date there has been no comprehensive policy mandate for bilingual education, there have been education laws that have shaped the teaching of foreign languages in Brazil. The Lei de Diretrizes e Bases (LDB) [Law of Basic Tenets and Guidelines for National Education] (Brasil, 1996), a law that regulates schools, schooling, and the national curriculum in Brazil, stipulated that the study of at least one modern foreign language is required for children enrolled in elementary schools, and optional for secondary schools. In Brazil, modern foreign languages are conceptualized as languages that are taught extensively around the world but are not official languages in Brazil (e.g., English, French, Italian, German, and Spanish).

In 1998, the Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais (PCN) [National Curriculum Parameters] (Brasil, 1998) was released. This document sets standards and proposed principles for the teaching of languages other than Portuguese as foreign languages in public schools. The document emphasized the idea of language as a vehicle for social participation and communication, focusing on the development of reading skills, with writing, and especially listening and speaking, taking a secondary position (Tenuta et al., 2017). The PCN document, however, received much criticism from English language teaching (ELT) professionals specifically, who argued that when the teaching of English was equated with the teaching primarily of reading in public schools this would in turn promote the view that successful learning of English (i.e., involving all skills) could only occur in private schools (Tenuta et al., 2017). In general, the teaching and learning of English in public schools has suffered from a variety of complex problems: the lack of establishment of a specific method or provision of any guidance by PCN, the lack of qualified teachers who are proficient in English, inappropriate teaching materials, inadequate methods, and large classes which make the teaching and learning process difficult (Nogueira, 2007).

In 2017, educational guidelines for teaching at the elementary and secondary levels, the BNCC, were published (Brasil, 2017a). This document has the goal of guiding what is taught in elementary and secondary schools in Brazil and is applied to the teaching of school subjects from pre-kindergarten to high school. Although it contains learning objectives to guide the development of specific curricula in each school, it is not a curriculum to be used across the country, as specific curricula need to meet the methodological, social, and regional goals of individual schools (Brasil, 2017a). The BNCC guidelines state that the teaching of English opens "horizons of communication and cultural, scientific, and academic exchanges" (Brasil, 2017b, p. 1).

2 Recent Proposals: First and Second Versions of the "Proposal of National Curriculum Guidelines for Bilingual Education"

Brazil currently does not have an approved education law or policies regarding (Portuguese-English) bilingual programs. However, in June 2020, the Conselho Nacional de Educação (CNE) [National Council of Education] and the Conselho de Educação Básica (CEB) [Council for Basic Education] launched a white paper presenting a proposal for curricular guidelines for bilingual education (Brasil, 2020a). The document was open for public consultation with the objective to provide educators, researchers, students, and society in general, knowledge of the content, so they could contribute to the proposal, accessing the document and sending their written comments and ideas to the CNE. Due to a number of requests on the need for regulations and the increasing number of bilingual schools in the country, the CNE considered creating this document, with the help of an invited board of education specialists. The argument stems from the fact that people are not satisfied with the results from schools and determined families often envision their children completing their studies abroad. After receiving feedback and comments from the public, the writers of this document modified it to propose more inclusive guidelines.

Although the theoretical and contextual discussions were enhanced from the first to the second versions, some incongruent issues concerning different aspects of bilingual education in Brazil still remain and require further analysis and examination.

2.1 Populations in Need of Bilingual Education

In the first version of the document, important bilingual contexts in Brazil, such as border area schools (with Spanish-speaking countries) and bilingual education contexts of migrants and refugees, were omitted. The document just focused on elite bilingual education—or prestige schools—and emphasized that there would be no discussion related to bilingual education for indigenous and deaf people in Brazil, two other important contexts of Brazilian bilingual education, affirming that those contexts had already had specific laws to regulate them. Even though Brazil is surrounded by Spanish-speaking neighbors, the document further affirms the need to consider the social and market value of the so-called prestige languages and the importance of competences and abilities in English for the "full development of the person" in the twenty-first century.

The second version of the document includes these specific bilingual education contexts, with a brief discussion of each one, but the discussion is still not enough in terms of regulation for the complex context of indigenous and deaf bilingual education, in which the L2 is Portuguese. Moreover, while the second version considers

in general terms refugees and migrants in vulnerable situations, it still does not go in depth into the discussion of specific laws for this population.

2.2 Language of Instruction, Language Proficiency, and Bilingual Program Models

Guidelines for language of instruction are not discussed deeply. Both documents mention the use of "translanguaging" between their L2 and Portuguese as the host language (Brasil, 2020b, p. 7). The main focus of the first version of the document seemed to be on L2 learning and teaching, with a primary focus on English as the L2, without considering the L1 context. This contradicts the real basis of what bilingual education means: the development of both languages' knowledge base (García, 2009). Moreover, the first document did not explain the difference between bilingual schools and bilingual programs. Aspects related to evaluation, teacher education, approaches, and methods were pointed out only for L2 learning, again a clear misunderstanding of what bilingual education means. It also presented different concepts of language teaching and learning, using terms such as "foreign language," "second language," and "additional language" in different parts of the text, relating them to the same language learning.

The second version specifies a percentage of instructional time allocated to each language. This time division is incongruent with the notion of plurilingualism advocated for and used in other parts of the document. The idea of a plurilingual approach emphasizes a more dynamic relationship between languages, not a strict separation of languages for instruction and use in the classroom. It seems like the document, as revised, is trying to include this notion without a clear understanding of what it really means for instruction and use.

Finally, in the first version, there was no mention of different program models of bilingual education. The second version attempts to differentiate "international schools" from "bilingual schools" and "bilingual programs," but it still fails to differentiate those programs according to the percentage of workload dedicated to the additional language.

2.3 Assessment

Evaluation in bilingual education contexts requires taking into consideration the approaches of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and content-based instruction (CBI), whose focus is on both language and content. In order to allow assessment of content, translanguaging, code-switching, and code-meshing should be considered in evaluation practices; for example, in assessment instruments and protocols or allowing students to use them in responses as they develop their language

proficiencies. The second version provides a more in-depth discussion of bilingualism and plurilingualism, but still mainly connected to the teaching of English as an additional language. The discussion about teaching both language and culture is also mainly directed at L2, taking the learning of L1 culture for granted and reducing the learner from this context to understanding L2 culture, without allowing them to have broader social and cultural development of two or more languages.

2.4 Teachers' Language Proficiency and Teacher Education

Teacher education for bilingual or plurilingual contexts needs to consider teachers' L2 proficiency and how to measure and consider it in the Brazilian educational context, as there is a considerable difference between general language proficiency and language for teaching proficiency; therefore, the use of international standard proficiency tests to measure teachers' proficiency should be discussed.

Following the Brazilian educational system, the second document expects the following education and certifications for an L2 teacher who would work in bilingual contexts: (1) from preschool to fifth grade—a undergraduate degree with teaching license in education (called "Pedagogy" in Brazil) or languages or an undergraduate degree in education or languages for bilingual education; a B2 level of proficiency according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR); and an additional certification in bilingual education as previously mentioned; (2) from 6 to 12th grades (high school)—an undergraduate degree and teaching license in languages or languages for bilingual education or teaching license in the content areas; a B2 level of L2 proficiency; and the same additional certification in bilingual education. Changes in teacher education programs to include bilingual education specializations or graduate degrees will take time, but the second version of the document expects an impossible timing for implementation: January 2022.

The mention, in both versions, of mandating teachers to pass proficiency tests whose areas of focus are only linguistic competences, and specifically the use of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages as an international standard for describing language abilities, seems to deviate the attention from the BNCC guidelines related to teachers' formative and processual evaluation and does not contribute to the discussion of teachers' professional preparation and learning to work in bilingual education schools or programs.

The proposals suggest that an additional specialization in bilingual education would be required to work as a teacher in bilingual or international schools or bilingual programs. Teacher education requirements for this context need further clarification and consideration, however, since this specialization does not exist yet in Brazil. This specialization would be obtained through continuing education courses at the undergraduate level or professional graduate programs aimed at providing additional preparation for the workplace. This would require time for planning and putting these programs into place from faculty in education and languages in higher

education institutions. Funding from the government would also be a requirement, at a time of continuous government budget cuts for public higher education institutions in Brazil.

3 A Proposal for Brazil: A Dual-Language Program Model Applying Principles of Plurilingual Pedagogies

For the Brazilian context, we propose a dual-language program model in which both Portuguese and an additional language, likely English, are the focus of instruction, highlighting heteroglossic and plurilingual competences. We use the concept of plurilingualism as described in Canagarajah and Liynage (2012): "Plurilingualism allows for the interaction and mutual influence of…languages in a more dynamic way [than multilingualism]" (p. 50). Pluralingualism emphasizes the use of language as symbiotically interacting to generate new meanings (Canagarajah, 2018) and has been defined by the Council of Europe (2007) as "the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use" (p. 8). Multilingualism has to do with the presence of "more than one "variety of language" i.e., the mode of speaking of a social group whether it is formally recognized as a language or not; in such an area, individuals may be monolingual speaking only their own variety" (Council of Europe, 2007, p. 8). Because plurilingualism emphasizes the interrelation and interconnection of languages, language plurality should be the goal of bilingual programs, as it emphasizes positive learner attributes (Boekmann et al., 2011).

Dual-language programs are considered additive in nature in that they continue to develop the language abilities that students come to skill with while introducing resources and instruction in one or more additional languages. The effectiveness of such programs has been documented with respect to dual language programs in the U.S. (see, for example, Genesee et al., 2006; Thomas & Collier, 2002) and CLIL programs in Europe (Lorenzo, 2013; Nikula, 2017). We propose the following principles as more inclusive and holistic, advocating for a more unified approach to language development than the division of languages proposed in more traditional models of bilingual education.

We suggest five principles of plurilingual pedagogies for bilingual education programs in Brazil with plurilingualism as the foundational philosophy that should drive the development and implementation of bilingual programs.

1. *The use of multiple linguistic resources and repertoires of students should be capitalized on in the classroom.*

The recognition and valuing of the linguistic repertoires that children bring to the classroom context should be a guiding principle of any bilingual program. These linguistic resources should be a starting point for the development of further linguistic resources from which to build up a plurilingual repertoire. Language in its many forms and varieties should be used as a resource for making meaning (Schleppegrell, 2004).

Students use multiple linguistic resources to negotiate meaning outside the classroom. Language learners gain many life experiences over time, and they have likely been exposed to other languages. Teachers, then, need to recognize, utilize, and draw upon the varied language learning and life experiences which their students bring to the classroom. Teachers should know and be able to use students' characteristics, expectations, interests, plans, and needs as well as their previous language-learning experiences and existing resources in planning bilingual instruction.

2. *An integrated, holistic approach to language teaching and learning should drive instruction in bilingual programs.*

The fusion of languages within an integrated approach means that different languages should be combined, rather than treated as separate entities. Code-mixing, code-meshing, and translanguaging should be seen as positive and should promote awareness of language diversity, with the recognition of similarities and differences among languages. Plurilingual pedagogies are dynamic, recursive, complex, and nonlinear (García & Flores, 2012), with the goal of de-compartmentalization of languages in the classroom. Bilingual programs should develop further linguistic resources to increase individual language potential. Teachers, from this perspective, then draw on the learners' existing transferable and connecting knowledge and skills.

3. *Plurilingualism should emphasize the relationships among all languages in a dynamic perspective.*

As we have known for a long time, skills developed in any language transfer to other languages, in a dynamic perspective. Translanguaging should engage students in actively using their entire linguistic repertoires. The pedagogical potential of translanguaging has been shown to create a more inclusive classroom for bilingual students (Kleyn & García, 2019). This could involve reading a text in one language and discussing it in another language, aimed at meaning making. It could also take the form of comparing languages that are part of students' linguistic repertoires. Students can be asked to explain differences and similarities across languages, comparing and contrasting them with the pedagogical goal of language learning and development. This principle reinforces the notion that an individual "builds up 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).

4. *The aim of bilingual programs should be to develop plurilingual and pluricultural competences.*

Plurilingual competence refers to the linguistic repertoire of language learners which includes all of their linguistic abilities. Pluricultural competence refers to the cultural knowledge of various communities that language learners develop as they are learning languages. Plurilingual and pluricultural competence has been defined as:

> … the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social agent has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition

> or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the user may draw. (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168)

It is important to note some aspects of plurilingual and pluricultural competences. Language learners generally develop differential levels of language proficiency and skills in the various languages they are learning. This is a normal process of language development. Learners' plurilingual competence may also be at a different level than their pluricultural competence.

5. *Bilingual programs should include the teaching of subject areas from a plurilingual perspective.*

Bilingual programs are not just about the teaching of languages. Bilingual programs include the teaching of the content areas of arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Using a plurilingual perspective in the content areas involves connecting and analyzing content and language as inseparable components (de Oliveira, 2016) and connections to students' entire repertoire of meaning making.

Plurilingual skills and knowledge that should be developed in the content areas include knowledge of text structures, grammar, and vocabulary, comparing and contrasting language features, and disciplinary language and genres. School-based tasks develop academic language in the subject areas. Every discipline uses academic language in specific ways. These differences have to do with the nature of the discipline itself and can be made explicit for students through a plurilingual perspective. Implementing reflexive learning in the content areas allows for the transformation of students' disciplinary pluralistic repertoires. This includes reflection and analyses of how the content areas are constructed in the languages that students are learning.

4 Conclusion

Because of the lack of approved bilingual education policies for Portuguese and English programs in Brazil, programs called *bilingual* vary greatly and depend on the practices adopted by each school. We challenge *faux bilingual education* programs and schools that focus on English language development through monolingual classes rather than developing students' plurilingual and pluricultural competences in Portuguese and English. Such programs are titled "bilingual" but do not teach subject areas bilingually. They often highlight *bilingual education* in their institutional discourse and on their websites, but in fact the focus is on English only.

Our vision for *real* bilingual education includes a *dual-language program model* in which equal emphasis is placed on development of Portuguese and English, emphasizing a plurilingual approach with a more dynamic relationship between languages, not a strict separation of languages for instruction and use in the classroom. The five principles of plurilingual pedagogies described here would serve as a foundation for the development of bilingual education programs. Our vision also includes moving beyond putting a percentage of instruction time to each language of instruction, as

proposed in the revised white paper proposal from the CNE and CEB, since this time division is incongruent with the notion of plurilingualism advocated for in the document. The bilingual programs that we envision would be taught by fully certified content teachers who have additional preparation in bilingual education, who have a license in a content area and language proficiency to teach in the L2. These teachers would not be teachers with a degree in Letras (languages) unless they are to teach Portuguese and English as a school subject.

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Chapter 4
Global ESOL Assessment Practices: The Washback Effect and Automated Testing in China

Chen Li and Shahid Abrar-ul-Hassan

Abstract The washback effects of ESOL assessment have not attracted adequate attention in terms of the teaching and assessment practices in language education. For instance, the impact of the College English Test (CET), which is a language test designed and developed in the 1980s, is signficant in China; similarly, tests of other foreign languages such as Japanese, German, Russian, and French are crucial. These tests have impacted the teaching and learning of foreign languages in China. A synthesis of the reforms and developments in these language testing practices over three decades will be offered, with a focus on their role in the teaching and learning of foreign languages at Chinese universities. Moreover, computer-assisted language testing practices are developing rapidly, and information technology is becoming integral to language education. A major shift is taking place from automated evaluation of objective test items to subjectively scored writing and speaking assessments. With the development of technology-enhanced language assessment, new policies have been introduced that influence both language teaching and learning as well as examination administration. The current practices of computer-assisted language assessment need to be analyzed from the technological, educational, and social perspectives.

1 Overview

English is the first and most common foreign language taught in China; there is a population of about 200 million EFL learners in Chinese schools (Gui, 2015). Although school English education usually starts no earlier than grade three in primary school, some kindergartens include English classes in their curriculum, and many English training agencies offer English courses to people of different ages from

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young children to adults. English language testing correspondingly covers these age groups, with well-established international and domestic English language testing services such as the Cambridge Young Learners' English Tests (CYLET), the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the International English Language Testing System (IELTS), the Public English Test System (PETS), and the College English Test (CET). English language education has been greatly influenced by these tests because they play a decisive role in language teaching and learning, and the evaluation of teachers' practices is closely related to students' performance on these tests (Min et al., 2020). Meanwhile, with the rapid development of education technology, English language assessment has also entered an era of automated testing, which has brought many changes to assessment policies and practices. This chapter focuses on the washback effect of CET in China, which is a high-stakes standardized test, and the influence of automated language assessment on English language education particualrly in China.

The washback effect can be defined as the impact of testing on teaching and learning (Alderson & Wall, 1993; Buck, 1988; Hughes, 1989; Messick, 1996), whereby language tests make teachers and learners do things they would not otherwise necessarily do (Alderson & Wall, 1993; Messick, 1996). Washback effects can be either positive or negative, to the extent that they either promote or impede the accomplishment of educational goals (Bailey, 1996). Research on the washback effects of language tests in China is mainly related to important large-scale high-stakes English language tests such as the National Matriculation English Test (NMET), CET, and PETS (Min et al., 2020). Research on washback effect of the NMET focuses on the impact of the policy change regarding the increasing number of tests every year (e.g., Yang & Gu, 2020; Zhang et al., 2018). There is a significant body of research about the washback effect of CET, including effects on the development of each individual language skill (e.g., Li, 2016; Shi, 2010; Xiao et al., 2014). Research on PETS tends to involve student participants from higher vocational colleges, as most colleges require their students to take this test (e.g., Liu, 2015; Peng, 2017). Most of the above research adopts questionnaires, interviews, and class observations as the major research instruments.

2 Washback Effect of the College English Test (CET)

2.1 Introduction to the CET

CET is the only national English test given to non-English major students in Chinese universities. It aims to assess the students' overall English competence and to facilitate college English-teaching practices (Huang, 2016). The test consists of a Band 4 test (CET-4) version and Band 6 test (CET-6) version. The former targets the intermediate level and the latter is designed for the advanced level. Students need to pass CET-4 before graduation, and they can take the test more than once. They are allowed

to take CET-6 only after they pass CET-4. CET testing is organized twice a year. The test scores are standardized to make them comparable with each other at different times (Wang, 2008).

The CET written test started in 1987 (Huang, 2016), and a trial version of the spoken English test (CET-SET) was added in 1999 (Jin, 2000). Tables 1 and 2 show the current test formats of the CET-4 written and spoken English tests published by the National Examination Committee.

The current test formats of the CET-6 and CET-SET 6 are similar to those of the CET-4. The test format of the CET has undergone several historical changes. The major changes have occurred in the listening comprehension, speaking, and translation tests, which have caused a washback effect to college English teaching and learning (Fu, 2017). In the following discussion, the CET-4 is used as an example to illustrate both positive and negative washback effects.

Table 1 CET-4 Written Test Format (National CET-4/6 Examination Committee, 2016)

Skill	Content	Question type	Weighting (%)	Length
Writing	Writing	Essay	15	30 minutes
Listening	Three news reports	Multiple choice	7	30 minutes
	Two long conversations	Multiple choice	8	
	Three passages	Multiple choice	20	
Reading	Vocabulary	Fill in the blank	5	40 minutes
	One long passage	Matching	10	
	Two short passages	Multiple choice	20	
Translation	Chinese into English	Paragraph translation	15	30 minutes
Total			100	130 minutes

Table 2 CET-SET Band 4 Test Format (National CET-4/6 Examination Committee, 2016)

Task	Type	Description	Length
Warm-up	Self-introduction	Give a brief self-introduction	20 seconds
1	Read aloud	Read aloud a short passage	Preparation: 45 seconds Read: 1 minute
2	Question and answer	Answer two questions about the passage just read	20 seconds for each question
3	Individual presentation	Give a one-minute presentation according to the given cues	Preparation: 45 seconds Presentation: 1 minute
4	Pair work	Take part in a dialogue with another candidate according to the given situation	Preparation: 1 minute Dialogue: 3 minutes

2.2 Listening Test

The test format of the CET-4 listening test has been revised and changed twice over the past 15 years. In 2006, the first change added two long conversations and increased the proportion of the listening component in the test from 20 to 35%. In 2016, the second change replaced the short conversations and compound dictation (i.e., referring to blank filling with either words or sentences) in the listening comprehension section with multiple-choice questions about three news reports. Both changes increased the level of difficulty in the listening comprehension section and consequently brought positive as well as negative washback effects. A positive washback effect was that more emphasis was placed on teaching listening. On the one hand, teachers introduced a great variety of listening materials with real communicative purposes to enrich teaching listening skills and increasing students' motivation to work with authentic materials (Zhang & Du, 2010). Students now have access to more diversified listening materials in English courses. Furthermore, teachers now spend more time on the introduction of listening strategies and English language and culture, in order to help students improve their listening competence and prepare for a more difficult listening test (Zhang & Du, 2010). Another positive washback effect was that students now realize the more important status of listening and the communicative purposes of English learning after seeing the increasing importance of listening comprehension in the CET-4 (Li, 2011, 2016; Shi, 2010).

However, a negative washback effect occurred, in that the changes decreased some students' confidence in listening comprehension, especially among those with low listening competence (Huang, 2016; Li, 2011; Zhang & Du, 2010). Shi (2010) investigated the washback effects on students' English learning regarding their attitudes toward the change in the listening test format and their English learning behavior. Research participants were divided into two groups according to their CET-4 test scores. High-scoring students were motivated by the change, included more authentic materials such as lectures, movies, and news reports into their self-regulated listening practice, and they were willing to spend more time and effort on listening. However, the change caused negative washback effects on the low-scoring group of students, who believed that listening comprehension was too difficult for them, reducing their motivation. In their limited self-regulated listening practice, they only listened to test materials. This narrow coverage of listening materials was unfavorable for the improvement of their listening competence. Another problem is that the positive washback effect does not last long (Shi, 2010). Students may be active in listening to different recordings in preparation for the CET, but after the test, they tend to reduce their listening activities or even stop altogether. Therefore, it could be predicted that the washback effect is not strong enough to sustain students' self-regulated learning in the long term.

To sum up, the increase of the proportion and difficulty of listening comprehension in the CET encouraged teachers and students to use more and different types of authentic listening materials and listening strategies for listening teaching and learning. However, the test also became more challenging for students who were not

doing well in listening, and they needed more guidance and support for their listening practice.

2.3 Speaking Test

The CET-SET was a face-to-face spoken English test between examiners and examinees until 2014, when it started to move online. The test format has undergone only slight changes since its launch in 1999. The CET-SET is widely recognized, and it makes perhaps a good example of a positive washback effect. Many universities have placed more emphasis on the development of students' English competences instead of striving for a high CET pass rate, and students are enthusiastic about speaking activities (Jin, 2000).

Jia (2016) provides a detailed description of the predicted washback effect (or the expected washback effect) from each of the current speaking tasks in the CET-SET 4. The first part is the warm-up, where candidates give a 20-s introduction of themselves. This part does not count toward the final score but is considered as a reference. This part encourages teachers to teach students how to prepare self-introductions for different settings, such as meeting teachers and classmates for the first time, job interviews, and the first meeting organized by the Students' Union. Students also collect materials to improve their self-introductions. Jia (2016) contends that the task of reading aloud reminds both teachers and students to pay more attention to their pronunciation and intonation.

The following question and answer task is designed to assess students' understanding of a passage and their ability to make summaries. Teachers and students spend a good deal of effort on the development of reading comprehension, listening comprehension, and summarizing. In the individual presentation task, a picture or a chart is given to students for description and interpretation. According to Jia (2016), this can encourage teachers and students to develop their comprehension skills related to interpreting information from pictures and charts. The last task in the test is pair work. This task is very familiar to both teachers and students. The washback effect of this task could stimulate teachers to organize more pair work tasks for students to practice, and students are also expected to be more active in speaking with each other both in and out of class.

The above-mentioned issues are predicted washback effects based on the testing objectives of each task. In practice, however, the actual washback effects of the test are not as ideal as the predicted ones. Huang (2002) points out that most teachers and students acknowledge the significance of the CET-SET 4 but fewer than half of them make adjustments in their teaching and learning. One of the reasons for this apparent reluctance to change is that the CET-SET 4 is not compulsory. According to Tang (2016), 80% of teachers believe that they would devote more teaching effort to the development of their students' speaking competence if the CET-SET 4 was compulsory for students. Due to their limited teaching hours, they feel reluctant to incorporate more speaking tasks into their busy teaching schedule. Another reason

lies in the qualifications for taking the CET-SET; at the beginning, only students with a score of more than 85 out of 100 in the written CET-4 test and 80 out of 100 in the written CET-6 test were qualified to take the CET-SET. Later, the threshold was gradually lowered to give students more test chances to assess their speaking competence. The threshold has been repealed in recent years, and students can register for both the CET written test and the CET-SET at the same time without having to first complete the written test. With more chances to take the CET-SET, it is expected that more students will be willing to work hard to improve their speaking skills and will be interested in taking the test for the assessment of their speaking skills.

2.4 Translation Test

The test format of the CET-4 translation test from Chinese to English changed from sentence translation to passage translation in 2013. Students have to translate a passage of about 140–200 Chinese characters into English within 30 min. The passage is about Chinese history, culture, economy, social development, and similar topics. Gu and Ye (2014) claim that the change from sentences to a passage has elevated the translation test to equal status with the writing test. It prompts teachers to enrich their college English teaching with more resources about Chinese culture and develop students' intercultural communication competence together with their English language skills. Tan and Yin (2014) note the lack of translation teaching in college English education. The change in the CET-4 translation test pushed teachers to teach more translation theories and techniques to develop their students' translation abilities.

Similar to the situation in the listening test, positive washback effects on students may be identified from the changes in the CET translation test, but the effects are different between high- and low-scoring students. Yu (2016) finds that students value the importance of the translation test more than before and use more English materials about Chinese culture in their self-regulated learning, such as vocabulary and videos related to Chinese culture. The changes in their learning processes are also positively related to their learning outcomes. However, Wei (2015) finds that the new translation test did not lead to much change for low-scoring students in their translation practices. Nevertheless, the washback effect is strong for high-scoring students, who seem to have increased their translation practices and read more bilingual news reports and essays to facilitate the development of their translation abilities.

In this age of globalization and multilingualism, EFL teaching, as well as assessment practices, needs to recognize learners' linguistic resources (e.g., Wang, 2019). EFL teachers in China recognize the importance of integrating Chinese culture into English language education especially in extensive reading and assessment (Yuan et al., 2017). The development of students' multilingual competence is promoted by the washback effect of the CET translation test as they constantly enrich their knowledge of Chinese language and culture as well as learn how to express them in English. Zeng (2005) has called for reform of foreign language assessment in China

because intercultural competence has not received its due attention in assessment. Testing items on cultural knowledge, especially Chinese culture, should be included, which would greatly encourage students to learn not only the foreign language and culture but also how to inform others of Chinses culture.

In summary, the negative washback effect of the CET relates largely to examination-oriented education, which undermines the goals of college English language education to foster students' communicative competence (Wan & Bao, 2019; Xu, 2016; Zhao, 2018). If teachers and students only concentrate on test-related materials and adopt a test preparation approach without paying attention to other teaching and learning affordances, the development of the students' communicative competence will be greatly hindered and the learning process may become monotonous. However, a longitudinal study has revealed that positive washback effects were achieved one to one-and-a-half years after the reform of the CET-4 in 2007, with diminishing interest in learning for tests among students (Xiao et al., 2014). If test tasks are integrated into curriculum design by combining them with the content of other and more varied teaching and learning materials, a positive washback effect will be achieved to both enhance the students' overall English competence and give them sufficient experience of the test tasks (Fang, 2011; Zhao, 2018).

For students, the positive washback effect is more effective for high-performing students than for low-performing ones. When the new test format came out, both groups recognized its significance, but the former were inspired to adapt to the new challenges and improve their English competences in the learning process. However, the latter seemed to make few adjustments and may have even lost confidence. More guidance from teachers is clearly necessary for these low-performing students.

3 Technology-Enhanced Language Assessment

Information technology has brought great changes to language assessment in terms of test design, implementation, and scoring (Liu, 2013). It is now possible to automate the assessment of speaking, writing, and translation (Wang & Chen, 2015). Technology-enhanced language assessment is changing the face of language teaching and learning, especially in China.

3.1 Automated Speaking Assessment

Automated speaking assessment is widely used in English language education in China. It consists of both the assessment of pronunciation and intonation and the assessment of the logic and organization of the speech. The former is usually used for the assessment of reading aloud, while the latter is used in the assessment of retelling, picture description, presentation, etc. In addition, the technology has been

used successfully in the assessment of many large-scale English languages speaking tests at varying levels (Wei et al., 2019).

The technology underpinning automated speaking assessment has been widely researched since the 1990s. There have been many improvements to the technology to make it more reliable and objective, and it has gained more popularity among students in recent years. Some well-known automated speaking assessment systems, such as the FiF (For Ideal Future) (Wei et al., 2019), are not only used for the assessment of examinations but are also integrated into English courses to make the teaching and learning of speaking English more convenient and effective.

Yang and Zhao (2013), in their study of a technology-enhanced college English-speaking course, point out the significance of instant and interactive feedback for the development of students' speaking competence. Automated speaking assessment has a competitive edge in this aspect, able to provide students with an instant evaluation of their speaking competence by providing both a score and suggestions for error correction. Such an assessment system can be easily installed as a mobile application, which means that students can have more opportunities to practice speaking at any time and place. The instant assessment gives students timely feedback, which may increase the chances that they will practice again. The entire learning process may be recorded in the system for both the teacher and the student to evaluate their performance in speaking tasks. Automated speaking assessment saves the teacher's work and increases the teacher's efficiency in tracking each student's progress by examining their portfolio materials. Therefore, the teacher is able to focus more on individualized feedback, as well as gaining diagnostic information about each student during the portfolio process (Abrar-ul-Hassan & Douglas, 2020).

Research also reveals that online speaking tasks can reduce the anxiety that students may experience in face-to-face speaking tasks (Yang & Zhao, 2013; Zhou et al., 2008). Many automated assessment systems offer the practice and assessment of simulated dialogues between the student and an online virtual assistant. This technology is helpful for low-performing students, since it makes individual speaking practice and student-virtual assistant pair work convenient for them.

3.2 Automated Writing Assessment

Pigai is one of the most famous online automated writing assessment systems in China. It is very helpful for the identification of mistakes in grammar, spelling, sentence structures, and collocations. However, it cannot make satisfying assessments of content, logic, and coherence (Hou, 2015; Huang, 2017; Jiang & Ma, 2013; Shi, 2012). Teacher assessment can make up for this deficiency, and students prefer a combination of teacher assessment and automated writing assessment to an exclusively automated service (Li, 2015).

Instant assessment feedback makes students eager to correct the identified mistakes and submit the writing again. It can also reduce anxiety and boost their confidence in writing (Huang, 2017; Li, 2015). Statistical analysis shows the improved

quality of writing in terms of length, vocabulary, sentence structures, etc., after multiple revisions and submissions (Gong et al., 2019; Hu, 2015; Wang, 2017).

In a review of the literature surrounding the effectiveness of automated writing assessment in China over the past two decades, Bai and Wang (2019) argue that automated writing assessment is able to identify certain types and proportions of errors in essay writing and help students correct them. However, it is not clear whether the technology can enhance students' writing competence. For example, Li (2015) found that students prefer traditional teacher assessment of their writing to either automated writing assessment or the combination of the two. It is true that teacher assessment has an advantage over automated writing assessment in the assessment of the content and structure of writing. However, the workload of writing assessment would be too heavy for teachers to guarantee the quality if they have a lot of students in their classes. Therefore, automated writing assessment can ease teachers' burdens and offer an assessment of each individual's writing and information about the common problems of multiple writers to facilitate teachers in individual and group feedback. In other words, automated writing assessment is more an aid to teacher assessment and peer assessment than a substitute for it. Multiple assessments from these three sources are believed to be better than any single assessment (Abrar-ul-Hassan & Douglas, 2020; Bai & Wang, 2019).

3.3 Change of Assessment Policies

Technology-enhanced assessment saves a lot of time in the marking of examination papers or home assignments, which makes it possible to organize more assessments at a low cost. This has resulted in changes in assessment policies in both formative assessment and large-scale English examinations in China in recent years.

English language education in China is seeing increasingly diversified formative assessment. For example, speaking assessment in the course of college English is accomplished through a summative assessment procedure in the form of a final speaking examination at the end of the term, due to the high amount of time and effort involved in implementing a speaking assessment. The technology as well as the algorithms of automated speaking assessment can evaluate students' speaking competence as well as save labor costs, facility availability, and other expenses (Chen et al., 2019). It is much easier for the teacher to give students speaking assignments during the term and provide timely feedback based on automated assessment results. Therefore, more and more teachers have been including speaking assessments in the formative assessment procedures in their courses, promoting students' autonomous or self-regulated speaking practice. The convenience of automated assessment has also led to an increasing number of English language competitions at all levels, such as speaking and writing competitions. To encourage students to participate in more English-related activities, many teachers give bonus points to competition winners in their final evaluations. This practice also enriches the formative assessment.

The new assessment policy of the NMET in China has aroused wide discussion. The new policy has increased the frequency of English tests to twice a year, and students can choose to attend either one or both tests and use the higher score toward the total score of the national matriculation test (Zheng & Xu, 2019). The new policy has been implemented over the past three years, but there are slight differences between the policies implemented by different provinces in China. For example, the computer-based listening test in Beijing, which is separate from the written test, has been offered twice a year since 2017. The speaking test will be added in 2021. In Shanghai, the English test has been offered twice every year since 2017, including both the written test and the speaking test each time and with the speaking test being computer-based. Some other provinces are also considering a gradual conversion of the NMET to a computer-based test. The Ministry of Education has clarified that the current policy of twice-a-year matriculation English tests is in preparation for multiple tests in the future (Geng, 2019). Obviously, technology-enhanced assessment has contributed to the policy of supporting large-scale national tests twice per year, now and even more in the future.

There is consensus about the benefit of more chances of success for students brought by the policy change (Yang & Gu, 2020; Zhang et al., 2018). However, the original intention of the policy was to reduce the risk of failure. If students fail in the first English test, they have a second chance. If they receive good scores in the first English test, they do not need to take the second test and can devote more time to prepare for tests in other subjects. However, Geng (2019) found that most students attended both tests, which actually increased the burden of their test preparation. Another problem is their strong anxiety before taking the first English test, because there would be very high pressure for the second English test and tests in other subjects if students fail the first English test. The most harmful washback effect of this policy change has been an increase in examination-oriented education in high schools (Wang, 2014; Yang & Gu, 2020). With the first English test held much earlier than before, both teachers and students have to spend more time on test preparation, which reduces the time available for the regular English course. This issue will impede the development of students' communicative competence. As for students, if they achieve good scores on the first English test, subsequently they may spend little time learning English and their English competences could decline. When they start their university studies, they may have a more difficult time adapting to the new educational environment (Yang & Gu, 2020).

The intention of the policy change is the reduction of risk and burden. If properly implemented, it could provide more freedom for English language education at the high school level and help to shore up the new English-teaching ecosystem to assist students in making a successful transition in English learning from high school to university (Geng, 2019). Therefore, technology plays a role in such assessment policies, but pedagogical and social concerns also need to be addressed.

4 Conclusion

The goal of English language assessment is more than the evaluation of students' English language competence. Assessment aims at guiding the teaching and learning processes to focus more on the development of communicative competence (Abrar-ul-Hassan & Douglas, 2020). The washback effect of assessment may come from either its content or its operation. As discussed in this chapter, changes in the CET test format and different types of examination questions can lead to both positive and negative washback effects on English language education. Technology-enhanced assessment has transformed traditional paper-based assessments and made assessment more convenient and efficient, which in turn brings positive washback effects to English language education.

Since language is the vehicle of cultural knowledge and values, more multilingual resources are expected to be integrated into the future foreign language assessment practices, which in turn will strengthen the use or relevance of students' multilingual resources in their learning process (e.g., Alderson & Wall, 1993; Messick, 1996). It is also advised to balance the proportion of native language culture and target language culture in foreign language assessment in order to emphasize the importance of both learning the foreign culture and informing others of the native culture in foreign languages. In view of the increasing importance of intercultural communication in a global world, multilingualism would be an important theme in foreign language education and assessment in China.

Changes to assessment content as well as practice can leverage the goals of English language teaching and learning, especially in an examination-oriented teaching context, through NMET policy change involving technology-enhanced assessment. This change could lead to a transition from discrete point language testing in the past to integrated language testing today, utilizing the power of technology in assessment. Moreover, the washback effects of English language assessment vary in different teaching contexts. Therefore, assessment should be planned and implemented while considering the significance of different technological, pedagogical, and social factors.

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Chapter 5
The Discursive Constructions of TEFL Key Themes in the National Policies and Curriculum Documents of Two Indonesian Universities and Their Possible Ecological Reconstructions

Ribut Wahyudi

Abstract This book chapter discusses key ELT themes such as ELT Methods, World Englishes, Argumentative Writing, and Cross-cultural Understanding courses from the curriculum documents of Multi-Religious University (MRU) and Islamic University (IU) in Indonesia. In conducting the analysis, I used Foucauldian discourse analysis, among others, through Walshaw's (Working with Foucault in education. Sense Publishers, 2007) work. I situate my analysis on policies and curriculum documents between North–South relations of power, as discussed in Connell's (Southern theory: the global dynamics of knowledge in social sciences. Allen & Unwyn, 2007) *Southern Theory,* a critical sociology and its critiques (Collins in Polit Power Soc Theory 25:137–146, 2013). The findings suggest that ELT Methods appeared to be loosely interpreted in the national policies and TEFL curriculum documents of higher education. American and British Englishes were dominant for both Argumentative Writing and Cross-cultural Understanding courses at IU and were evident in Argumentative Writing at MRU but not for the Cross-cultural Understanding of the latter university. All these findings suggest that the negotiation of power between the global North (e.g., American, European) and South (e.g., Asian, African) was difficult, as argued by Collins (Polit Power Soc Theory 25:137–146, 2013), except for Cross-cultural Understanding at MRU. The findings suggest that Connell's (Southern theory: the global dynamics of knowledge in social sciences. Allen & Unwyn, 2007) call to challenge Northern dominance in social sciences continued to be relevant in the Argumentative Writing course. Closing the chapter, I call for an ecological approach to TEFL policies that promote linguistic diversity and multilingualism (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas in TESOL Q 30:429–452, 1996). This approach is context-sensitive to Indonesian linguistic landscapes (Sugiharto in Int J Appl Linguist 1–16, 2020; Zein in English Today 35:48–53, 2018).

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1 Introduction

Indonesia is a linguistically diverse country with more than 700 local languages. This linguistic diversity gives it the second rank in the world with an approximate total population of 271 million (Widiyani, 2020) and hundreds of ethnic groups with more than 17,000 islands (Forshee, 2006). The Ethnologue (2019) census informs that the number of languages in Indonesia is 722 with 710 as living and the remaining 12 as extinct. According to Hamied (2012), multiple languages such as English, Indonesian (a national language), and local languages are socially used by Indonesians for various purposes. He further argues that the individual exposure of Indonesian citizens to different languages is the desirable asset for the mastery of new languages including English. In these multilingual and multicultural contexts, the English curriculum in Indonesian Higher Education needs to be understood to see whether the teaching of English has been a context-sensitive practice to the multilingual and multicultural landscape of the country. The present study shows how different subjects such as ELT Methods, World Englishes, Argumentative Writing, and Cross-cultural Understanding courses were constructed in curriculum documents and policies.[1]

2 The Status and the Characteristics of IU and MRU

In order to unpack the discursive construction of TEFL key themes and other dominant discourses such as neoliberalism, English curriculum documents from two universities were examined. IU and MRU are categorized as *PTN*[2]*: The government-funded Badan Layanan Umum* (University as Public Service Agency/UPSA). The services of these universities are not based on profit as both have minimal autonomy to generate their income. IU's English department aims to produce graduates who have "strong faith, deep *spirituality*, noble morality, broad *knowledge,* and mature *professionalism*" according to its Academic Guidance document (2011, emphasis added). The objective of MRU's, on the other hand, is to produce graduates "who have the vision of *national culture*, global mindset, and have *entrepreneurship* spirit and awareness" according to its Academic Guidance document (2014, emphasis added).

Thus, *spirituality* and *faith* are integrated into knowledge and professionalism in the IU context. Although the neoliberal discourse such as seeking "competitive graduates" has appeared in the National Qualification Framework 2012, this discourse was

[1] This chapter is the revised version of chapter five of the author's dissertation (Wahyudi, 2018).

[2] PTN stands for Perguruan Tinggi Negeri, which means state universities. Other than state universities, there are private higher education institutions in Indonesia. I use the phrase higher education institutions because they are not only universities but also institutes, academies, and polytechnics (Pengakalan Data Pendidikan Tinggi: https://forlap.ristekdikti.go.id/perguruantinggi/homegraphpt).

still absent in the vision of IU's English department. At MRU, it is clear that neoliberal discourse, as reflected in the phrase "entrepreneurship spirit and awareness," has been adopted along with national culture discourse (Wahyudi, 2018).

The visions of the English departments both in IU and MRU suggest that each vision is not monolithic. At IU, it is a combination of spirituality, knowledge, and professionalism, while at MRU, it is the juxtaposition between national cultures, global mindset, and entrepreneurship elements. The departmental visions in both universities suggest that they are the complex interplay between different factors, including neoliberal features, spirituality, professionalism, global mindset, and national cultures. This fact appeared to resonate with Ricento's (2000) argument that ideologies of language are connected to other ideologies, "which may influence and constrain the development of language policies" (p. 4).

3 Procedure

This chapter investigates how different TEFL key themes were constructed in the Academic Guidance documents, syllabi, and course outlines available at IU and MRU. Foucauldian discourse analysis (Walshaw, 2007) and Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory* were used to investigate how TEFL key themes such as Argumentative Writing and Cross-cultural Understanding courses, ELT Methods or methods, and World Englishes were constructed in the nexus of power relations between global South and North. The positioning of TEFL in this nexus is critical to disrupt the current dominant understanding of TESOL which is dominated by the global North (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020). Altogether, there is a need to go beyond the dominant understanding of subjects of TEFL such as Argumentative Writing and Cross-cultural Understanding courses in Indonesia. For instance, the Argumentative Writing course represented a dominant understanding and in that it merely adopted the Western structure, e.g., consisting of introduction, body, and concluding paragraph (Kamler, 2001; Schneer, 2014). This structure neglected existing Argumentative Writing styles, such as the one available from India (Kachru, 2009).

Foucauldian discourse analysis was used to explore how the discourses in the curriculum documents constructed subjects (Walshaw, 2007) such as Argumentative Writing and Cross-cultural Understanding courses as well as World Englishes and ELT Methods in the curriculum documents. Walshaw (2007) explained that discourses for Foucault imply social organizations and practices at different historical times, which "structure institutions and constitutes individuals as thinking, feeling and acting subjects" (p. 19). In this definition, discourses are so powerful, and in that, they can construct people's subjectivity. The key concepts used in the study include discourse, discursive practice, disciplinary practice, sovereign power, and key terms.

Using Foucauldian discourse analysis, which is the product of European thought, is not sufficient in my study to capture the complexity of teaching of English(es) in the global South in an Indonesian Islamic university. For a better understanding of the phenomenon, the teaching of English needs to be framed within institutional

context, i.e., by instilling Islamic values. Here, Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory* was chosen to capture this complexity.

Foucauldian discourse analysis is complemented by the use of Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory* to capture the inclusivity of TESOL/TEFL toward alternative forms of knowledge from global South such as World Englishes, and the localization of English in the Indonesian context. The analytic tools of Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory* focus on four key ideas. Firstly, the theory promotes "multicentered social science." This means that Connell's *Southern Theory* promotes social sciences which can circulate the social experiences from the people outside the global elites. Secondly, the theory stimulates a critique toward a sensitive issue such as neoliberalism. Connell (2007) reported that when critiquing neoliberalism, social activists find themselves contesting massive lies and distortions by governments and corporate-funded think-tanks. Thirdly, the theory promotes the need for social sciences to produce many forms of knowledge which serve democratic movements' needs. Finally, the theory advocates the need for social sciences to be relevant to democracy because, as Connell argues, social science itself is "a field of democratic action" (p. 231). Connell (2007) proposed Southern Theory to counter the dominant Sociological theory from the global North (Europe and North American) thinkers to argue that the knowledge from the global South is equally legitimate. As she contended, the dominant theories have four significant weaknesses: They claim universality, reading from the center, the exclusion of postcolonial theorists, and the erasure of colonial experience (Connell, 2007).

The relevant national documents for higher education analyzed in this study were *Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia*, *Nomor 60 Tahun 1999 Tentang Pendidikan Tinggi* (The regulation of Indonesian Government No 60, 1999 about Higher Education), *Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional No 232/U/2000 Tentang Pedoman Penyusunan Kurikulum Pendidikan Tinggi dan Penilaian Hasil Belajar Mahasiswa* (The Decree of the Minister of National Education No 232/U/2000 about the Guidance of Curriculum Design for Higher Education and Students' Assessment) and *Undang Undang Republik Indonesia No. 12 Tahun 2012 Tentang Pendidikan Tinggi* (The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia No. 12, 2012 about Higher Education).

4 Findings and Discussion

The first key theme was the Argumentative Writing course. In general, the documents suggest the process and genre approaches to teaching writing following a traditional rhetoric (thesis, body, and conclusion). In the course outline of the IU document, the keywords such as brainstorming, outlining, drafting, proofreading, peer editing, revising, and publishing appeared. These keywords suggest the process approach to teaching writing. In one-semester teaching plan, the structure of the Argumentative Writing essay includes arguments, counter arguments, and refutations which show the mainstream component of the Argumentative Writing essay (Schneer, 2014).

The second key theme was the Cross-cultural Understanding course. There were contradictory findings about how the courses were constructed at IU and MRU. For example, at IU, Inner Circle English cultures were privileged, and in that, they were made as the metric for cultural comparisons. In MRU, the Cross-cultural Understanding course was inclusive as the focus was on interethnic cultures.

The third major theme was ELT Methods. In general, there was no explicit mentioning of ELT Methods in either national or university documents. It was likely that these methods were considered as part of lecturers' autonomy, including the possibility of using methods outside the dominant methods. Furthermore, it was also possible that ELT Methods are bound to disciplinary practices. The Argumentative Writing course at both IU and MRU showed that both process and genre approaches were more relevant and evident to discuss than ELT Methods.

The fourth major theme was World Englishes. In general, the documents did not allow generalization. Inner Circle Englishes were evident and privileged in the Cross-cultural Understanding course at IU. In MRU, the emphasis on interethnic cultures suggested that the course was accommodative to diversity and multilingualism. In the Argumentative Writing course at both universities, process and genre approaches suggested that the course was constructed by the dominant rhetoric from the West.

4.1 The Constructions of ELT Methods (Methods)

ELT Methods are absent in the Academic Guidance documents for both universities. However, some aspects of the methods are revealed in the course outlines such as types of learning and teaching activities (e.g., brainstorming, outlining, drafting, etc.) in the Argumentative Writing course of MRU, and the role of instructional model (e.g., teachers' talk, discussion and practice) if seen from Richards' and Rodgers' (2014) division of methods as *approach*, *design*, and *procedure*. In the Cross-cultural Understanding course of both universities, there were no rigid steps enacted as was the case for the Argumentative Writing course. This difference might be affected by the nature of the course itself where Argumentative Writing is a skills-based course, whereas Cross-cultural Understanding is a content course.

The absence of the constructions of ELT Methods both in the national policies and university curriculum documents suggests that ELT Methods as the global North's academic product were not passed through sovereign power (Foucault, 1975/76) in the specific context of curriculum documents and policy.

4.2 The Constructions of the Argumentative Writing Courses at IU and MRU

At IU, the Argumentative Writing course was designed to *enhance* "the students' skills in writing argumentative essays in the academic context." The approach to teach the course was a process approach. This approach can be seen from the available course outline:

> At the end of the course, the students *should* express ideas through written text in the form of Argumentative Essays by using *writing strategies* such as *brainstorming*, *outlining*, *drafting*, *proofreading*, *peer editing*, *revising*, and *publishing*. (Course Outline, Argumentative Writing, IU)

The use of the modal term "should" indicates that the faculty strongly desire that the students become able to express their ideas through argumentative essays. The writing strategies such as *brainstorming, outlining, drafting,* and *proofreading* may function as a set of technical terms to transmit, impose, and maintain the *discursive practice* (see Foucault, 1977). The *process approach* to writing was positioned as the conditions of possibility (Foucault, 2010). In the process approach, writing is a "non-linear, exploratory, and generative process." The "writers discover and reformulate their ideas as they attempt to approximate meaning" (Zamel, 1983 as cited in Hyland, 2003, p. 11). The mentioned writing strategies serve as the constitution of design and procedures (Richard & Rodgers, 2014). The process approach above suggests that Western discourses of Argumentative Writing have formed into knowledge and become entrenched in the curriculum document (see Foucault, 1980).

At MRU, the Argumentative Writing course "is designed to enhance the students' competence in writing especially argumentative essays … the students will analyze *the actual issues* in the society. The students will defend the stance of the issues in the form of argumentative essay" (Academic Guidance, 2014). There is no further explanation of whether the actual issues mean global or local issues.

The module for one-semester teaching plan (February–June 2015, MRU) designed by the lecturers' team did not provide an apparent characteristic of their teaching approach. However, the model shows that the writing consisted of the three-staged writing steps: *introduction, body,* and *conclusion*, similar to a genre approach to academic writing, as proposed by Hyland (1990). Schneer (2014) categorized this three-stage writing model as traditional rhetoric.

As shown in the one-semester teaching plan, the structure of the Argumentative Writing essay includes: "(1) the components of essay, (2) argumentative statement, (3) counter-argument, and (4) refuting and conceding the opposition" (Argumentative Writing, MRU).

The Argumentative Writing course description was taken from *Rencana Program Kegiatan Pembelajaran Semester* (RPKPS),[3] which was an activity program for one semester. The RPKPS described that the Argumentative Writing course was "to equip the students with writing argumentative essay skills in English." Three types

[3] This RPKPS is similar to the course outline.

of teaching and learning activities enacted were "*ceramah, diskusi dan praktek*" (the lecturer gives a talk), discussion, and practice (writing). I would categorize these three types as *design* using Richards' and Rodgers' (2014) term. Giving a talk, asking the students to have discussions, and practice writing might be used as techniques to make them subject to disciplinary regimes of power (Foucault, 1982).

The process and genre approaches to teaching Argumentative Writing are the products of a Western rhetoric (Kamimura & Oi, 1998) or Australian genre (Kamler, 2001). In that regard, the approaches to teaching the Argumentative Writing course and the course outline were the products of Western rhetorical tradition, making the West as the center. Other rhetorical types in the Argumentative Writing course remained absent. This fact still poses a challenge for the proposal of multilingual education, which advocates diversity (Sugiharto, 2020; Zein, 2018). This Argumentative Writing course at both universities did not accommodate the Argumentative Writing style outside the dominant Western model. For example, the possibility of an Argumentative Writing style grounded in an Indian context which proposes a circular rhetoric was absent (Kachru, 2009). This style is more closely aligned to Indonesian students who are also from a similar circular rhetorical tradition. This is not to suggest that we should abandon the teaching of Western writing style but rather the teaching of Argumentative Writing needs to be more inclusive of different rhetorical traditions both from the global North and South. As per the current state, the dominance of Western tradition in Argumentative Writing was not compatible for multilingual and multicultural contexts of Indonesia. Thus, this Western dominance poses a challenge for multilingual education in Indonesia.

4.3 The Constructions of the Cross-Cultural Understanding Course at IU and MRU

The dominance of Inner Circle Englishes emerged in the constructions of Cross-cultural Understanding at IU. The construction of Cross-cultural Understanding at MRU, however, showed that Inner Circle Englishes were not dominant. At IU, Inner Circle Englishes were made as the frame of references for understanding cultures in diverse aspects of life:

> This course is designed to provide students with a comparative understanding of the *UK, USA, and Australia*'s cultural values as well as their distinctions to Indonesia. The materials to be discussed cover family, educational, political, moral, social, and religious values in those countries. After learning this course, the students are expected to have cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity to respect cultural differences. (Academic Guidance, 2011)

This finding indicates that American, Australian, and British cultural values were positioned as privileged *subjects* compared to other cultures. It also suggested that other English varieties were excluded (Foucault, 1971). The quote also suggests that the Cross-cultural Understanding course at IU was constructed concerning the dominance of power attributed to the global North. This finding resonates with the

Cross-cultural Understanding course constitution in Gandana's and Parr's (2013) study, which made Inner Circle Englishes as the target cultures. The course description above suggests that Inner Circle Englishes remained hegemonic (Gandana, 2014; Wahyudi, 2018) at IU. The Cross-cultural Understanding course at IU still enacted a monolingual paradigm which was not sensitive to diversity (Sugiharto, 2020; Zein, 2018).

The construction of Cross-cultural Understanding at MRU, on the contrary, appeared to be inclusive of local cultures.

> This course aims to give cross-cultural understanding to students to apply their CCU knowledge, especially among *interethnic groups*. This course is vital for students who study a foreign language. In principle, language is part of the culture, and cross-cultural understanding will help them be aware of cross-culturally in society. As a part of the culture, language has non-linguistic aspects (in the form of cultural values) attached in the language outlook. (Academic Guidance, 2014)

This passage indicates that there was no privilege of particular Inner Circle countries. A Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU was constructed as an inclusive subject in that all cultures were given an equal space. The construction of Cross-cultural Understanding at MRU challenged the dominance of Inner Circle Englishes in the typical intercultural course in Indonesia (Gandana & Parr, 2013). The construction of Cross-cultural Understanding at MRU which was inclusive of interethnic groups in Indonesia mirrors the TEGCOM principles to teach a content course. These teaching principles diversify points of reference from Anglo-countries to diverse global contexts (Lin et al., 2005). The above construction of the course also resonates with an ecological approach which promotes diversity (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). This finding makes an exception for the dominance of Inner Circle Englishes in the earlier findings. In this specific context, the Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU was accommodative of multilingualism. Therefore, the dominance of Inner Circle Englishes in the TEFL language policy and documents in Indonesian universities and other EFL contexts should not be generalized. In this specific case, the negotiation of the global North dominance is possible; making Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory* argument relevant.

4.4 The Constructions of World Englishes at IU and MRU

The former sections' findings suggest that Inner Circle Englishes were pervasive in both Argumentative Writing and Cross-cultural Understanding courses at IU but not in Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU. Most findings suggested the hegemonic power of the global North. At the MRU, the dominance of Inner Circle Englishes was explicit in the process-genre approach adopted in Argumentative Writing course. In general, the dominant Western discourses in the Argumentative Writing course in both universities suggested that they have become in Foucauldian sense, *disciplinary practice* (O'Farrell, 2005, 2019). A Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU provided a space for plurality and diversity. In that

regard, in most contexts, monolingual orientation to English language policies both at IU and MRU remained uninterrupted (Sugiharto, 2020). The inclusivity of Cross-cultural Understanding at MRU might be due to the vision of the department which upholds "national culture." The national culture in Indonesia consists of interethnic cultures as constituted in the vision of English department of MRU. The inclusivity of Cross-cultural Understanding at MRU might also be shaped by the policymakers' understanding that interculturality is "not exclusive to English" (Holmes & Dervin, 2016, p. 1).

5 Deconstruction and Reconstruction of English Curriculum Policy in Indonesian Universities: A Way Forward

The absence of ELT Methods from national policies and university curriculum documents at both universities suggested that the methods might be loosely interpreted in the higher education context, as distinct from the mandated ELT Methods in Indonesian secondary schools (Gandana, 2014). However, disciplinary practices in the Argumentative Writing course seemed to be more evident, especially in the construction of process approaches to teaching Argumentative Writing at IU and a typical genre approach and traditional rhetoric to teaching the same course at MRU, as constructed in the course syllabus. Similarly, Inner Circle cultures were privileged in the Cross-cultural Understanding course at IU but were not the case in the Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU. The dominance of Western rhetoric was evident in the Argumentative Writing course at both universities. The dominance of the Western rhetoric in the teaching of the Argumentative Writing course suggested that a monolingual approach remains hegemonic in this course. This hegemony made a real challenge for the development of language ecology (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996) and multilingualism (Sugiharto, 2020; Zein, 2018) especially in the Argumentative Writing course because an alternative form of rhetoric in the Argumentative Writing essay [e.g., from India (Kachru, 2009)] was marginalized. This fact was not in line with the multicultural and multilingual context of Indonesia where people are multilinguals who need to be taught many forms of social sciences (Connell, 2007). The exceptional case was found in the inclusivity of interethnic cultures of the Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU. This exceptional case needs a further investigation of whether this promotion of diversity is related to the promotion of "national culture" or more inclusive knowledge performed by those involved in making the course description of the Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU.

Apart from that, the dominance of Western discourse in the Argumentative Writing course at both universities and Inner Circle cultures in a Cross-cultural Understanding course at IU suggested Collins' (2013) argument that negotiating the relations of power between global North and South was mostly difficult is true but they did

not apply in all contexts. This was proven by the inclusivity of a Cross-cultural Understanding course at MRU which promoted interethnic cultures.

The problematic issues existed in the teaching of Argumentative Writing both at MRU and IU. The dominance of the traditional rhetorical components (thesis—body—conclusion) as well as process and genre approaches from the West in the Argumentative Writing course excluded other rhetorical traditions from the global South. This Western dominance did not provide space for Asian rhetorical patterns of Argumentative Writing. The Western dominance in the Argumentative Writing course was not suitable for Indonesia which is a multilingual and multicultural country. This situation needs to be transformed by enacting a plurilingual approach to teaching Argumentative Writing. In this approach, different rhetorical patterns from different geographical locations such as Europe, USA, and Asia can be all taught. This approach needs to be constituted in the TEFL curriculum policy of Indonesian universities.

A similar problematic issue also needs to be addressed in the Cross-cultural Understanding course of IU. In this course, British, American, and Australian cultures were made as a metric of comparison. The problems also require the constitution of TEFL language policy, which embraces diversity and inclusivity by allowing different writing styles and diverse cultures to be discussed in the field. In that case, a plurilingual approach to TEFL language policy is an urgent need. Following from the *Action Agenda for the TESOL Profession* (2017), this policy should include making multilingualism as the norm, using Indonesian/local languages to facilitate learning English(es), and creating materials and enacting assessment away from an "idealized native speaker" model. However, these recommendations would not apply to the Cross-cultural Understanding course in MRU as the course at this university has been accommodative to diversity.

In conclusion, based on the above findings, a proposal to adopt a plurilingual approach such as setting attainable goals, using plurilingual competence and translanguaging activities (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013), and accommodating individual and dynamic needs of society (Reynolds, 2019) to TEFL language policy is required in Indonesian universities. However, the proposal to adopt a plurilingual approach to TEFL policy should be seen from its specific contexts.

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Chapter 6
English Language Teaching Development in the Midst of Morocco's Continuing Language Policy Conundrum

Awatif Boudihaj and Meriem Sahli

Abstract Language policy in multilingual Morocco has been extremely controversial and largely politicized. It has historically sparked an enormous debate and engendered multiple reforms that have relied on political manoeuvers rather than educational and experts' opinions. This chapter provides a description of Morocco's complex linguistic landscape and discusses the impacts of the implemented language policy reforms on multilingualism in Morocco and the quality of education. It further evaluates the development of English language teaching (ELT)/English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in Morocco and its relation to other existing languages. The chapter then highlights the challenges in promoting a linguistic environment where national/official languages (Modern Standard Arabic and Tamazight) and foreign languages (French, English, and Spanish) can coexist and develop under cultural harmony.

1 Introduction

Morocco is a linguistically rich country with a variety of dialects and multiple languages that play a key role in maintaining and enhancing the country's intangible cultural heritage. Morocco is a historically multilingual and multicultural nation that has encountered different linguistic cultures since the beginning of the twentieth century as a result of the French and Spanish colonization and recently globalization. Despite multilingualism, Moroccans are largely loyal to their vernaculars (Moroccan Arabic and Berber) as they constitute a core value of their Arabo-Islamic and Berber cultural identity. The Moroccan speakers range from monolingual speakers of either Moroccan Arabic or Berber, bilingual speakers of Arabic and Berber or Arabic and French to multilingual speakers of Arabic, Berber, French, and Spanish/English.

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In recent years, English has been steadily increasing among Moroccan students and among the Moroccan educated community due to international processes and the growing number of private higher education institutions and secondary/middle international schools where English is the EMI. English has witnessed unprecedented development and has become a language associated with academic excellence, enhanced job opportunities, and personal growth. Opportunities for obtaining scholarships for higher education studies abroad and well-paid jobs are contingent upon attaining a good competency in English. Under this situation, demands for the government to enhance the number of hours of teaching English in the school curriculum and even the inclusion of English as the first foreign language instead of French have become stronger than ever before. Despite these demands, the French language continues to thrive in the sociocultural, economic, and educational environments of the country, whereas the national languages are merely surviving and are not seen as particularly important in the job market. Arabic is being compartmentalized in domains which do not directly have an impact on the economic and technological development of the country.

This complex linguistic situation has been a source of an ongoing debate that is ideologically, sociopolitically, and economically driven and that has made the language situation in Morocco unstable. Ever since Morocco's independence in 1956, conflicts on language policy have constituted a moving target with a fuzzy future. The country has undergone a string of educational reforms to improve its system of education since independence, but most of them, if not all, have been doomed to failure. One of the country's major reforms since independence was the Arabization policy, the goal of which was to restore Arabic in the public/official domain and diminish French, the language of the colonizer and an extension of political and cultural imperialism (Errihani, 2016). Arabization failed to fulfill its role as science and technology subjects are still taught through the French medium at the tertiary level. In 2000, the Charter for Educational Reform came to the rescue of Morocco's educational system and its multilingualism by recognizing the importance and the necessity of foreign languages for the development of the quality of education in Morocco.

2 Linguistic Landscape in Morocco

Due to its strategic location, Morocco has historically been at the crossroads of civilizations as it constitutes a bridge between Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. Morocco's location at the threshold of the Mediterranean Sea has made it open to different cultures over history, namely the Greeks, Phoenicians, Africans, Arabs, the French, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards. These different cultures have contributed to Morocco's linguistic richness and complexity and led the country to embrace a multilingual norm. In fact, from early childhood, Moroccans are confronted with several languages as most Moroccan children grow up speaking at least two languages: the mother tongue and the languages learnt at school. The

mother tongue can be Moroccan Arabic (MA), the spoken dialect in Morocco, or one of the three varieties of the Berber language (Tamazight, Tashelhit, and/or Tarifit). The languages learnt at school are Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and French, a colonial language used as a second language. As to foreign languages, students can choose between English, German, and Spanish. The latter is another colonial language spoken by a minority in the northern border areas and in the south.

2.1 Arabic

Arabic is a supranational language used only in formal situations as it is nobody's mother tongue (Grandguillaume, 1990). It is the language used in literary oral and written discourses and in Muslim prayers and rituals. Being the language of the Quran, classical Arabic (CA) constitutes both a reference and a symbolic tool of the Arabo-Muslim identity, a key factor that has contributed to its privileged status in the Arab and Muslim world, in general, and Morocco, in particular (Ennaji, 2005). According to Article 5 of the 2011 Moroccan Constitution, "Arabic is [demeure] the official language of the State. The State works for the protection and for the development of the Arabic language, as well as the promotion of its use" (Moroccan. Const. art. 5, § 1, 2012). It is employed in religious, political, administrative, legal, and cultural contexts. Since CA is not used as a vehicle of communication in everyday life by Arabs, it was modernized in the nineteenth century to MSA, a modern version of CA. MSA is employed in schools and is used in official and institutional events, for example, in the Moroccan Court and the Parliament. The third variety is MA, which is the language spoken by Moroccans in their daily lives. MA consists of different regional varieties: the urban variety spoken in cities such as Fes and Rabat; the Mountain variety (Jebli) spoken in the Northern part of the country; the Bedouin variety and the Hassani variety spoken in the southern Saharan regions (Boukous, 1998; Ennaji, 2005). All these regional varieties of MA are to a large extent mutually intelligible as they all form a continuum of Moroccan dialects.

The presence of these three varieties of Arabic (CA, MSA, and MA) has created a linguistic situation in Morocco that has been referred to as Triglossia (Youssi, 1995), where the three languages "exhibit a functional, usually hierarchical, relationship between each other" (Loutfi, 2017). CA is the high variety, MSA the median variety, and MA the low variety, though it is the main language of communication among all Moroccans. MSA shares many linguistic features with MA partly through the borrowing of a large number of words from MSA due to schooling, exposure to Arabic media, Moroccan immigration to the Middle East, and the Arabic film industry. MSA remains a unifying language among all Arabs, and this status has given it a strong position in the multilingual context of Morocco.

2.2 Tamazight

Tamazight (Berber) is the native language spoken by the original inhabitants of Morocco, Imazighen (Berber). It enjoys a status of linguistic marker of belonging to the Amazigh community and, thereby, serves as a vehicle of the Amazigh cultural identity (Boukous, 1995). There are three varieties of the Tamazight language, each of which is spoken in different geographical parts of Morocco. Tarifit is spoken in the north and more precisely in the Rif Mountains. Tashelhit is spoken in the southwest of Morocco and in the region of Souss Massa Daràa. Berber is spoken in the Middle Atlas. The latter has the largest number of speakers of Berber in Morocco and covers the largest geographical area (Sirles, 1985). There are differences between the three regional dialects with regard to the phonetic, morphological, and lexical aspects, which makes the three varieties unintelligible and, as a result, MA is frequently used as a means of communication between the speakers of these three different areas.

It was not until 2011 that Tamazight became an official and hence a constitutionalized language alongside Arabic, following a long debate of it being excluded from the public sphere and being oppressed by Arabic. The new law calls for more inclusion of the Berber language in Morocco's public life and the integration of the Tamazight language and culture into the school curriculum, the media, and the administration. Tifinagh alphabet became the official script for the Berber language and was adopted in the teaching of Tamazight in primary schools and primary school textbooks. Today, Tamazight enjoys a stronger position in the Moroccan multilingual setting; however, its implementation in the school curriculum has always raised questions with regard to its practicality and future effectiveness both academically and economically.

2.3 French

In addition to the existing mother tongues, there are many foreign languages in Morocco, namely French, English, and Spanish. French is the most visible and dominant of these foreign languages and can even be considered as a second language since it is the language of learning in higher education for scientific subjects and the language used in administration. French raises the most contradictory judgments: sometimes valued, sometimes ignored or even rejected. So, several questions arise, concerning its importance, its place, its challenges, and prospects.

Since the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco in 1912, French has been used, along with Arabic, in business, diplomacy, and government, and has strongly been introduced to the Moroccan educational system. During the colonial period, France chose a two-track educational system: one advanced system for the social elites and another basic one for the masses (Sahli & Boudihaj, 2021). The former aimed at preparing students for jobs in administration and trade, while the latter was mainly oriented toward handmade jobs such as construction, agriculture,

and fishing. This segregationist educational system made it impossible for these two classes to be intimately and educationally intertwined (Feldmann, 2016). Once France handed over power to Morocco, it was the political and cultural Francophone elite that planted the seeds of Francophonie (Al-Jabri, 1973), and later the promotion and dominance of the French language and culture.

After Morocco got its independence in 1956, the French system of education persisted, especially in terms of its structure and elitist nature (Feldmann, 2016). The persistence of the colonial educational policy is meant to serve the interests of France and guarantee the subordination of the upcoming generation to the French language and France. Most teaching continued to be in French for both scientific and art disciplines, and only later French was partly replaced by Arabic, especially in the teaching of literary, historical, and ideological programs while it assumed the role of "language vehiculaire" for scientific subjects such as math, physics, biology, and economics. This disparity in the teaching roles has in a way instrumentalized already conflicting poles. On the one hand, Arabic serves as a vehicle of identity, national personality and Islam; on the other hand, French is a vector of modernity, science, and technology (Nissabouri, 2005). In 1980, French was fully replaced by Arabic through the Arabization of scientific subjects, which was carried out until the baccalaureate; teaching at the tertiary level remained in French. Till today, French remains an instrument of widely used communication in both formal and informal settings; it is considered as a prestigious language by the ruling class, a means of social advancement, and a key to the job market (Ennaji, 1991).

2.4 English

English was initially introduced to Morocco in the Second World War when American military bases were established in Casablanca, Kenitra, and Tangiers (Jaafari, 2019). Morocco's strategic geographical location has played a key role in the introduction of English to Morocco through diplomatic and trade relations with USA and UK (Ennaji, 2005; Loutfi, 2017; Loutfi & Noamane, 2014). The spread of English in Morocco further witnessed a rise thanks to the emergence of private English language centers, the oldest of which is AMIDEAST that opened its doors in 1950 in the capital city, Rabat, during the colonial period. Thereafter, English has further imposed itself with globalization and the rapid growth of new technologies. This has led to the popularity of English among university students, which has resulted in a large number of enrolled students in the departments of English throughout Morocco (El Kirat, 2008) and a high number of university students graduating with an English major degree (Sadiqi, 2011). A significant number of private universities that use EMI have been established, which has led to the increase of the number of students pursuing their higher education in Moroccan universities with English medium. Al Akhawayn University, which opened in 1995, was the first non-USA, American accredited university to adopt English as its medium of instruction and to follow the American liberal arts model.

The study of the spread of English in Morocco and its status has been a subject of investigation by Moroccan scholars (El Kirat et al., 2010; Ennaji, 2005; Errihani, 2008; Sadiqi, 1991). English is a foreign language just like French, but most importantly English is a language without any colonial undertones, which makes it more popular than French (Buckner, 2011; Sadiqi, 2011). El Kirat (2008) further argues that "unlike French and Spanish, which are a symbol of political and cultural dependence, English has no colonial connotations [in Morocco]. Negative attitude towards French increases the positive attitude towards and popularity of English" (p. 125). With the advent of new technologies, English has become almost a prerequisite to adapt to the high demands of contemporary life and, as a result, "policymakers in Morocco have certainly realized that international communication between Morocco and the rest of the world could not be achieved by French alone; they know that English is the key to communication in a very tangible sense" (Sadiqi, 1991, p. 106). In view of these facts, many Moroccan government officials, educators, and private sector leaders have called for promoting the teaching of English and even adopting it as a medium of instruction instead of French (Errihani, 2017). In a survey conducted by a Moroccan electronic newspaper, Hespress, in 2015, 86% of Moroccans were in favor of switching from French to English in the teaching of science and technology in schools and universities ("Morocco and the English Language Debate", 2018). At the tertiary level, students believe that English is indispensable to their education and will enhance the quality of their research since they feel compelled to use scholarly sources in English when working on their capstones, theses, or dissertations (Belhiah & Abdelatif, 2016). In 2017, the Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Training circulated a memo to Moroccan universities requiring Moroccan doctoral students to publish at least one research article in English prior to their graduation and have their theses abstract written in English (El Kaidi, 2016). As a result, there has been growing demands from institutions of higher education in Morocco to conduct research in English particularly at the doctoral level; however, this is not always feasible due to the professors' and students' low competency level in English, in general.

3 Language Policy in Morocco

3.1 From Monolingualism to Multilingualism

The linguistic situation briefly surveyed above shows that Morocco is characterized by triglossia, bilingualism, and multilingualism in the sense that there are three varieties of Arabic [the high variety (CA), the median variety (MSA), and the low variety (MA)], two layers of bilingualism (MSA-French and Berber-MA) and multilingualism (Arabic, Berber, French, English, and Spanish) (Ennaji, 2005). Despite this multilinguistic reality, Morocco has adopted, after the independence, a language

policy to safeguard its national unity and cultural identity through the Arabization process. To this effect, MSA replaced French in education and administration, creating instead a seemingly monolingual situation in Morocco.

The Arabization process in state education was completed by the end of the 1980s through the Arabization of scientific subjects in all primary and secondary schools. Despite this, French remains an important medium of instruction in the domain of science in higher education. This lack of continuity in the execution of the Arabization process beyond high school has had negative repercussions for students as they are left linguistically unprepared to switch to French at the university level due to their low competency. Their linguistic proficiency in MSA has also been negatively affected since most primary/high school science teachers opt for MA (Darija) as a medium of instruction due to the lack of suitable training and their low level of competence in Arabic. Consequently, the students' current linguistic proficiency in both MSA and their overall performance in both school and university are alarming.

The year of 2000 marked a major change in Morocco's language policy by the institution of the Charter for Educational Reform founded on "the principles of democracy, pluralism and social justice" (Ennaji, 2005, p. 30). It was also mandated in the charter that English be introduced in grade 5 of primary education starting from 2004. This new language policy called for the reinforcement and improvement of Arabic teaching, the diversification of languages for teaching science and technology and an openness to Tamazight language and culture to reflect Morocco's pluralism (Ennaji, 2005). The purpose of the charter was to introduce local languages, namely Tamazight, into the school curriculum, improve learners' competency in MSA, and promote the use of foreign languages for specific purposes. The charter is thus a departure from a monolingual Arabic to a multilingual state educational system.

3.2 ELT/EMI Policy Directions in Multilingual Morocco

Under the 2000 charter, English has become a component of the middle school curriculum with plans to generalize it to all school levels and use it as a medium of instruction alongside Arabic and French. Being aware of the growing importance of English in the field of science and technology and the limited role of the French language in this respect led policymakers to consider introducing English in primary education in grade 4 in 2025 in the National Strategic Vision of Reform 2015–2030 for Education, Training, and Scientific Research (CSEFRS, 2015). This positive attitude toward the promotion of English was also shown in the establishment of the Moroccan International Baccalaureate English option in 2014, where an increased number of hours were allotted to English language classes and English was the medium of instruction in science subjects. However, students who have opted for this option are set up for failure just like mainstream students who study science subjects in Arabic since French remains the only language of instruction in public institutions of higher education.

The teaching and learning of English in Morocco have witnessed further development; thanks to the rapidly growing numbers of American/British private schools and higher education institutions and universities where the medium of instruction is English, and the increasing number of Moroccan students pursuing their higher education in the USA and UK. In fact, the number of private ELT centers and private schools has more than doubled in the last decade in many cities across the country. In public universities, the demand for enrollment in the English departments has exceeded supply due to the high interest in English shown by Moroccan students. As a result, English departments have unprecedently started to require admission tests as part of the application process. The substantial progress in EMI is largely attributed to the creation of Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane (AUI) in 1995, the most prestigious US accredited Moroccan university with a liberal arts model. AUI was a turning point in promoting the teaching of English as a medium of instruction at the national level, guided by its mission to promote academic excellence and form future leaders.

Also, ELT in Morocco is considered to be a developed profession compared to other languages, notably French, due to its innovative and varied teaching methods (Benzahaf as cited in Bouziane, 2018). EMI at AUI has adhered to the student-centered approach to learning and the use of subskills to support this approach through its Center for Academic Development (CAD) that started in 2000. CAD is the first developmental education center of its kind in Morocco that was created to help meet the evolving demands in students' English study skills, information literacy skills, and critical/creative thinking skills. The center was created based on the developmental education philosophy to meet the twenty-first-century skills education and to respond to different stakeholders' needs, demands and expectations. CAD courses are informed by the five core areas (5Cs) in foreign language learning in the twenty-first century, which include: creativity, critical thinking, corporation, collaboration, and communication. The introduction of these skills to Moroccan students has proven to be very valuable, especially that they come from a system that is highly teacher-centered and product-oriented.

4 Conclusions and Recommendations

Moroccan language policy decision-makers are well-aware that communication between Morocco and the rest of the world could not happen through French only, yet the future of English as a medium of instruction in the Moroccan schooling system is still blurry. According to the 2015–2030 Strategic Reform, English will be introduced starting grade four as a foreign language and will maintain the same status along with French in secondary and middle school levels, while Arabic will remain as the only language taught throughout the schooling cycles as a medium of instruction in all subjects (CSEFRS, 2015). However, in 2019, French was back on the scene as a medium of instruction in scientific subjects in high schools, relaunching the debate over the French dominance in Morocco's language policy. This inconsistency

in language planning has brought about a dysfunctional educational system and a linguistically lopsided nation. Language policy is largely responsible for the existing hierarchy among languages in Morocco, creating inequality and even division among Moroccans: A French-speaking community with better job opportunities versus an Arabic-speaking community often left with low-paying jobs.

Language planning in Morocco has always been politically controlled and determined by the ideology of the political party that has more power in the government. Politicians' conflictual beliefs over Arabization and foreign language policy have largely impacted the development of multilingualism in Morocco and, thereby, failed to offer a sound and serene environment for languages to develop in an equal and equitable manner. Debates over maintaining or ending the Arabization process, reinstating French as medium for science subjects and the diversification of foreign languages, notably English, have sparked one of the most controversial debates for the last forty years in Morocco's political scene. This ongoing political debate has formed two main opposing poles: the guardians of Arabic as a vehicle of Islam, Arab nationalism and cultural identity, and the allies of the Francophonie as a vector of modernity and social stratification. In the midst of this conflict, the overwhelming majority of young people, parents, and educators strongly demand that French be replaced by English, which will be impossible to achieve in an economic and political context monopolized by the French elites as argued by Jaafari (2019):

> What is certain is that the fervent defenders of the Francophonie will struggle again to impose French because they are finding it harder to take a backseat and watch English become the first foreign language in Morocco and the lingua franca of the world, in addition to seeing Arabic gain more ground and strength in Morocco. (p. 137)

For the Moroccan educational system to embrace the twenty-first-century education and empower generation Z learners, it first needs a total restructuring with regards to the mediums of instruction in primary, secondary, and university levels. Morocco needs a democratization of education through the refocusing on MSA and Tamazight languages that symbolize its cultural identity and the promotion of foreign languages that are essential for interaction with the outside world. Arabic and Tamazight need to thrive and not merely survive in the Moroccan linguistic, social, and economic sphere. Judicious reforms are needed to enhance the spheres of influence of both Arabic and Tamazight languages and cultures through enabling these two languages to fulfill their roles as official languages. The scope and focus of Morocco's language policy should be reversed from marginalizing to promoting national official languages.

Language policy in a multilingual context deserves careful language planning that entails a clear vision and long-term strategic goals, not conjectures, ideological motives and/or decisions, adopted in haste and in a non-integrated fashion. Language planning should also involve all stakeholders, mainly those who are facing the worst impacts of language policy and who have no voice in the political debate about what to do to preserve national languages and to equally promote foreign ones. School principals, teachers, education officials, parents (both Arab and Berber natives) should participate in language planning at all levels, especially in a context where language policy has been taken hostage by the French elites in power and any attempts for

its democratization have been relentlessly hampered. Morocco should reconcile the power of French with national languages and foreign languages. It should empower Arabic and Berber to become real and not just apparent vehicles of education, administration, and media and promote other languages, especially English, a lingua franca, that would equip graduates to work in a globalized society and enrich the country as a whole.

The challenges awaiting all Moroccans are how to transcend dependency on French, change the disparaging attitudes to Arabic and Berber, reverse a sociopolitical and socioeconomic context from suppressing to promoting national languages, embrace linguistic openness, and develop a sound climate conducive to a progressive and balanced multilingualism.

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Chapter 7
The Mythic and the Authentic Value of English in the African Classroom: A Policy Perspective

Barbara Trudell

Abstract Since the earliest days of colonial rule, the English language has held pride of place in formal education curricula across the swathes of Africa that were subject to British colonial rule. English is seen as the language of development and socioeconomic advancement, "a warrant for success in professional life" (Ngomo in Language policy for the multilingual classroom: Pedagogy of the possible. Multilingual Matters, p. 140, 2011). The dominant positioning of English in formal education contexts is rooted in a series of inaccurate, largely disproven myths about the role of English in learning and life. At the same time, the English language does have a legitimate role in the education systems of Anglophone Africa. These roles and expectations of English must be understood and addressed, if African states are to attain a multilingualism that benefits learners and the nation as a whole. This chapter examines the mythical and the authentic value of the English language for formal learning in Anglophone Africa. It concludes that the appropriate use of the first language (L1) and English, as medium of instruction and subject in primary classrooms, can make these languages into *two strong pillars of successful learning*, among children for whom the likelihood of successful learning is otherwise not high at all.

1 Introduction

As a language-learning strategy, the teaching of English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) is conceptually a non-discriminating, value-adding activity. In African contexts, the TESOL approach holds advantages over terms such as "English as a second language" and "English as a foreign language," because it makes no assumptions regarding national language policy or the degree of national-level English language fluencies. However, in many of those same contexts, the perceived "benefits" of learning English actually support a hegemonic status for the

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English language, eclipsing other languages in the nation's repertoire and driving pedagogically ruinous education policy.

Since the earliest days of European colonial activity on the African continent, the English language has held pride of place in formal education curricula across the swathes of Africa that were subject to British colonial rule. Independence from Britain in the mid-to-late twentieth century did not affect the perceived value of English in these countries; indeed, with the impact of economic and cultural globalization, the perceived value of English in Anglophone Africa has increased (e.g., Al'Abri, 2011; Babaci-Wilhite et al., 2015). National education policies and governance policies in the region mandate the use of English (Anyidoho, 2018; Banda & Mwanza, 2017); indeed, the term "anglophone," as it is applied to a number of African nations today, is a policy term rather than a description of language mastery or identification with the language (Wolff, 2013).

The instrumental attraction of English is extensive and powerful in these nations. The economic dimension of English underpins its attraction (Ricento, 2015a); English is seen as the language of development and socioeconomic advancement (Higgins, 2009), and "a warrant for success in professional life" (Ngomo, 2011, p. 140).

Nevertheless, English fluency in Anglophone African nations is generally limited to a relatively small population of elites and is often linked to extensive exposure to formal education. This unequal mastery of English between the relatively few African elites and the large non-elite African population serves to facilitate what Myers-Scotton has termed *elite closure* (Myers-Scotton, 1993), a strategy often used by political and social elites to maintain their status and privilege by limiting access to the language of power.

One outcome of the unrealistic valuing of English in these contexts is that African languages have been largely denied recognition or support as vehicles of formal learning. This disregard of the languages actually spoken by the pupil populations takes place despite extensive research findings regarding the central importance of the first language (L1)-medium of learning for content mastery (Collier & Thomas, 2017; Taylor & Coetzee, 2013). English is considered the legitimate language of schooling and is seen to hold tremendous promise for the learner who can master it. Education authorities, classroom teachers, parents and students alike remain convinced that English-medium learning, beginning as soon as possible in the child's educational career, will bring the desired educational, social, and economic outcomes (Mkandawire, 2017; Olagbaju & Akinsowon, 2014)—despite the empirical evidence against this belief where the vast majority of Africa's learners are concerned (Arcand & Grin, 2013; Global Education Monitoring Report, 2016; Romaine, 2015). This particular language ecology is in large part responsible for the widely recognized failure to learn that characterizes millions of pupils across Anglophone Africa (Uwezo, 2013, 2019a, 2019b).

Yet English has a legitimate and potentially beneficial place in the governance, economic, and educational spheres of Anglophone Africa. Establishing that place is a matter of understanding what drives language policy in anglophone nations,

confronting and discrediting the myths about the value of English in the classroom, and establishing language practices in which local languages and English are mutually supportive contributors to the learning process.

2 Drivers of Language Policy in African Nations

The curricular roles allocated to English in African contexts are the result of intentional language policy decisions, intended to lead to a desired national future in the global community of nations (Anyidoho, 2018; Banda & Mwanza, 2017). The intentionality of these language policy choices reflects deeply held aims and aspirations related to national identity.

National language policy is typically cited in national governance documents such as the constitution and/or in national education policy documents (Trudell, 2016). In many Anglophone African nations, the language policy is held only within the Ministry of Education. Such ministerial-level policy statements tend to be more vulnerable to change than are policies that are grounded in a higher legal framework.

A close examination of language policy formulation and change across Anglophone Africa indicates that national language policy, whatever its content, tends to thrive under certain conditions (Shohamy, 2006; Trudell & Piper, 2013):

- Where the policy is seen as reflecting a radical new national direction;
- Where the policy reflects a strong stance related to national identity;
- Where the state is strong enough to provide resourcing for the policy and to align other policies to support it;
- And where local appropriation of the policy aligns with national policy, even if the national policy is not enforced.

Language policy that is not reflective of the aspirations and identity of the nation's leaders is vulnerable to frequent changes and inadequate implementation. In addition, where language policy does not resonate with local aspirations and beliefs about language, local support and implementation are negligible (Shohamy, 2006; Trudell & Piper, 2013).

However, decision-makers in African governments also encounter pressure from international bodies in making language policy choices (Kymlicka & Grin, 2003). The promotion of African languages of instruction by international organizations, including UNESCO, the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) and the African Union, is one source of such pressure (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). In addition, in the last decade, three of the largest donors to education in Anglophone African nations have expressed significant support for the use of African languages for instruction in primary classrooms: USAID (2018), the World Bank (2019), and the UK Government's Department for International Development

(DfID).[1] However, the evidence from early-grade reading programs in a range of African nations over the past ten years indicates that donors' language policy may not actually exert long-term influence on national language policy choices.

3 Myths and Truths About English in the Classroom

For many education stakeholders in Anglophone Africa, classroom research evidence does not provide a convincing argument for L1-medium language policy; many other factors are in play for these stakeholders. National policies, as well as the local "policy" decisions made by parents and teachers where language of instruction is concerned, are influenced by a range of beliefs about language, learning, and success in life. Many of these beliefs take on the character of myth: non-rational, yet firmly held, and impervious to evidence or logic (Orwenjo, 2012).

The most powerful and widespread myths about language in the classroom include the four described below.

3.1 The Overriding Value of English for Children's Success in Life

English and formal education have been firmly linked in the minds of Anglophone African communities for more than a century (Gifford & Weiskel, 1971). The value of English was established in British colonial Africa; formal education systems were set up to train Africans to serve the colonial administration, and the role of English became central to the economic and social outcomes most desired by parents (Ball, 1983; Bude, 1993; Orwenjo, 2012).

This belief about the value of English, and its links to the perceived benefits of formal education, continues today (McKinney, 2017; Opoku-Amankwa & Brew-Hammond, 2011). It is largely seen in stakeholder insistence on using English as the medium of instruction from as early in the child's educational career as possible (Robertson & Graven, 2020; Romaine, 2015). This myth even influences Africans' beliefs about the adequacy of their own languages; Djité (2008) notes that "laypeople, as well as the so-called elite, have been so much taken in by the myths about African languages that they no longer believe their own language capable of intellectualization" (p. 62). Indeed, the foreignness of the English language actually strengthens the perception that it is an appropriate classroom feature (Trudell, 2019).

This myth of the overriding value of English-medium schooling persists, though it has been disproven many times over, across the curriculum (Robertson & Graven,

[1] https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/685536/DFID-Education-Policy-2018a.pdf.

2020; Taylor & Coetzee, 2013) and even where English language learning itself is concerned (Adebayo & Oyebola, 2016).

3.2 How Languages Are Learned

Another prevalent myth about the desirability of English-medium instruction from the earliest grades has to do with an inaccurate understanding of how English may be best acquired. Trudell et al. (2015, p. 142) describe this belief that the most effective way to build fluency in a language the learner does not speak is to "maximize the time spent using that language as the medium of instruction, without building fluency in that language first and without using the learner's first language as a resource."

The "commonsense" view of language acquisition among these stakeholders is that English can and should be learned the way home or community languages are learned: by listening to and reproducing the language performance of others. This is a fallacy, because English is generally not spoken or heard by early-grade children in this way; its use is confined to the "silo" that is the formal classroom (Trudell, 2006). In that silo, English fluency is expected from Day 1, with no opportunity given for learning it before using it as the medium of instruction.

As for the belief in "the younger the better," research indicates that, although young children are typically skillful at mimicking the sounds of a new language, the greater cognitive ability of older children makes them better language learners overall. Van Ginkel (2014) cites several studies in European classrooms indicating that students who start to learn English at 10–11 years of age make more progress in the same amount of time of learning than young children do.

3.3 The Economics of Language Choice in Education

Two other common myths about the language of instruction center on the economics of language choice. One of these myths claims that learning as much English as possible will translate into better employment opportunities for African learners. English fluency is associated with the urban white-collar job market, itself seen as a highly desirable, well-paying employment environment. This myth has its roots in the early British colonial context, as noted in Sect. 3.1 above.

Studies carried out by language economists disagree. Arcand and Grin (2013) found that, when measured by gross domestic product per capita, widespread competence in English is not associated with higher levels of economic development. In fact, "ethnolinguistic diversity is associated not with lower, but with *higher* levels of per-capita income" (p. 262). Ricento (2015a) observes that, for African learners, the notion that English fluency will lead to higher income holds true only when such fluency is combined with skills that are attained in higher education, not generally accessible to the majority of the population.

The other myth of language economics is that a multilingual education system is prohibitively expensive for the state to maintain (Orwenjo, 2012). This myth is another "commonsense" belief, based on the assumption that multiplying languages of instruction will multiply the associated costs as well. Despite its currency, this myth has been thoroughly disproved. Kymlicka and Grin (2003) calculate that moving from a monolingual to a bilingual education system adds less than five percent to the national education budget. Heugh (2011) demonstrates that the higher repetition and drop-out rates that characterize monolingual classroom instruction actually make such education *more* expensive than bilingual education.

The persistence of these economic myths, despite the evidence against them, actually damages the economic prospects of African states and citizens that hold them. As Romaine (2015) notes:

> The rush to adopt English as a medium of instruction around the world at increasingly earlier ages virtually guarantees that most children in the poorest countries will be left behind, especially the bottom billion in Africa and South Asia. (pp. 259–260)

3.4 English Outside the Classroom

Language choices outside the formal school system have more latitude than those in the classroom and can respond more flexibly to communicative context and content. However, the myth remains that knowledge related to "developed" global contexts must be communicated in a global language. This myth is supported to some extent by the lack of vocabulary development in local languages for the technological and development domains. Mweri (2020) notes an over-reliance on foreign languages in the development sphere, based on "the false belief that English (read foreign) language education equals development" (p. 15). Okafor and Noah (2014) note that language tends to be taken for granted in development programming in Nigeria and is assumed to be irrelevant to social and economic processes.

As a result, "where English is not the language in which most people communicate, there is also likely to be great exclusion in terms of development" (Mweri, 2020, p. 15). Okafor and Noah's own experience is that "language and development are so interrelated that it is impossible to talk of development without mentioning language" (2014, p. 274).

4 The Authentic Value of English in the African Classroom

Despite these inaccurate and widespread myths related to using English as a medium of instruction, the English language can be a powerful aid to success in the African classroom. If acquired adequately and appropriately, English can also mediate the broader acquisition of knowledge, lifelong learning, and citizenship—as well as enabling national elites to support and protect their communities of origin.

4.1 Pedagogical Value

Arguably, the greatest pedagogical value that English fluency confers on the learner in Anglophone Africa is access to secondary and higher education. While African languages often feature in lower primary grades (sometimes in compliance with national language policy, but often due to the lack of teacher and pupil fluency in the official language of instruction), their presence in upper primary grades is less often condoned. By secondary school, where the language of instruction is normally an international language, local language practices in the classroom are considered inappropriate and unhelpful to the student. Thus, in Anglophone African nations, fluency in English is a strong advantage to the postprimary learner.

This authentic value of English in no way requires English-medium learning throughout the primary grades. Learning English, like learning any subject, is best done in a language medium that the pupil understands. Longitudinal research on language and learning in the USA concludes that "the most powerful predictor of language minority student achievement in the second language is nonstop development of students' L1 through the school curriculum" (Collier & Thomas, 2017, p. 204). This conclusion has been confirmed in numerous studies of African classrooms (Schroeder et al., Forthcoming) and is reflected in the British Council's 2017 position statement on language of instruction:

> if young students in low- or middle-income countries are taught in their own or a familiar language, rather than English, they are more likely to understand what they are learning and be more successful academically, including in L2 as a subject. (Simpson, 2017, p. 13)

4.2 Knowledge from Beyond the Community

Examination of formal education curricula in Africa quickly reveals that local knowledge constitutes only a small portion of the knowledge considered essential to even nominally educated citizens. While any language can be developed for use in teaching non-local knowledge (Prah, 1993), science, technology, and development remain the province of official (usually international) languages. The huge corpus of information available digitally is also overwhelmingly mediated in an international language. Thus in Anglophone Africa, the authentic value of English includes making technical and development knowledge available to anyone able to access it.

Intentional management of this authentic value of English is important, however. Local languages must not be seen as an obstacle but as a resource in this environment, if local solutions to development challenges are to be effective and sustainable (Alexander, 2000; Wolff, 2013).

4.3 Lifelong Learning and Global Citizenship

The reach of global culture today is bringing broader opportunities and expectations for learning, growth, and participation in national- and global-level discourse. The centrality of lifelong learning in work and society today means that learning takes place in "all the places and circumstances in which individuals live, work, express and develop themselves" (Duke, 2012, p. 832).

In rural Anglophone Africa, such learning occurs in local-language environments, particularly where citizens are able to read and write in their own language(s) (Trudell & Cheffy, 2019). As outside knowledge comes into the local community, it may be mediated in the local language and/or English, depending on community language fluencies. The ability to interact with English-medium knowledge, without the need for translation, can complement local-language competencies and provide wider scope for lifelong learning.

As a powerful vehicle for national and international communication, fluency in English can facilitate the integration of new ideas and allow stronger interaction with those outside the community. Multilingual competencies enhance the ability to engage with knowledge from elsewhere, and to reconstruct it for one's own purposes (Canagarajah, 2005).

4.4 Elite Support for the Community

The elite form an important social category in African communities. The term "elite" refers to a small, dominant group within a larger society; their dominant status is generally related to some combination of educational, economic, political, familial, social, and linguistic factors (Trudell, 2010). The elite are distinguished from non-elites by having a greater degree of power, voice, access, status, and means.

Elite status plays out particularly in the realm of education, and the education system has a key role in the maintenance of the power base of the elite. Language fluency is a key component of elite status, and the cultural and linguistic capital required for success in school is usually possessed by the elite (Benson, 2009). In Africa, access to elite status may be gained through success in the education system and the international language used there (Bunyi, 2005).

The status and voice of the elite of Anglophone Africa are thus grounded in their mastery of the English language. Where the elite master English and the local language as well, they are influential members of the wider language community (Trudell, 2010). This gives the elite a strong platform for supporting and advocating for the communities in which their roots lie; they are able to mediate between community and state and to influence policy and practice where their communities are concerned.

5 Conclusion: Implications for TESOL Policy Development

In these sociolinguistic and pedagogical environments, a key implication for TESOL policy in Africa is *the importance of having such a policy*. The prevalent approaches to English in anglophone education contexts tend to be governed by myth and highly variable education policy. Structured English language instruction is not the norm in the primary classrooms of Anglophone Africa. The English subject textbooks being used (where there are any textbooks) are typically published outside of Africa and assume oral fluency in the language—even though teachers are often as lacking in English proficiency as their pupils are. A policy framework for building English fluency appropriately and effectively among pupils and teachers is sorely needed in these contexts.

The second important implication for TESOL policy is that it must respect and build on the pupils' home languages. African languages pose no threat to the dominant role of English in formal education; there is no need to shut those languages out in the pursuit of strong English competencies. Not only so, but the research is clear that English is best learned from a strong base of L1-medium learning. The appropriate use of the L1 and English, as medium of instruction and subject in primary classrooms, makes these languages into "two strong pillars of successful learning" (Trudell, 2018, p. 41) among children for whom the likelihood of successful learning is otherwise not high at all.

Mastery of English is a valuable resource, especially for the marginalized non-elites of Anglophone Africa. It can help provide substantial opportunities to succeed in formal education, to gain non-local knowledge, and to participate in the wider national discourse. An appropriate TESOL policy can facilitate all of this, while also safeguarding the learners' right to meaningful learning through the use of a language that they speak and understand.

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Chapter 8
Multilingualism Through English-Dominated Bilingual Policy: Integration of International Students in Modern Singapore

Catherine Siew Kheng Chua

Abstract According to Lee Kuan Yew, late Prime Minister of Singapore, "language policy is a vital instrument for achieving national interest objectives and meeting the needs of governance… unite a population that is racially and linguistically diverse" (Lee in My lifelong challenge: Singapore bilingual journey. Straits Times Press, Singapore, p. 224, 2012). Based on this belief, Singapore has adopted an "English plus one" policy with English as the first language for all Singaporeans and one of the mother tongue languages (Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil) as the second language (Chua in Current Issues in Language Planning, 12(2),125-145, 2011; Pakir in Round table on languages and linguistics: Language in our time. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, pp. 341–349, 1999). International students who wish to enroll into the mainstream schools are required to take the *Admissions Exercise for International Students* (AEIS), a centralized test of English and Mathematics. English, a former colonial language, has become the main medium of instruction in Singapore's mainstream schools (Ministry of Education (MOE) in Singapore: International students admissions, 2020a), and proficiency in English is tested in all high-stakes national examinations, such as the *Primary School Leaving Examination* (PSLE). This chapter discusses how supra-macro-language policy, i.e., bilingual policy and context-based micro-planning strengthens the coexistence between TESOL and multilingualism in Singapore (Chua and Baldauf in Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning. Routledge, Vol. 2, 2009). It illustrates the importance of local or micro-language planning in ensuring macro-language planning is successful and effective. The chapter highlights the assumptions, successes, challenges, and tensions in promoting diversity in languages through a unified English language approach in modern Singapore.

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1 Introduction

To fully integrate short- or long-term migrants into a host country economically, socially, and politically has always been a challenge for many countries. As cities continue to welcome more migrants, the number of complex consequences for the society of origin (sending country), the society of destination (receiving country), and the migrants themselves will also continue to increase. When migrants move from one place to another, they bring along their languages, cultures, and practices to the host countries, and such movement of sociocultural practices and languages creates complications that would impact both parties. For instance, when new languages, cultures, and practices interact with the local ones, such interactions could sometimes create tensions when they try to understand and negotiate their differences. Coupled with the current intensity and diversity of migrants, such tensions could be further amplified.

One distinguished consequence of such current global flows of both legal and undocumented migrants across national boundaries is the creation of "multi"—multilingual, multicultural, and multireligion societies in many countries (Gurria, 2016; World Economic Forum, 2017). Most distinctively, this global movement of people has created new forms of cultural pluralism or modern multiculturalism in which there is a coexistence of more diversified and hybridized identities in one place. The concept of hybridity is commonly associated with "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonisation" (Ashcroft et al., 2013, p. 118). This happens when the Eastern and Western societies meet through colonization in which there was an intermingling and interexchanging of each other's values and cultures. In the twentieth century, such interaction and subsequently fusion of both Eastern and Western cultures were known as a "hybrid." In today's terms, hybridity is defined as "in-betweeness" to reflect the result of a transcultural synthesis of colonizer and colonized (Goldberg, 2000). Hence, such synthesis (i.e., hybridity) carries with it the notion of dual cultures, the adaptation or assimilation of practices where new signs of identity and cultures are produced in an attempt to redefine the new society (Bhabha, 1994; Chua, 2009; Hallward, 2001). In the Asian Pacific, there is a wide range of cultures that have had extensive experiences with British colonization. For example, Singapore was under British rule for about 144 years, and this colonized period has significant influences on the country's development and government policies. Together with the rapid development of information technology and global media, similar to many big cities, the modern Singapore resembles a global village, whereby people are becoming more connected by technology by bringing people together and creating a single world community (Martens et al., 2010).

Existing in the Singapore community is the coexistence of a diversification and hybridization of culture, religions, and sociocultural practices. In 2014, it was reported that Singapore "has the highest score on the religious diversity" among the 232 countries interviewed (Pew Research Center, 2020). Currently, there are about 1.68 million non-residents in Singapore (CNA: Singapore, 2019), with about 5% of international students in local primary and secondary schools, and junior colleges.

Within this diversity, there lives a wide range of cultures that have had experiences with colonialism, cultures that did not have such struggle, such as the Thai culture, as well as those that were once colonists, such as the Japanese. Inevitably, language planning and policy in Singapore have become more complicated over the years, and the current bilingual policy would need to be recontextualized to reflect such diversified, hybridized, and globalized Singaporean society.

2 Multiculturalism Through "Race" in Singapore

Singapore has been a multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural country since its inception as a colony by the British in the 1820s (Turnbull, 2009). During the colonial days, Singapore was divided into three distinct ethnic groups or "races," and such division is still evident in the contemporary Singaporean landscape—Chinatown (Chinese), Little India (Indians), and Kampong Glam (Malays) (Wee, 2004). In the colonial days, multiculturalism in Singapore "was racial, split along Malay, Chinese, Indian, Eurasian, and European lines" (Goh, 2008, p. 240). Goh (2008) further explained that, "the race concept reflects social realities that have been historically structured by racialization and continued to be driven by them" (p. 235). According to Chua (2018), such "differences in ethnic groups are often neutralized through the idea of multiculturalism" (p. 123). Therefore, inheriting from the British way of developing communitarian ethnic lines, multiculturalism in Singapore is institutionalized through a state allocated "race" rather than one's "ethnicity" in which "every Singaporean is subject to prescribed behavioural constraints imposed by the respective race culture" (Chua, 2018, p. 130). In Singapore, "race" is highly visible in the public sphere. For example, the government through the Housing Development Board further manages this race culture by adopting the "Ethnic Integration Policy" by ensuring certain ethnic quotas in public housing so as to promote racial integration and harmony (Jamal & Wong, 2019). In addition, the Singapore government adopts the state-initiated Chinese–Malay–Indian–Others (CMIO) framework—"Chinese, Malay (includes Malays and Indonesians), Indian (includes Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, or Sri Lankan), and other ethnic groups (includes Eurasians, Caucasians, Japanese, Filipino, Vietnamese" (MPI, 2001–2020).

To further strengthen this CMIO framework in the society, the government has also put in place a bilingual policy that encompasses four official languages, and that is, English as the first and official language of the country, Mandarin for the Chinese community, Malay for the Malay community, and Tamil for the Indian community. These three languages are also known as the mother tongue languages (MTLs), and they were selected to represent the designated three ethnic groups. Such ethnicity-based management style was inherited from the British and preserved through its language policy till today. The English language was not only chosen due to its colonial heritage, but also due to the government's ideological beliefs that English will enable Singapore to participate in the global economy and its ability to function as a "neutral" language that will not privilege any racial groups in obtaining success

and to facilitate communication among the different racial groups. At the same time, the Singapore government was concerned that the Asian values could be eroded due to the effects of globalization and modernization, and MTLs are to be learned to safeguard Asian identities and cultures. In short, the ideological foundation of the Singapore multilingual model is the English-knowing bilingual policy, whereby all Singaporeans regardless of race will be effectively bilingual and be able to converse in English and one MTL (Chua, 2010). One of the consequences of Singaporean public policies and its political ideologies is that it has provided an ideal platform for the construction of a hybridized Singaporean identity that contains both Western (through English) and Asian (though MTLs) values and orientations.

3 History of Singapore and Its Language Policy

Singapore is located at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, a tiny island surrounded by predominantly Malay-speaking neighbors. Currently, the total population is about 5.6 million consisting of approximately 4 million Singapore residents and the remaining non-residents (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2019). The four primary ethnic groupings or "races" are 74% Chinese, 13% Malay, 9% Indian, and 3% other nationalities (Indexmundi, 2019). Singaporean Chinese is the largest race in Singapore with most descendent of Hokkien-speaking immigrants from the Fujian Province in Southern China. Devoid of any natural resources and with only a landmass of about 724 km^2 (Data.gov.sg, 2017), the Singapore population's skills and trade are the primary bases for its economic development. In view of this constraint, the Singapore government recognizes the importance of education in developing the country's only resource and best asset—its people (Lee, 1967). As the founding father of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew asserted,

> In the long run, it is the quality of our youths that will determine our future. And we have to invest in them more than any other sector… Our schools will train students in the classrooms… But even more important, they will teach our students high standards of personal behaviour, social norms of good and bad, right and wrong. Without these values, a literate generation may be more dangerous than a completely uneducated one. (Lee, 1967)

Therefore, in order for the human resources in Singapore to be of high international standard and quality that could aid in the country's economic growth, English has become the de facto choice due to the country's reliance on its population's skill base and on trade for economic development. With that in mind, in 1966, the government implemented the bilingual policy, whereby all Singaporeans will learn English as their first language and one MTL depending on one's racial group. By adopting the English language as the common language of all communities, it has also provided all races a common space to share and nurture Singapore-shared values and its identity. According to Chan (2013),

> It has enabled the different communities to understand and accept one another's culture. Multiculturalism in Singapore would not be possible without English as a neutral common

> language that all can learn to write and speak as an official language, and that can unite the people as Singaporeans. (p. 87)

By the 1970s, English became not only the "neutral" language among the different races, it was also adopted as the first language of administration and commerce, as well as the main medium of instruction in Singapore schools.

Unlike many Western political systems, Singapore's government, *The People's Action Party (PAP)*, adopts a "soft authoritarian" and a collective-oriented approach in governing the country so as to ensure social and political stability, as well as to maintain economic prosperity in the country (Roy, 1994). The Singapore government also embraces the guiding principles of pragmatism and meritocracy in managing the country. Chua (1997) stressed that pragmatism is both ideological and hegemonic in nature; it has been institutionalized by the PAP in public governance and reflected in all governmental policies. Its main focus is on the country's economic growth, progress and human capital development. Essentially, the concept pragmatism has been translated to the idea of efficiency whereby problem solving is to adopt solutions that are "natural, necessary, and realistic" (Chua, 1997, p. 59), backed by the belief that such an approach enables the optimal use of scarce resources (Tan, 2012). Chua (1985) explained that pragmatism is defined as adopting "necessary" and "realistic" solutions to problems faced by the nation.

The government also practices the concept of meritocracy defining it as "a social system in which advancement in society is based on an individual's capabilities and merits rather than on the basis of family, wealth, or social background" (Kim & Choi, 2017, p. 112). Vadaketh and Low (2014) defined the meritocracy principle as "equalising opportunities, not outcomes and allocating rewards on the basis of an individual's merit, abilities and achievement" (p. 48). According to previous Education Minister Ong Ye Kung, meritocracy "will remain a key principle for recognizing individuals in Singapore" even though it "has taken on negative overtone due to its associations with elitism… social inequality and stratification in society" (Heng, 2019). In this meritocratic system, students will progress through a series of competitive high-stakes standardized national examinations throughout their education journey from primary, secondary, and pre-university levels. The meritocratic system further emphasizes the status and the use of English as a means to ensure equality among the races, whereby equal opportunities are given to all so as to "ensure a fair and balanced approach toward all communities. Meritocracy is a fundamental principle that aims to provide equal opportunities by ensuring that all Singaporeans can progress on individual merit regardless of race" (UN, 2019).

4 Uniting and Forming a Nation Through Multilingualism

These ideological concepts of pragmatism and meritocracy are reflected in how the Singapore government manages its population through a PAP style of multiculturalism through multilingualism. Multiculturalism is a complex concept as it

is an internally diverse field of study. The term "multicultural" can be conceived in different ways resulting in different definitions, interpretations, and responses. To begin with, multiculturalism seeks to account for the differences between dominant and non-dominant identities, languages, values, and practices that coexist in one place. It implies mutual accommodations, sacrifices, and negotiations between cultural minorities and dominant ethnocultural communities. Contemporary theories of multiculturalism in the late 1980s and early 1990s focus more on cross-border minority immigrants and indigenous peoples and the importance in the preservation and celebration of cultural differences (Murphy, 2012; Song, 2015). Even then, theorists agreed on the importance of minorities in the subject of multicultural theory; however, they continue to argue over what is considered appropriate for a multicultural policy. Parekh (2000) stressed that in a multicultural society, public policy should aim to add value and meaning to individuals by seeking to accommodate the cultural beliefs and practices.

Multilingualism is a common phenomenon all over the world, and the term has been studied from different perspectives (Cenoz, 2013). Cenoz (2013) explained that multilingualism could be perceived as an individual and a social phenomenon, that is, "an ability of an individual, or it can refer to the use of languages in society" (p. 5). In the case of Singapore, multilingualism refers to Singaporeans having the ability to speak at least two languages or more and Singapore as a multilingual society. At the national level, asides from the bilingual policy, the Ministry of Education (MOE) established additional support for the study of foreign languages in school for foreigners and for Singaporeans who have done well in their MTLs and want to study an additional third language (Chua, 2010). These foreign languages offered by the ministry are pragmatic choices, and they are Arabic, Bahasa Indonesia, Malay, French, German, Japanes, and Spanish (MOE: Language Center, 2013). According to the MOE (2013), these languages will enhance "future learning experiences and job opportunities" and "open doors to tertiary education & scholarships… increase job opportunities in MNCs in Singapore, and local enterprises with overseas networks or operations." Such macro-planning involves specific actions and processes that are planned and carried out in order to promulgate policies and to obtain certain results (Taylor et al., 2002).

Heckmann (1993) explained that there were seven uses of the terms—"multiculturalism" or "multicultural society." They are used as "indicators of social change," a cognitive acceptance of "social and cultural consequences," an attitude that is tolerant and supportive of immigrants, interpretation of "no pure, original cultures," an attitude that sees the possibility of enrichment of host culture through the addition of immigrants' cultures; a political movement toward ethnic pluralism instead of acculturation or assimilation, and lastly a critical and "illusory concept which overlooks the necessity for a common culture, language, and identification to enable societal and state integration and stability" (p. 245). Adopting these ideas, the Singapore government uses multiculturalism and multilingualism, i.e., clearly demarcated racial communities, as a way to build an acceptance of "social and cultural consequences" and accentuates ethnic pluralism in Singapore. At the same time, multiculturalism through multilingualism is pragmatic because it enables Singaporeans to retain their

culture through designated MTLs, and at the same time meritocracy since English is a foreign language that does not favor any specific race, and the first language for all Singaporeans to build a common Singapore culture, a harmonious society and foster social cohesion among the different races. In order to ensure that English becomes a common language in Singapore, it is adopted as the main medium of instruction in school, and its standard is maintained through its national examinations.

5 An Overview of the Singapore Education System

Proficiency in English is needed throughout the various stages of the students' education journey in Singapore. The status of English was further raised when it became a "gatekeeper" for its national examinations and acted as a determinant in students' future careers (Yip et al., 1997). Here, schools aid in legitimizing the status of English as a key resource to Singapore. As mentioned previously, in the Singapore context, the emphasis on academic achievement has always been a priority for a nation where people are its natural resource. The education system in Singapore is highly centralized, whereby the Ministry of Education (MOE) is responsible for the country's education from primary to higher education. Its primary role is to ensure that Singaporeans are given equal opportunity to be well educated and trained so that they could become economic assets to ensure that Singapore will continue to prosper.

With the rise of importance of human capital in this globalized economy whereby the development of advanced cognitive skills has become a vital source of national wealth (Kamens, 2010), the PAP has been investing heavily in the Singapore education system. For example, the estimated total expenditure invested in education was $13.20 billion in 2019 (MOE, 2019). To further complicate its education landscape, the introduction of Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) by the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OECD) has affected the perception of the Singapore education system since PISA[1] has become "the world's premier yardstick for evaluating the quality, equity and efficiency of school systems" (OECD, 2014, p. 2). As Singapore has been ranked as one of the top-performing countries over the years, such remarkable performance on the global stage has led to its placement among the world's high-performing education systems. Consequently, this also means that Singapore has become an attractive choice for students who want to study abroad (Study Abroad, 2019) and for those who wish to seek an English education within South East Asia.

[1] PISA is an international test taken by 15 year olds in mathematics, reading, and science.

6 Globalization and Its Impact on Singapore and Schools

As compared to other Asian countries, Singapore was one of the first Asian countries to tap on the flow of globalization and become one of the central players in the capitalist world system. Robinson (2017) defined globalization as follows:

> …the cross-border mobility of goods and services, people, capital and knowledge… It allows countries to produce and consume at more optimal levels through increased specialisation, improved capital allocation and greater competition… International trade also helps to foster healthy competition, thus spurring technological progress and productivity growth. (p. 322)

In view of this and in order to respond to this greater mobility and international competition, MOE has been implementing a series of educational policies to prepare Singaporeans "to face these challenges and seize the opportunities brought about by these forces… [and] help [Singaporean] students thrive in a fast-changing world" (MOE, 2014). For example, the ministry implemented the *Framework for 21st Century Competencies and Student Outcomes* with the aim to help Singaporean students "to be prepared to face challenges and seize new and exciting opportunities" (MOE, 2020b). However, although Singapore adopts a centralized approach in governing the country and its education system, policy implementation is just the macro-stage within the policymaking process.

The mere development and implementation of a policy at the meso and micro-levels do not mean that it will generate the desired outcomes because policy actors are a critical variable or factor in the successful implementation of a policy (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). This was supported by Viennet and Pont (2017) who contended that "the implementation process is highly contingent on exchanges among a range of actors at different levels" (p. 25). The actors who are involved in the policy implementation process include individuals, groups, and organizations, and in the education landscape, the teachers. Teachers are critical actors within educational policy because they play an essential role in translating policies into desired (or in some cases undesired) actions leading to producing expected or unexpected outcomes. Therefore, the integration of foreign students into the local schools and enactment of the bilingual policy for this group of students depend largely on Singaporean teachers who play a vital role in ensuring that they have met the required English standard. According to MOE, international students make up about 5% of students in local primary and secondary schools and junior college in Singapore (Chia & Smalley, 2019).

7 Immigrants in Singapore Schools

As Singapore continues to develop into a global hub for high technological, knowledge-intensive industries, it has attracted an influx of "foreign talent" (i.e., highly skilled transnational migrants) into the country for the last three decades (Yeoh & Lam, 2016). In addition, the country also has a large number of foreign laborers who work in the construction, hospitality, and service industries. Currently,

Singapore has about a million migrant workers who provide labor for a series of different jobs ranging from hard labor to professional. The migrant workers are diverse coming from different countries. For example, many come from surrounding countries such as Bangladesh, India, and other south Asian countries, and other countries like America, Australia, and United Kingdom. A recent report indicated "most Singaporeans accept that immigration is important, but many also feel that immigrants can do more to integrate into Singapore" (Yap, 2019). It was also found that Singaporeans "feel less comfortable working or living near new migrants," with developing tensions between Singapore-born Chinese and new Chinese immigrants from China (Yeoh & Lam, 2016, p. 649). In view of this rising tension, the integration of Singaporeans and newcomers in local schools becomes critical because maintaining social cohesion is always "vital to peace and progress in a multi-cultural, multi-racial and multi-religious society" (MOE, 2010, p. 1). This is because with this high number of migrants, inevitably, there will be a high number of international students in Singapore but many would be studying in international schools due to limited school places for foreign students in the local public schools (Toh, 2017). Although the ministry has provided schools a "Best Practices Package" guide, schools and educational institutions are given the autonomy to adapt, design, and implement their own programs. One notable suggestion is putting in place "Supplemental English Language Courses" for students to boost their confidence in using English as "part of a larger integration strategy" to assist them to "interact and integrate with locals" (MOE, 2010, p. 7).

An example is the Farrer Park Primary School in Singapore. It is one of the local public schools that welcome international students of different ethnicities and geographical locations, such as students from China, India, Myanmar, Russia, South America, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. For some of these international students who are from non-English-speaking countries, such as students from China, Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam, pursuing an English-focused education in Singapore could be a big challenge especially when the main medium of instruction in schools is English. Although they are not discouraged to converse in their own languages, they are expected to use and converse in English during curriculum time. As these students would struggle academically in school initially since they would not be able to understand their teachers and what is taught in class, the school has put in place a *Learning Support Program* for students who need extra support in learning English and a care buddy program whereby local students are appointed to befriend newcomers to help them better integrate into the school. To further complement the diverse international students in school, it has built a strong inclusive school culture in which local students would take the initiative to help foreign students improve their English and feel more welcomed in school without the intervention of the teachers (Chia & Smalley, 2019).

8 The Complexity in Learning English in Singapore

For schools like the Farrer Park Primary School which has put in place a supportive school culture and programs to help foreign students to learn English and to be integrated into the school, two questions remain: (1) How are these foreign students successfully integrated at a larger scale? and (2) How is "multi"—multilingualism thriving in Singapore? These questions arise due to the complexity of the English-dominated bilingual policy, whereby English functions as the medium of instruction in all content area education and also a high-status and pragmatic language to acquire (Dixon, 2005). Together with localized and customized programs that are offered in schools and institutions, as well as national examinations, teaching and maintaining the desired standard of English are further emphasized. Inevitably, for many Singaporeans the dominant use of English has resulted in the declining use of the MTLs outside curriculum time since these languages are only used and taught during MTLs classes. As a result, there will be less room for other languages, in this case MTLs to flourish (Tan, 2016). What this means is that there will be more younger Singaporeans who are becoming English-dominated "bilingual" and English-dominated multicultural, not effective bi or multilingual at the same time (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1 shows that the alignment of bilingual policy at the macro- and micro-levels has enabled Singaporeans and international students to interact with each other and for international students to integrate more successfully into local schools and society. Figure 1 also illustrates that as originally intended for the bilingual policy, English has now become the "neutral" and common language among Singaporeans and international students. However, the difference is that in recent years the home language for many Singaporean families is predominantly English. As many younger Singaporeans are becoming more fluent in English and marginally cogent in one

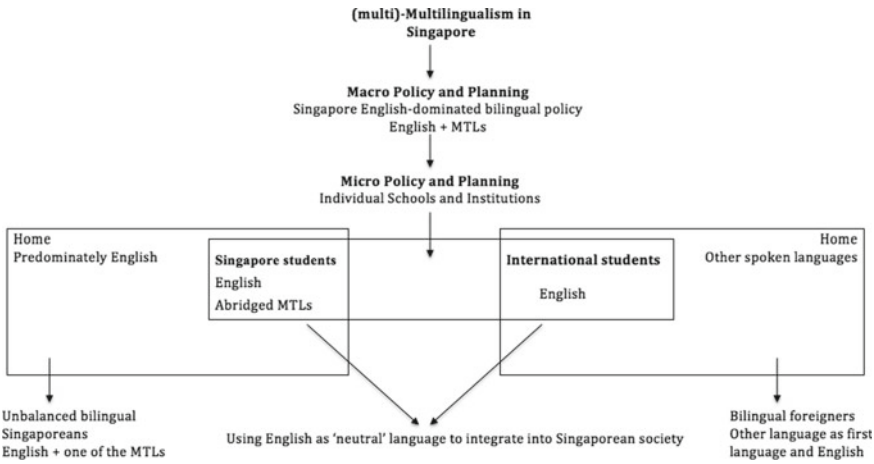

Fig. 1 Societal integration through using English

of the MTLs, they have become what Cenoz (2013) described as an "unbalanced multilingual [who] has different levels of proficiency in different languages" (p. 6). On the other hand, international students are experiencing additive multilingualism where English has been added to their language repertoire.

At the social and individual level, Singapore has definitely become multi-multicultural and multi-multilingual due to the influx of migrants and their languages, and with international students having the ability to converse in English with the locals, and in their native languages when interacting with their peers and families. What this means is that multiculturalism and multilingualism are being promoted through the use of English, whereby it is used as a "neutral" tool for communication between locals and international students. The importance of maintaining such inclusive and multicultural practice is further promoted in schools through the celebration of the International Friendship Day in Singapore. This day is specifically set aside to promote the understanding of Singapore's relations with its neighboring countries and to encourage the spirit of friendship and collaboration among different people (NLB, 2020).

9 Moving Forward: Reconceptualizing the Singapore Bilingual Policy

Since colonial times, Singapore's labor force has always been dependent on immigrants to support its economic and population growth with the assumption that through the use of English, it has to a large extent facilitated the integration of international students into the Singapore society. However, this chapter argues that, in reality, the bilingual policy has created an "integrated-and-segregated" situation among Singaporeans and international students. Although multilingualism will remain an important characteristic in Singapore and that current bilingual policy has enabled English to continue to function as the common language among Singaporeans and non-Singaporeans, it has also created an invisible societal divide between English-speaking Singaporeans and multilingual foreigners who not only speak their first languages fluently but also English language (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2 illustrates that although English has facilitated the integration of international students, Singaporeans and international students remain segregated. As shown in Fig. 1, many Singaporeans are English-dominated bilinguals because MTLs have been sidelined over the years. Conversely, the international students are effectively bi or multilingual since English has been added to their language repertoire, with its standard maintained by the education system. However, one immediate limitation of the bilingual policy is the focus on the study of English as the first language and one of the MTLs to safeguard Asian values. As pointed out by Ball (1998), in any policy analysis there is a "need to attend to the local particularities of policy making and policy enactment and the need to be aware of general patterns and apparent commonalities or convergence across localities" (p. 119). In this case, although the intent of

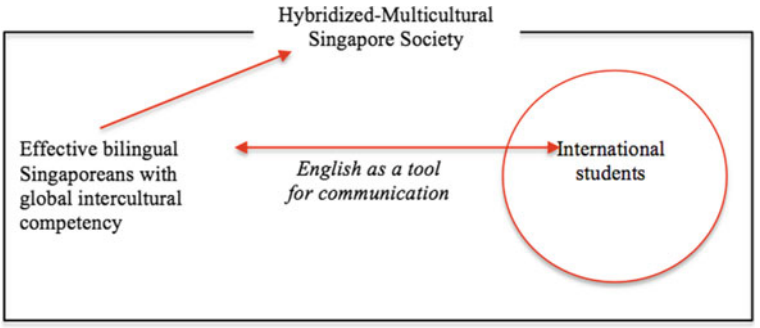

Fig. 2 Interaction between Singaporeans and international students

the bilingual policy has successfully transformed Singapore into an English-speaking nation, it has at the same time produced the problem of losing the MTLs, implying the Asian values are under threat. Based on these "general patterns and apparent commonalities or convergences across localities" across the three races (Ball, 1998, p. 119), this chapter suggests that it would be more pragmatic to tie the bilingual policy more closely to current changes in the Singapore society. Therefore, in order to complement this increase in changes in the society, the ministry could place more emphasis and support to strengthen the teaching and learning of MTLs. Considerable work could be invested on recontextualizing the bilingual policy in order to truly reflect the social change in Singapore. The redefined bilingual policy could be about highlighting diversity in Singapore and displaying a globalized concept of hybridity that could adequately reflect modern migration and the concept of "no pure, original cultures." While contemporary understanding of hybridity is defined as "in-betweenness" to reflect a transcultural synthesis of colonizer and colonized (Goldberg, 2000), the process of globalization has resulted in the development of "globalized hybridity" due to the synthesis of locals and new migrants' cultures and languages. In this case, globalized hybridity reflects the intensity of mixing and fusing of multiple cultures, such as the Thai culture that might not have experienced European colonization.

In conclusion, while the objectives of the bilingual policy (i.e., English as "neutral" and trading language and MTLs to "safeguard" Asian values) have successfully placed Singaporeans at the global landscape, the policy needs to be refreshed to truly reflect the current (multi) multicultural Singapore society. Considering the diversity of cultures and values in Singapore, MTLs should be regarded as prestige languages, and the bilingual policy should be reworked with the aim to produce effective bilinguals who would be able to connect culturally with the international students. Such empowerment would not only increase proficiency in MTLs, it would ultimately promote greater cultural, social, and intellectual flows with international communities residing in Singapore, especially when one of Singapore's strategies toward becoming a global hub is based on engineering a highly skilled workforce. A study conducted by Abduh and Rosmaladewi (2018) in Indonesia found that

bilingual programs promote intercultural competence in three specific areas: open-mindedness, reciprocal interaction, and respecting differences. Given the reality that the increase in immigrants would increase the complexity of integration in Singapore and bring new challenges to the country, redefining the objectives and roles of MTLs could be a real game changer for Singaporeans. As Singapore becomes more globalized and attracts more international students and foreign workers to the country for education and work, becoming more open-minded, exercising mutual respect, and engaging in reciprocal interaction would be vital for Singapore to continue to remain competitive in this ever-changing world.

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Part II
The Present

Chapter 9
Enhancing Equity for English Learners Through the Seal of Biliteracy: Policy/Practice Pitfalls and Possibilities

Peter I. De Costa, Kasun Gajasinghe, Curtis A. Green-Eneix, and Robert A. Randez

Abstract The multilingual turn in TESOL (May in The multilingual turn: implications for SLA, TESOL, and bilingual education. Routledge, New York, 2014) is overdue with the field still viewing languages as separate entities that exist in individuals (Deroo et al. in Envisioning TESOL through a translanguaging lens. Springer, New York, pp. 111–134, 2020). By contrast, bilingual education, which has embraced the notion of translanguaging (Flores and Aneja in Res Teach Engl 51:441–463, 2017; Henderson and Palmer in Dual language bilingual education: teacher cases and perspectives on large-scale implementation. Multilingual Matters, Bristol, 2020), and critical sociolinguistics (e.g., Canagarajah in Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice. Routledge, New York, 2005; De Costa in J Multiling Multicult Dev 40(5):453–460, 2019) have long called for a recognition of suppressed local and indigenous languages and the need to help minoritized language users reclaim their home languages. The education system in the United States has been complicit (De Costa and Qin in English language education in a global world: practices, issues and challenges. Nova Science Publishers, Hauppauge, 2016) in not providing adequate space for local and indigenous languages to develop in schools. Following a brief trace of how such inequalities characterized U.S. language education, we review recent English language redesign attempts to prepare linguistically responsive teachers (Lucas and Villegas in Theory Pract 52:98–109, 2013) to serve emerging bilinguals, focusing on the most recent bottom-up language policy initiative—the Seal of Biliteracy (SoBL). Although SoBL acknowledges multilingualism as a resource on a wide scale by providing opportunities to develop the home languages of emergent bilinguals, we discuss the challenges associated with the

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implementation of this initiative in the U.S. Following a critical evaluation of SOBL, we provide exemplars for TESOL practitioner-policymakers and join a growing body of educational linguists who view TESOL and multilingualism as collaborative endeavors in order to make this initiative a sustainable endeavor for TESOL professionals (Dorner and Cervantes-Soon in TESOL Q 54:535–547, 2020).

1 Introduction

The multilingual turn in TESOL and the field of second language acquisition (SLA) are overdue (May, 2014), especially since many of the English learners who populate our classrooms often have more than two languages in their linguistic repertoire. TESOL has been slow to recognize this reality, as has been mainstream SLA, which continues to view languages as separate entities that exist in individuals (Deroo et al., 2020). By contrast, bilingual education, which has embraced the notion of *translanguaging* (Flores & Aneja, 2017; Henderson & Palmer, 2020; Palmer, 2018), and critical sociolinguistics (e.g., Canagarajah, 2005; De Costa, 2019; Heugh et al., 2021) have long called for a recognition of suppressed local and indigenous languages. This call emerges from the need to help minoritized language users reclaim their home languages. These languages often stand in diametric opposition to a dominant language, like English, which has invisibilized such languages in school (Morita-Mullaney & Singh, 2019) and society (Gallo & Hornberger, 2019). The education system in the United States, in particular, has been complicit (De Costa & Qin, 2016) in not providing adequate space for local and indigenous languages to develop in schools.

Following a brief trace of how such inequalities have characterized U.S. language education, we review recent English language redesign attempts to prepare linguistically responsive teachers (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) to serve emerging bilinguals. We then focus on one recent bottom-up language policy initiative—the Seal of Biliteracy (SoBL or the Seal, hereafter)—that has been implemented in 42 U.S. states along with Washington DC to date. As we write this chapter, six states are also in the early stages of adopting the Seal, and two additional states are currently considering the Seal. We highlight the Seal since it represents the strongest and boldest effort yet to acknowledge multilingualism as a resource on a wide scale in the U.S., and because it provides opportunities to develop the home languages of emergent bilinguals (Heineke & Davin, 2020b; Heineke et al., 2018). We then turn to the challenges associated with the implementation of SoBL. Following a critical evaluation of the Seal, we build on Fillmore and Snow's (2018) list of what teachers need to know to suggest ways to make SoBL a sustainable endeavor for TESOL professionals. Taking the view that teachers are effective language policymakers in their own right (Menken & García, 2010), we provide exemplars for TESOL practitioner-policymakers and join a growing body of educational linguists who view TESOL and multilingualism as collaborative enterprises (Dorner & Cervantes-Soon, 2020).

2 Bi-multilingual Education in the United States

The U.S. language education system has often been inconsistent—if not contradictory—throughout the nation's history, with state and federal legislation, court cases, and initiatives often driving its development (De Costa & Qin, 2016; Ovando, 2003). Ovanado's (2003, pp. 12–14) extensive review of bilingual education within the US has often been characterized as encompassing four historical periods:

1. Permissive (1700s–1880s)—bilingual education was not actively promoted but rather simply tolerated, if not simply neglected, the use of another language (p. 4).
2. Restrictive (1880s–1960s)—cultural groups were further colonized through English-only mandates (pp. 4–6).
3. Opportunist (1960s–1980s)—foreign language programs as well as bilingual and ESL programs were established but remained controversial at best (pp. 7–12).
4. Dismissive (1980s–Present)—bilingual education in the legislative and social arenas continued to be debated and often under the guise of resentment toward immigration.

While historical events, as Ovanado (2003) mentions, have played a central role in the establishment, dismantling, and struggle over bi-/multilingual education, the ideologies of local, state, and federal lawmakers led to the implementation of policies that have resulted in the establishment of structural inequalities within a fragmented language education system (e.g., De Costa & Qin, 2016; García & Sung, 2018).

As a consequence of a turbulent language education history characterized by contradiction and conflict, language teachers have often found themselves confused over (1) what constitutes *legitimate* language use in the classroom (McKinney, 2017), and (2) whether language is a separate entity or not. To some extent, both TESOL and second language acquisition (SLA), which aim to support the acquisition and development of an additional language, have ironically neglected such pivotal historical developments. Moreover, both fields may be fully unaware about the reality that many teachers often find themselves grappling with race-inflected concerns that continue to shape the language teaching profession (see Alim, 2016; De Costa et al., in press). This conspicuous gap is evident in how mainstream SLA continues to consider language as a unified and whole entity with individuals engaging in little if any code meshing. This has resulted in language policy scholars, such as May (2014), calling for a multilingual turn in the broader field of applied linguistics. As observed by May, the multilingual turn aims to "understand multiple-language learning as an object of inquiry and to support bi/multilingualism as a societal and individual right and asset" (p. 33), or to let (emerging) bi-/multilingual learners/speakers use both of their proverbial linguistic hands in and outside of the classroom (Martínez, 2018). By contrast, the field of bilingual education has embraced this call to consider ways to understand and support teachers in acknowledging and supporting students' entire linguistic repertoire despite hegemonic and myopic education policies that have favored monolingualism.

Bilingual education has transitioned into the multilingual turn by incorporating, adapting, and implementing notions such as *translanguaging*, that is, the bilingual performance that utilizes students' full cognitive, linguistic, and semiotic repertoires to teach and learn (Flores & Aneja, 2017). The promotion of practices such as translanguaging has occurred in tandem with calls to train and support language teachers in teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students (Kayi-Aydar & Green-Eneix, 2019; Lucas & Villegas, 2013). In allowing teachers to utilize both their own and their students' linguistic repertoires, Kayi-Aydar and Green-Eneix (2019), for example, found that their focal teacher, Mr. Armendarez, used translanguaging between English and Spanish to teach Mariachi to both White monolingual English speakers as well as Latinx students in order to develop bilingual literacy. While notable calls (e.g., Kayi-Aydar & Green-Eneix, 2019; Lucas & Villegas, 2013) highlight how teachers support culturally and linguistically diverse students, U.S. language education is unable to adequately support all students, however. Such support can only materialize if and when legislation is enacted to support the aforementioned multilingual turn (García & Kleyn, 2016; Heineke & Davin, 2020a, May, 2014). To mobilize such legislation, we turn to the Seal of Biliteracy next.

3 The Seal of Biliteracy

The Seal of Biliteracy (SoBL) started in California as a product of bi/multilingual activism. The goal of SoBL was to promote home language use for English language learners as well as encourage English monolingual students to learn a foreign language. With SoBL's promotion predominantly executed through local, grassroots movements, criteria for SoBL vary from one state to another, as does teachers' and learners' engagement with it. Successful SoBL implementations have been attributed to the commitment of educational professionals who identified its importance and what it could offer multilingual students (Davin, 2020). Due to the variation of SoBL legislation by state, most literature has focused on analyzing individual state's Seals, or comparing one state to another (Heineke et al., 2018). Extensive research has been done on identifying problematic areas in respective states' Seals and how English learners in public schools are disadvantaged accordingly (Heineke & Davin, 2020b). Though we will introduce some of the documented issues seen in different seal legislations in the next section, our intention is not to be critical of any specific Seal but to highlight how SoBL can aid teachers and researchers in serving linguistically diverse learners.

3.1 Challenges Associated with the Implementation of the Seal of Biliteracy

By definition, SoBL is "an award made by a state department of education or local district to recognize a student who has attained proficiency in both English and one or more other world languages by high school graduation" according to a joint report issued by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, National Association for Bilingual Education, National Council of State Supervisors for Languages, and Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages International Association (2015, p. 2). However, such a definition itself poses a key challenge because it highlights how students are recognized with the Seal in K-12 (kindergarten through Grade 12) contexts. Specifically, SoBL emphasizes writing and reading skills of bi/multilinguals at the expense of other ways of using and performing languages such as speaking and understanding. In other words, the prioritization of writing and reading confines or reduces diverse, multilingual competencies or linguistic repertoires (Canagarajah, 2012; García & Kleyn, 2016) to prescriptive standards of writing and reading, which are often connected to the discourse of "global human capital," and move the focus of SoBL away from the discourse of equity/heritage (Subtirelu et al., 2019). In addition to the requirements of SoBL prioritizing formal learning (i.e., to demonstrate literacy skills), it also places privileged native English-speaking students at an advantaged position over their already multilingual English-language-learning counterparts; therefore, SoBL ignores the multilingual competencies of English language learners (ELL) and emphasizes the need to support the foreign/world language learning of native speakers of English in U.S. schools (Subtirelu et al., 2019).

In addition, even though SoBL has been able to gain the attention of educators and the public to value biliteracy, it has not been able to completely redeem itself from being entangled with linguistic Anglocentrism. This is best illustrated when examining its implementation in California. According to Heineke and Davin (2020a), SoBL was initiated in California in 2008 to resist English-dominant federal- and state-level policies that limited opportunities for bilingual education such as Proposition 227[1] in 1998 (Felton, 1998) and discriminated against (minoritized) students whose first language was not English. Scholars (e.g., Heineke et al., 2018; Subtirelu et al., 2019) have also asserted that SoBL unwittingly reinforces the dominance of English. For instance, ELLs in California are required to demonstrate a higher proficiency level in English than students in world languages classes. In contrast, California SoBL does not specify an ACTFL proficiency level[2] for a world language studied at school. Having different benchmarks of proficiency for ELs and native

[1] Proposition 227 was passed in 1998 to reject bilingual education and to provide the mandate for English only instruction in California (Crawford, 1997).

[2] American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) is an organization that focuses on improving and standardizing (foreign/world/second/heritage) language education in the US. ACTFL categorizes language learners into different proficiency levels based on their language proficiency. Visit the ACTFL Web site for more information.

speakers of English signifies that English is more valuable than other languages. Also, multilinguals who do not demonstrate high proficiency in English would not get the SoBL endorsement, even though their native English-speaking counterparts would receive SoBL endorsement despite their relative lack of proficiency in the world languages they study. This situation exemplifies the existence of double standards in awarding the SoBL to native English speakers while discriminating against minoritized students who are already subjected to systemic inequality within and outside school.

In principle, SoBL is mainly implemented to support ELLs to learn both English and their home languages. However, in practice, SoBL focuses mainly on teaching the English language to ELLs and certain languages that are identified as linguistic capital to native speakers of English. This situation acknowledges and perpetuates the dominance of English in schools and creates a linguistic hierarchy (Heineke et al., 2018; Subtirelu et al., 2019), with English valued over other languages. The prioritization of certain languages (e.g., Arabic, Mandarin, Spanish) over other languages exists because these former languages are viewed to have more instrumental value, which may in turn discourage some minoritized students from learning their home languages at school. Such a counterproductive move thus defeats the key value of SoBL. Thus, to make the SoBL equitable, it is important to respect the linguistic rights of the students who speak less commonly taught languages (e.g., Amharic, Polish, Swahili) in U.S. schools and grant them the right to learn the language most meaningful to them. In understanding the aforementioned challenges, and moving forward in terms of future policy procedures, the next two sections explore ways to enhance education through SoBL and discuss implications for pedagogy and research.

3.2 Enhancing Education Through SoBL

In this section, we present several suggestions to overcome the challenges and enhance education through SoBL. One of the key challenges faced by SoBLs in all states is its prior conceptualization within an Anglocentric ideology that unwittingly reinforces the dominance of English. Consequently, one way to reduce inequalities is by specifying ACTFL proficiency level for both English and world languages, which would then create a level playing field for all language learners. Another option is to require students to demonstrate advanced proficiency in their home language and intermediate-level proficiency in the second or third language they learn at school (Heineke et al., 2018). Furthermore, ELLs and world language learners should be given the same amount of time to demonstrate their language proficiency (Heineke et al., 2018).

Mainstream ways of assessing language competency also limit the Seal's potential to be more inclusive and serve linguistically marginalized students mainly because SoBL is highly dependent on criteria and norm referenced tests for evaluating the language proficiency of students (Heineke et al., 2018), which Laing and Kamhi (2003) argue are biased against culturally and linguistically minoritized students. By

contrast, using portfolio assessments to evaluate language competency, as evidenced in Illinois (Heineke et al., 2018), is a more equitable alternate form of assessment to evaluate language proficiency of ELLs and world language learners.

Another challenge is that because only some languages are taught in schools (Heineke et al., 2018; Subtirelu et al., 2019), languages that are less taught or not taught at all are perceived as having little or no value. Such a perception might discourage some minority students from even using their home languages, since the message that they get at school is that their home languages are not important. To overcome this challenge, teachers and institutions should attempt to connect with communities that speak minority languages to provide resources to learn languages and assess linguistic proficiency. For instance, the state of New Mexico has provided members of indigenous communities with the opportunity to get their home languages certified by their respective tribes.

Relatedly, and in the spirit of community building, Heineke and Davin (2020a) observed that most of the challenges associated with SoBL can be overcome by getting various stakeholders to participate in the decision-making process. Different stakeholders can be enlisted to participate in the process of drafting policies and their subsequent implementation. Also, as parents and guardians are often involved in the process of revising current policies and drafting new ones, they should be provided with translations of policy documents, so that they clearly understand how the policy is going to affect their children. Moreover, the different U.S. states should take measures to allocate enough resources to all schools to implement SoBL. Crucially, Subtirelu et al. (2019) found that schools attended by minoritized or low-income students encountered difficulty in implementing SoBL due to a lack of resources.

Finally, we need to recognize that bi/multilingualism is more than just the ability to read and write two languages. While reading and writing skills can be measured and evaluated, bi/multilingualism can be demonstrated in different ways. For example, heritage language learners might understand what their parents or grandparents speak, even though they do not write or read those languages. Such an orientation shift, that is, one that emphasizes bi/multilingualism in a broader sense and not just reading- and writing-inflected biliteracy, will make the Seal more encompassing by ratifying a wider range of skill sets that also include speaking and listening.

4 Implications

4.1 ESL and Foreign Language Teachers

The high national visibility of SoBL has afforded teachers the opportunity to advocate for their learners—by way of the Seal's status—as a result of state legislation. Advocacy for bi/multilingual students has been an ongoing part of school reformation in the U.S., with several cases landing at the Supreme Court (Kim et al., 2015; Ramsey, 2012). Significantly, SoBL allows teachers the chance to dialog openly with their

administrators regarding the academic expectations set for their ELLs. Comparing state English as a second language (ESL) exit standards with the standards of their respective state's Seal can equip teachers with the much-needed justification to secure the requisite resources and information from local authorities to meet stipulated ESL program exit proficiency levels. As for current foreign language teachers, knowing clear standards their students are required to meet may bring much-needed changes to otherwise stagnant curricula. As multilingualism becomes more common, and the benefits of being a speaker of more than one language are recognized, foreign language classes should be given higher priority. The existence of the Seal could potentially increase the number of middle schools that offer a foreign language (Kissau et al., 2015).

4.2 Online Instruction

The global COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 has shown that teachers must be adaptable and able to drastically modify instruction at a moment's notice (Gacs et al., 2020), and this disruption to education has prompted calls for more personal development centered on effective online instruction (Paesani, 2020). Even more so, language instruction that considers students who hope to realize the spirit of SoBL will need to ensure that they meet Seal requirements, even if instruction switches entirely to an online mode. The flexibility of online communication can thus provide new ways of connecting students to speakers of their home language, especially if there is a lack of trained teachers of that language at their school. Along with this access to online resources, institutions should explore online teaching and assessment materials to potentially mitigate costs. The emergence of online affordances would, in turn, allow teachers and school administrators to offer foreign language instruction to a diverse group of non-English speakers and provide more foreign language options for L1 English-speaking students, thereby facilitating the long-term success of SoBL.

4.3 Teachers and Researchers

We recommend that research surrounding SoBL—specifically with respect to teacher development and the enhancement of pedagogical practices—involve teachers as research partners. Teachers have a wealth of knowledge, which has been underutilized in research, to provide insights on how to remedy problems associated with SoBL. Additionally, a synergistic collaboration of teachers and researchers would assist in making research accessible to a wider audience because language policy enactment is ecological in nature, involving various stakeholders at multiple levels, and thus should not be mediated in a top-down manner (Han et al., 2019; Menken & García, 2010). As a consequence, teachers should not be considered merely as informants but as credible research partners who collaboratively investigate ways to improve

their own teaching while also finding new, effective ways to ensure the successful implementation of SoBL at the classroom- and school-level.

5 Final Remarks

The motivation behind SoBL is certainly well intentioned, with its primary mission focused on alleviating the disenfranchisement of minoritized language users whose home languages have historically been denigrated. As explained in this chapter, U.S. language policy has been characterized by unequal access and recognition. And while SoBL clearly marks a positive step in the right direction, it is not without its challenges. In response to these challenges, we put forward some suggestions to improve language-learning conditions, in the hope that the noble goals of SoBL will eventually be achieved. Ultimately, we need to recognize that in order for policies to be successfully implemented and their outcomes realized, a concerted effort by various language policymakers is necessary. We need to start with teachers because, as Menken and García (2010) aptly remind us, teachers are pivotal in helping us successfully negotiate language policies in schools. Put simply, educators need to acknowledge the value of bi/multilingualism and subsequently work in tandem with researchers, policymakers, and parents if a policy like SoBL—or any other language-in-education policy—is to succeed.

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Chapter 10
The Ideologies of English as Foreign Language (EFL) Educational Policies in Korea: The Case of Teacher Recruitment and Teacher Education

Youngeun Jee and Guofang Li

Abstract Despite current claims for embracing diversity in the use of English as an international language, South Korean stakeholders favor speakers from specific native English-speaking countries as teachers and aim to prepare Korean English teachers following the standard English norms of these countries. Using educational policies that affect teacher recruitment and teacher education as examples, this chapter illustrates the entrenched nature of the native-speakerism and standard English ideologies in Korean EFL education. The first case in point is the recent policy on native English-speaking teacher recruitment through English programs in Korea (EPIK) that allows only those teachers from English-speaking countries to be eligible for consideration, regardless of their teaching credentials. The second case is the monolingual native-speakerism ideologies that are prevalent in preservice EFL teacher education programs in Korea in which the foci have been more on ensuring preservice teachers gain American or British literature and linguistic content knowledge, but less on teachers' authentic language use in a globalized context. These analyses reveal significant gaps between current scholarship for English as an international language and actual teacher education and recruitment policies implemented in South Korea, suggesting the need for policy reforms.

1 Introduction

Along with the global spread of English, English proficiency is considered an important form of linguistic capital in English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts (Block & Cameron, 2002; Phillipson, 2008). Conventionally, linguistic capital refers to the mastery of standardized English from Inner Circle countries (e.g., Australia, Canada, New Zealand, UK, and USA). However, due to the increasing globalization and

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mobility of people, gaining linguistic capital in English now requires individuals to move beyond the monolingual native-speakerism ideologies and adopt an English as an international language (EIL) perspective (Li, 2017). An EIL perspective enables learners to gain understandings of the different English varieties around the world, become sensitive to intercultural differences, and use communication strategies to communicate in diverse contexts (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2018; McKay, 2002).

The EIL stance challenges the assumed dominance of Inner Circle (native English-speaking countries) varieties of English and the subsequent unequal status of English speakers from outer and expanding circles (countries where English is used as their second or foreign language) (Kubota, 2012). Specifically, EIL emphasizes the legitimacy of local English varieties (e.g., Korean English, Japanese English) adapted and developed in different geographical contexts (Galloway, 2017; Galloway & Rose, 2018; Kachru et al., 2006) and pays attention to the negotiated semantics among English speakers who have different L1s (Jenkins, 2000), and later, the "process" of English use as a social practice in multilingual and multicultural contexts (Jenkins, 2015).

Native speakerism, on the other hand, is an "established belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which springs the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday, 2005, p. 6). Often, native-speakerism ideologies are "articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). Especially, these ideologies often reflect a language belief that "a particular variety—usually the variety that has its roots in the speech of the most powerful group in society … is aesthetically, morally, and intellectually superior to other ways of speaking the language" (Piller, 2015, p. 4). Therefore, people with native-speakerism ideologies consider that not all languages or all varieties of English hold equal status since language use reflects social inequality around language users in all aspects of life.

Despite the current scholarship that legitimizes English varieties and seeks to increase intercultural sensitivity and communicative competence among various English speakers (e.g., Canagarajah, 2014; Kubota, 2015; Li, 2017), many countries in the outer circle, such as China, Japan, and Korea, continue to promote native-speakerism ideologies in both their English education policies and local teacher education (Lee, 2016; Ra, 2019). For example, Japan's explicit English-only policy in its EFL education favored native English speakers as teachers (Yphantides, 2013). Similarly, Chinese universities' English-medium education policies also promoted native-speaking English teachers as ideal and competent teachers (Wang & Fang, 2020). In Korea, the implementation of English-medium instructional policies at the university level also leads to increased educational costs and resulted in growing job loss among instructors due to their language barrier (Piller & Cho, 2013).

Native speakerism has also been prevalent in local teacher education in these countries. Ample research evidence has suggested that English teacher education programs in these societies pay insufficient attention to teaching English from an EIL paradigm, and native speakerism "dominates in materials, practitioner recruitment practices, models, and assessment" in English teacher preparation programs

(Galloway & Numajiri, 2019, p. 138). In fact, native speakerism has become a "hidden curriculum" that has instilled and perpetuated Western "native speaker" norms and values into the formal and informal training of English language teachers (Lowe & Lawrence, 2018). Similarly, in teacher recruitment, native speakerism has prevailed in both online and face-to-face recruitment (Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

Not surprisingly, Korean EFL education has also endorsed native speakerism. English teaching and learning in Korea have been centered on monocentric views that were closely aligned with American-standardized English (Cho, 2017; Jee, 2016). These language ideologies were reflected in Korea's national language education policy, the "Five Year Plan for English Education Revitalization." This plan, released by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development in (2005), aimed to enhance students' communicative competence by placing at least one native English-speaking teacher (NEST) in each school and encouraged Korean English teachers to teach English in English (TEE). This government-led, top-down imposition of language planning and policy not only shaped the adoption of specific local practices aligned with the native-speakerism ideologies in the field of ELT in Korea, but also resulted in many unplanned sociopolitical implications, such as Korean English teachers' perceived lack of confidence in English (Choi, 2015). As Lee (2014) posited,

> whether Korean English teachers view themselves as legitimate teachers depends on how they view their relationship to English, how they ascribe meaning to English, and how they appropriate English for themselves in a way that is compatible with the local context to maximize effective learning. (p. 4)

Research has also indicated that the standard English ideology pervasive in the field of ELT in Korea has not only set the unrealistic expectation for both teachers and students to become near-native English speakers, but has also ignored important qualities required in a lingua franca context such as the awareness of English varieties, intercultural communicative competence, or intercultural sensitivity (Li, 2017; Matsuda & Matsuda, 2018).

Accordingly, a closer examination of macro-level policy regarding English education offers insight into how English ideologies are embedded in the field of ELT in Korea. Situated within the EIL paradigm, in this chapter, we aim to challenge these ideologies that serve to restrict Korean students' language exposure to a particular variety of English and specific English-speaking country's cultures (e.g., American or British culture). We will illustrate how the native-speakerism ideologies influence and perpetuate important EFL educational policies in teacher recruitment and in-service and preservice teacher education programs, which are fundamental to ELT in Korea, and shed light on the impact of educational policy on educators and curriculum development.

2 Native-Speakerism Ideologies in EFL Education in Korea

English proficiency, in particular American standard English proficiency, is often recognized in East Asian countries as a tool for enhancing national economic competition and individuals' upward social mobility (Jeon & Lee, 2006); this perception prevails in Korea as well (Cho, 2017; Lee, 2016; Ra, 2019). For instance, English proficiency serves as a gatekeeper for both college admission and employment in most public enterprises and private corporations in Korea (Park, 2009, 2011). Without having some degree of English proficiency, it would be very difficult to be accepted into prestigious colleges and universities, or to find employment in the Korean workforce.

As such, American culture and English language have highly influenced all aspects of Korean society, including education. English-teaching materials and official English proficiency tests have followed US standards, and when hiring teachers through private agencies, priority has been given to US citizens or Koreans with overseas backgrounds. Accordingly, people have pursued a high level of proficiency in "American" English under the assumption that it is an essential requirement for social advancement.

Hence, a large number of students go overseas to improve their English and to acquire increased linguistic capital. According to Korean Educational Statistics Service (2020), 63.48% (10,349) of study-abroad students attended elementary or secondary schools in English-speaking countries. In particular, 44.3% (7225) studied in schools in either America or Canada. As Ra (2019) explained, this phenomenon that "social class and elitism have been established by privileged wealthy Koreans who were able to study in the United States and came back with an idealized image of American culture" (p. 309).

While privileged, wealthy Koreans can afford to go to English-speaking countries, those studying domestically also seek to improve their own proficiency in English both within and outside of school. For instance, as of 2018, Korean parents have spent over 5.7 trillion won (₩) (4.8 billion dollars) on their children's English education (Kim, 2019). However, according to the report released by Korean Statistical Information Service (2019), families with higher income have also invested significantly more money in their children's English education. For example, the highest-earning families spent as much as ₩ 157,000 won (US $132) while the lowest-earning families spent only ₩ 23,000 won (US $19) monthly on their children's English education. To prevent an excessive emphasis on English education at an early age and narrow these educational gaps among students, the Korean government has proposed a ban on extracurricular English lessons for preschoolers. However, in 2018, they were forced to withdraw this decision due to harsh criticism that low-income families are likely to lose access to affordable government-funded English education (Jo, 2018).

3 Native Speakerism in English Teacher Recruitment in Korea

Although Korean families and communities invest heavily in English language education, the ineffectiveness of English education in Korea has been widely reported in the news media. Specifically, EFL education has been criticized for failing to prepare students for "real-world English use, neglecting vital skills such as writing and speaking, and instead placing too much focus on preparing students for college entrance exams" (Ramirez, 2013). Secondary school students in Korea have also been dissatisfied with the way English has been taught in their schools due to a mismatch between what students thought was important (e.g., speaking skills) and what was being taught (e.g., grammar) (Yoon, 2015). A significant economic loss incurred by sending students abroad to study, and the increased criticism of the public English education system among Koreans has led to the implementation of several plans by the Korean government to facilitate better English education. One such plan was the "one native English-speaking teacher (NEST) per school" policy, part of the 2005 "Five Year Plan for English Education Revitalization," that specifies that one NEST from seven Inner Circle countries (e.g., Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, UK, and USA) would be placed in each secondary school by 2010 (Jeon & Lee, 2006; Ra, 2019).

This move to recruit NESTs was consistent with the policies of other East Asian countries such as China, Hong Kong, Japan, and Taiwan where English was used as a second or foreign language and where native English-speaking instructors were actively recruited (Jeon & Lee, 2006). Through the recruitment of NESTs, stakeholders hoped to enhance students' English proficiency, promote an exchange of culture, and provide informal, authentic English-speaking environments (Ping & Ma, 2012). Overall, over one thousand NESTs have been placed annually in Korean elementary and secondary schools since 2008.

The most well-known official hiring programs sponsored by the Korean government are the "English Program in Korea" (EPIK, 2020) and "Teach and Learn in Korea" (TaLK). The specific information regarding the positions, teaching levels, and eligibility of these teachers is described in Fig. 1.

According to an official Web site for the EPIK program (https://www.epik.go.kr), only applicants from the seven English-speaking countries as specified in the 2005 "Five Year Plan for English Education Revitalization," with a minimum of a B.A. degree are eligible for consideration regardless of their credentials in teaching (Jee, 2016; Jeon, 2009). Their salary scale varies depending on teacher experience, credentials, and location of schools; those with prior teaching experience and certificates or degrees in education, TESOL, or second language studies are offered higher salaries than those who do not have these backgrounds. As of 2020, the qualifications for applicants were revised, and the Korean Ministry of Education no longer accepts applicants without teaching experience or credentials in related subjects.

Unlike EPIK, which assigns a NEST to a regular curriculum in elementary and secondary classrooms, TaLK is a scholarship program for foreign undergraduate

Fig. 1 Qualifications of native English-speaking teachers at EPIK and TaLK programs in Korea. Retrieved from http://www.talk.go.kr/talk/talk_new/intro.jsp

students. Like EPIK, an applicant in a TaLK program must be a citizen of the aforementioned seven countries. Koreans who are either permanent residents or temporary residents for at least eight years in one of the seven countries are also eligible if they completed both primary and secondary education there. However, TaLK teachers who hold a two-year associate's degree, or completed a minimum of 2 years in university, are assigned fewer hours (15 teaching hours per week), compared to EPIK teachers (22 teaching hours per week), and they are often assigned to after-school classes in elementary schools, especially in rural areas where the access to higher-quality educational resources are limited. So far, a total of 14,106 EPIK teachers (2009–2019) and over 3000 TaLK teachers have been recruited.

These policies have had significant consequences for the Korean teachers of English who were placed in different positions (e.g., English conversation classes, level-specific classes, after-school teachers, and head teachers) in the school system. The rationale behind this policy promoted native speakerism and suggested that NESTs, regardless of their credentials and training, are better teachers than NNESTs (non-native English-speaking teachers). This perception ignores the evidence that NNESTs (a) provide a better learner model; (b) teach language-learning strategies more effectively; (c) supply more information about the English language; (d) better anticipate and prevent language difficulties; (e) are more sensitive to their students; and (f) benefit from their ability to use the students' mother tongue (Medgyes, 1992). This is further supported by Nam's (2010) in-depth investigation on Korean secondary English teachers that showed NNESTs explained difficult grammar in Korean or used code switching between Korean and English to help students understand the content and to elicit student response.

In addition, while both students and teachers enjoyed the novelty of having a NEST in the classroom, students experienced what Ping and Ma (2012) indicated (a) difficulties in understanding teachers' instruction, (b) a decrease in communication and student's confidence levels, causing an increase in anxiety when working with

new teachers, and (c) a dissatisfaction with NESTs' informal, non-examination-oriented teaching style.

More importantly, students were mainly exposed to standardized English as the instructional model and instructors are from mainstream English-speaking countries. Being trained in this narrow frame of native speakerism, Korean English learners' lack of exposure to other Englishes brought about a strong preference for the native-speaker model, leading to "self-deprecation" (Park, 2009, p. 26), learners' negative attitudes toward other varieties of English (e.g., Ahn, 2014, 2017), and low confidence when communicating with English speakers from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds (e.g., Shim, 2015). This policy therefore undermined the call to prepare students for gaining the competencies, skills, and strategies necessary for successful communication in a global community, such as intercultural sensitivity and intercultural communicative competence.

In addition, applying these EIL constructs to teaching practice is limited. In a survey study of 78 Korean EFL teachers' perceptions of world Englishes, Shim (2015) found that even though Korean English teachers had positive responses toward different varieties of English, most participants expressed the desire to adopt American English and would not introduce world Englishes into Korean secondary schools. Most teachers believed that the Korean EFL curriculum was underdeveloped and that there was a lack of teaching materials and qualified teachers available to teach world Englishes.

NESTs also revealed mixed emotions about their roles and identity in Korean schools, as demonstrated in two NESTs' (Mike and Sharon) own voices below:

> We want to plan class together, but co-teachers are too busy. They have a lot of paperwork …Teachers are wonderful but there is disconnect between what we were told and what they were told … Co-teachers go, 'Great teachers! You have great ideas. But you're here only one hour per week. We are here until sixty-two years old. No, thanks. (Mike, 21 December, 2007, excerpt from Jeon, 2009, p. 238)

> Why are we hired? I don't know. They pay me $2000 a month … But we're here as 'performing monkeys', like what we do is we stand there, we do a dog and bunny show for 45 minutes. Everybody laughs and giggles, having a good time … It's not my country. I'm not here to change the world. (Sharon, 21 December, 2007, excerpt from Jeon, 2009, p. 238)

Eventually, in response to challenges in attracting, recruiting, and maintaining NESTs, the Korean government decided to decrease the number of NESTs to conform with budget cuts (Lee, 2011). Instead, NESTs' positions were gradually replaced by Korean English teachers, leading to the implementation of Teaching English in English (TEE) policy and the TEE certificate program.

4 Standard English Ideology in Teacher Education

In response to the 7th Educational Curriculum in 2001, and the "Five Year Plan for English Education Revitalization" in 2005, the TEE policy was enacted across

Korean elementary and secondary schools (Choi, 2015; Lee, 2018). The TEE policy included several specific plans: the encouragement of teaching English as a medium of instruction (Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, 2006) and the requirement of TEE certificate for Korean English teachers which was in effect until 2020 (Chungcheongbuk-do Office of Education, 2020). According to Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education (2017), the aim of the TEE certificate was to (1) enhance students' communicative competence through developing English language teachers' English proficiency; (2) improve interesting and student-focused English classroom atmosphere; and (3) provide proficient English language teachers in elementary school level. To earn the TEE certificate, teachers who passed two rounds of examinations (a document screening and a teaching demonstration) could receive either a TEE-Master (higher qualifications) or a TEE-Ace, depending on their teaching experience, English proficiency, teacher training record, and graduate degree in TESOL.

One of the specifications of the program was that TEE classes must use English as the medium of instruction (MOI) for up to 80% or more for student interaction in class (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2017). This policy obviously required Korean English teachers to have sufficient fluency in the English language to effectively conduct MOI lessons. In reality, the implementation of TEE was difficult for Korean teachers due to various challenges such as teacher language proficiency, teacher beliefs, the wide range of student proficiency, and the need for students to pass high-stakes exams (Choi, 2015; Jeon, 2008; Lee, 2014, 2018). These barriers have resulted in favoritism toward native-speaking teachers over local Korean English teachers, which in turn has had a significant impact on the expectations, roles, and qualifications of Korean English teachers (Choi, 2015).

Many Korean English teachers felt underprepared to teach English through the use of English even after they completed their teacher education program. For example, in Kim's (2005) study, 30% of the 131 EFL secondary school teachers surveyed reported a low level of confidence in speaking and writing English. Similarly, Jeon's (2008) study that examined a total of 346 Korean EFL teachers' beliefs on TEE revealed that "teachers' perceived lack of English proficiency and limited knowledge about its implementation" prevented them from teaching English as MOI in actual classrooms. This analysis corroborated research findings on teachers' beliefs regarding English-medium instruction—that teachers' perceived lack of confidence in English speaking and the lack of knowledge about TEE classes hindered the successful implementation of English-medium instruction (Jeon, 2008; Lee, 2014).

Regarding teachers' beliefs, Lee (2014) specifically argued that under the TEE policy, "teachers reproduced dominant language ideologies that prevented viewing themselves as legitimate English teachers" (p. v). Through an investigation of 40 Korean English teachers who participated in intensive English courses for five months in Korea, she found that teachers often felt anxiety and shame due to inconsistency between the high expectations imposed on them, such as oral English fluency for TEE classes, and their perceived lack of competence in English. Lee's (2014) investigation of Korean English teachers in teacher training courses revealed their resistance to

using (Korean) English in front of others, while at the same time revealed their desire to use only native-like English pronunciations and master standard English.

Lee (2014) further suggested that students' and teachers' different levels of English proficiency could actually strengthen the impact of native-speakerism ideologies. For instance, students mocked their teachers' Korean-accented English pronunciation of words, and students' parents, who asserted their authority as professionals with overseas experience, often complained about how the teachers graded the English tests. Likewise, teachers also faced students who were native English speakers or had native-like oral proficiency (possibly from study-abroad experiences or through private English lessons) which caused considerable anxiety among the teachers (Lee, 2014, 2018).

Furthermore, the common attitude of "self-deprecation" (Park, 2009) held by Korean English teachers often resulted in their frustration at not having learned English early in life, or studied abroad, and subsequently, led to their early retirement. This negative attitude toward themselves has also been enhanced by the reward system built within the teacher education system in Korea. For instance, Korean English teachers who are proficient in English, or are near-native receive more benefits such as the government-supported study-abroad opportunities and the intensive 6-month English courses, in addition to the TEE certificates (Choi, 2015).

In summary, while the TEE policy was designed to create English-speaking environments in schools and enhance students' communicative competence by developing English teachers' language proficiency through the TEE certificate system (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2017), the employment of NESTs and the enactment of TEE classes actually indirectly promoted native speakerism in Korean EFL education, perpetuated the belief that teachers from native English-speaking countries are ideal English teachers and delegitimized Korean teachers' local English varieties.

5 Requirements for Preservice Teachers

Native-speakerism and standard English ideologies affect not only how Korean teachers teach and view themselves as NNESTs, but also how EFL teachers are prepared. This section discusses how teachers are prepared to conform to the native-speakerism and standard language ideologies by drawing on two examples: the EFL teacher certificate issued by the Ministry of Education, and the curriculum offered by a Korean university in Seoul, which has a highly regarded teacher education program.

The first step to becoming an EFL teacher candidate is to complete a four-year teacher education program or a two-year master's program, including a four-week teaching internship. The next step varies from school to school. To be placed in a private school, teacher candidates must apply to each school individually. However, in following the path to becoming a teacher in a public school (tenure track), certified teacher candidates must take two rounds of examinations administered by the Korean Institute for Curriculum and Evaluation (KICE).

A review of the courses required for the EFL teacher certificate indicated an exclusive emphasis on American and British cultures, ignoring other English-speaking contexts (Korea University, 2018a, 2018b). For example, to be certified, teacher candidates were required to take at least 21 credits (seven courses) in the domain of English content knowledge. Among the ten courses listed in the content knowledge domain, three courses were assigned to "Understanding of British and American Literature," "Teaching British and American Literature," and "Teaching English-American Cultures." However, courses that examined other English-speaking countries' cultures or literature were excluded.

A review of the teacher education program curriculum is in line with this analysis. Besides having to take the minimum requirements for an EFL certificate, teacher candidates must also take additional courses in preparation to teach before being placed in a school. For instance, Korea University required teacher candidates to take 51 credits in their major (e.g., 21 credits from major required courses, 21 credits from major elective courses, 9 credits in pedagogical content knowledge).

With regard to content knowledge courses, we searched for all courses offered by a teacher education program at Korea University from 2016 Fall to 2018 Spring semester and categorized them into three parts: linguistic, literature, and language and culture. As seen in Table 1, the College of Education offered different literature courses, but four out of five courses focused on British and American literature. Unlike the EFL teacher certificate requirements, the College of Education at Korea University offered only two courses related to culture, the "Cross-cultural Understanding of English-speaking cultures" and the "development of the English language and world English." Despite these offerings, preservice teachers were limited to

Table 1 Courses offered from 2016 Fall to 2018 Spring by English language department in Korea University (Korea University, 2018a, 2018b)

	Major Required	Major Elective
Linguistic knowledge	Introduction to English linguistics English phonetics and sound structure English grammar for EFL teachers	Syntactic structure of English Applied English linguistics Semantics and pragmatics of English
Literature		Introduction to British and American poetry in EFL Introduction to British and American novels Readings in English children's literature Readings in British and American drama British and American novels
Language and Culture	Cross-cultural understanding of English-speaking cultures	Development of the English language and world English

these two courses, as compared to other linguistic or literature offerings. Furthermore, because these courses were not required for the teacher certificate, preservice teachers might be more inclined to choose only those courses that qualified for both the teaching certificate and graduation from the college.

This finding corroborates the argument that native speakerism has become a "hidden curriculum" that instills Western "native speaker" norms and values into the minds of stakeholders and the formal and informal training of English language teachers (Lowe & Lawrence, 2018). The exclusive foci on American and British English and cultures in Korean teacher education programs suggest that Korean preservice teachers in the field of ELT, immersed in favorable views and practices toward dominant English-speaking countries' cultures, have been coerced into standard English ideology and become accustomed to native speakerism (e.g., Canagarajah, 2014; Jee, 2016). As Matsuda and Friedrich (2012) pointed out, being exposed only to American or British English language and culture as an instructional model can lead to a bias against users of English varieties and diverse English-speaking contexts. Accordingly, the curriculum should offer courses that increase teacher candidates' awareness of English users from multilingual and multicultural backgrounds.

In summary, in a globalized society, it is necessary for EFL teachers to have not only high English proficiency but also an understanding of English use and culture in a variety of contexts. However, an examination of teacher education courses offered by one large university showed that current needs are not being reflected, calling for a revision of course offerings so that teacher candidates are better prepared to teach English as an international language.

6 Conclusion

The chapter examined the inherent ideologies governing the recruitment of NESTs in EFL education and teacher preparation programs in Korea through the lens of the EIL paradigm. Despite the current scholarship that embraces different English varieties and multicultural English-speaking contexts, stakeholders in Korean EFL education continue to prefer teachers from specific English-speaking countries and aim to prepare Korean teachers following the norms of these countries, thus perpetuating a culture of native-speakerism and standard English ideologies (Lee, 2016; Shim, 2015). While the government continues to recruit native-speaking teachers from only selected few Inner Circle countries, curricula in Korean EFL teacher education programs have also been training teachers to conform to the language standards and cultures of these countries. These ideologies continue to have significant negative impacts on Korean English teachers instructionally, professionally, and personally. As well, they limit Korean students' opportunities to develop awareness of different English varieties and effective use of communication strategies (Matsuda & Matsuda, 2018).

These prevailing ideologies suggest that there is a need to change the beliefs of stakeholders (such as policymakers and teacher educators) and teachers. As Li (2017) argues, a crucial step toward moving away from the native-speakerism model is "to focus on developing knowledge and raising awareness of their personal attitudes toward English dialects and cultures" (p. 255). Korean policymakers need to engage in critical self-reflection on their own ideological stance and embrace diversity in Englishes if they want to prepare Korean students for a globalized future. Similarly, to introduce English varieties into teacher preparation programs, teacher educators must also become informed of the EIL paradigm (Li, 2017). They must help reform the teacher preparation curriculum so that more teacher education courses on English varieties and cultures such as "development of the English language and world English," or "Cross-cultural Understanding of English-speaking cultures," and more practical courses that focus on teaching this knowledge and perspectives in the classroom can be offered in preservice teacher education.

Finally, efforts must focus on changing teacher beliefs. As Li (2017) and Matsuda and Matsuda (2018) have argued, without changing teachers' beliefs toward EIL, implementing it in the classroom will be a challenge. Teacher education curriculum must include professional learning that fosters Korean English teachers' development of positive identities as legitimate English teachers. As well, teacher education courses must ensure preservice teachers gain competence in "integrated and dynamic multi-skill instructional models" that foster learners' language awareness, communicative strategies, and strategic use of diverse materials (Hinkel, 2006, p. 113).

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Chapter 11
Enacting a Multilingual Policy for Economic Growth: Exploiting the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor Project to Create Linguistic Harmony in Pakistan

Kashif Raza

Abstract A multilingual workforce, as research on language and economy manifests, is comparatively advantageous for economic growth. However, there is a scarcity of economic models that are built for or by a multilingual human resource. One continued obstruction in the creation of economies that benefit (from) a linguistically diverse community is the dominance of a single language or a *lingua franca* such as English. It is not easy to create a balance between a dominating language and minor or local languages. Pakistan, a linguistically diverse country, faces an identical situation where English, spoken by only 8%, and now Mandarin, are heavily used at the expense of its vernaculars in the operationalization of the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor project (CPEC-P). This chapter proposes manipulating a multimillion-dollar economic project, the CPEC-P, as a platform to elevate the status of Pakistan's national and local languages against English and Mandarin through a multilingual economic policy enactment. The chapter, being the first of its kind, starts by introducing the issue of linguistic imbalance in Pakistan followed by an overview of the CPEC-P and its contribution to the development of English and Mandarin. Then a discussion on the challenges and issues caused by the development of selective languages and their role in the decline of linguistic diversity is provided. The chapter concludes with a proposal for the creation of language harmony in Pakistan through the utilization of the CPEC-P as an economic platform.

1 Introduction

Pakistan is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in South Asia. According to Eberhard et al. (2019), 74 individual languages are spoken in Pakistan where 66 are indigenous and eight non-indigenous. They list Pakistan as the 42nd most linguistically diverse country in the world, higher than its neighbors Bangladesh, China,

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and Iran. As per the linguistic details shared by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Factbook (n.d.), Punjabi (spoken by 44.70%) is the most common language of Pakistan followed by Sindhi (12%), Seraiki (10%), Urdu (8%), English (8%), Pashto (8%), Balochi (3%), and others (6.30%).[1] This linguistic diversity, although unequally dispersed, makes Pakistan a multilingual and multicultural country.

However, Pakistan's treatment of its linguistic diversity has not been very impressive. English and Urdu, comparatively less common languages, have emerged as the two principal languages in administration, education, and development. Colonial legacies within society, language-based politics, governmental policies, and globalization have all contributed to this linguistic imbalance that seems to be threatening Pakistan's linguistic diversity. I do not discuss these issues in this chapter, but refer interested readers to Ayres (2003), Durrani (2012), Rahman (2002, 2016), and Raza (forthcoming 2021) for further details. However, a quick review of this body of work shows that the adoption of monolingual and/or bilingual policies, either voluntarily or because of natural outcomes of postindependence, where English and Urdu gained higher status against other languages, has always had politico-socioeconomic incentives. As a result, a two-class system has evolved where English (and sometimes Urdu) is used by the upper class for socioeconomic benefits and other languages are left to the lower class. In order for Pakistan to decrease this social segregation and strengthen other language speakers educationally, economically, and politically, a language harmony needs to be created by discontinuing the practices that promote selective languages at the expense of others.

Research into language and economy suggests that languages help administer economy and economic benefits support language development. Deriving its roots from the human capital theory, the economic approach to language policy and planning (Zhang & Grenier, 2012) sees language acquisition as an investment that brings financial rewards for its users. Now we know that languages can also be promoted for development (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Heller, 2003), and a multilingual workforce brings better economic profits (Gandara & Acevedo, 2016).

Realizing this reality, Pakistan needs to embrace its linguistic diversity as an asset and understand that only through the provision of language rights to minorities and the promotion of their national and local languages it can create a linguistic harmony in the country. One possible way to do this is by using these languages in the creation and administration of local and regional economies, which are currently restricted to English and Urdu. The China–Pakistan Economic Corridor project (CPEC-P), a multimillion-dollar economic scheme benefitting both Pakistan and China in multiple ways, is an opportunity for Pakistan to elevate the status of its languages by using them for communication purposes to administer the project.

The current practices in the context of the CPEC-P where English and Mandarin are used as the official languages for communication are a missed opportunity to promote the national and local languages of Pakistan. This calls for creating a linguistic balance in Pakistan so that its own, as well as foreign languages (English and

[1] Punjabi and Seraiki are mostly spoken in Punjab, Sindhi in Sindh, Pashto in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and Baluchistan, and Balochi in Baluchistan.

Mandarin), are given equal opportunities for recognition and development. Using the economic approach to policy and planning as its conceptual framework, this chapter suggests enacting a multilingual policy for the administration of the CPEC-P, so that the role of English, Mandarin, Urdu, and other local languages as medium of communication (MOC) can be clarified. Thus, the purpose of this policy should be to promote multilingual communication rather than being a policy that is written in multiple languages.

2 Overview of the CPEC-P

In this section, I provide an overview of the CPEC-P and discuss its impact on language choices and development between Pakistan and China. The CPEC-P is a sub-project of China's mega scheme *the Belt and Road Initiative*. With an estimated worth of $46 billion, it will enhance bilateral relations in multiple areas of development and is considered to be a game-changer for both countries. According to the Government of Pakistan (2017), as an economic plan for regional connectivity where China and Pakistan remain the principal beneficiaries, the CPEC-P also aims to reap financial rewards to neighboring countries like India, Afghanistan, and Iran and other regional players through improved geographical linkages, enhanced import and export, smooth exchange of sociocultural and educational values, and energy production. Similarly, the Chinese government "terms the CPEC-P as the 'flagship' project and intends to make it a positive example of the regional development projects" (Jiqiong & Keyu, 2017, p. 197).

A mutual agreement entitled "*Long Term Plan for China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (2013–2017)* ", developed and signed by both sides and written in Chinese and English, enlists various areas of cooperation under the CPEC-P–educational development being one of them. Among these, language development is also taking place but not as an ambitious goal. Since most of the relevant information about the project is produced and shared in English and Mandarin, it will not be wrong to claim that the two languages have been adopted as the official languages for the administration of the CPEC-P. As it will be discussed later in this chapter, the local languages including Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, etc., that are widely spoken by the Pakistani workforce and substantially outnumber English and Mandarin speakers in the country are being ignored. Although both countries aim to cooperate in education and develop socioeconomic relations not only between the governmental agencies but also between non-governmental entities and people-to-people, the inability to promote local languages may pose a serious challenge to both sides in achieving the long-term objectives of the CPEC-P.

Although English and Mandarin are perceived to be the official languages, unofficial multilingual practices are also in place; a mix of English, Urdu, Mandarin, and local languages are used for communication at different levels, however, without a clear policy or direction. While English is serving as a bridge between the two sides when there is a communication breakdown because of insufficient resources or

speakers of either Mandarin or Urdu, its excessive use is suppressing the promotion and development of socioeconomics in the national and local languages of Pakistan. Since educated and uneducated staff are involved in this project, English mostly suits the former. For instance, in the context of Pakistan, many researchers (Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Rahman, 2016; Raza, 2020) have pointed to the misuse of English for sociopolitical and economic interests of the minority ruling elite. Although it has emerged as a common language in the CPEC-P, presumably for being an official language of Pakistan and commonly adopted by the authorities for internal and foreign affairs, English is not spoken by 92% of Pakistanis and, thus, benefits a limited population.

China and Pakistan have been trying to strengthen their ties in different fields and have taken many steps in this regard; language exchange is one of these initiatives. As part of this cooperation, Urdu is being taught in China and Mandarin is becoming popular in Pakistan. In the next section, I discuss the development of Mandarin in Pakistan and its economic benefits and try to show how the CPEC-P, as an economic scheme, facilitates this process and has the potential to elevate the status of Pakistan's underdeveloped languages. This discussion also highlights the interconnectedness between language and economy and the significance of economic platforms in the promotion of languages.

3 Mandarin in Pakistan

Attempts are being made at private and governmental levels in Pakistan to promote Mandarin. Table 1 provides a brief summary of the many programs and initiatives that are currently offering language services across Pakistan.

In terms of private institutions, the National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST) established a Chinese Studies Center (CSC) in 2016 to offer studies in multiple areas including Chinese politics, economy, language, society, and diplomacy. The CSC aims to develop its role in strengthening Sino-Pak bilateral cooperation by providing training and educational services to produce needed human resources for projects and areas such as the CPEC-P, education, businesses, cooperation, and networking. Similarly, the Chinese Department at the National University of Modern Languages (NUML) has been offering Mandarin language courses since 1970. Starting with a diploma program in 1971, the department has been gradually expanding and has started graduate and postgraduate programs in Mandarin. It also aims to offer PhD courses in cooperation with the Confucius Centers.

Roots International Schools (RIS) has developed Roots Chinese Languages Department (RCLD) and has added Mandarin to their curriculum. From Grade I to Grade IGCSE-III and A-II, students are exposed to Chinese literature, culture and language through textbooks and worksheets that are designed and selected with the help of the Confucius Center in Islamabad. In order to assess students' mastery of Mandarin, the institute has also developed two language proficiency exams: Youth Chinese Test (YCT) and Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi (HSK). Following these steps,

Table 1 Mandarin language courses in Pakistan at private and governmental levels

Level	No.	Initiative/Institute/Program	Objectives and services
Private	1	NUST—Chinese Studies Center	Offers programs and courses that cover Chinese politics, economy, language, defense, and society
	2	NUML—Chinese Language Courses	Has been offering Mandarin language courses since 1971
	3	Roots School System	Added Mandarin to their curriculum
	4	Pak-China Institute in Islamabad	Added Mandarin to their curriculum
	5	Pakistan Institute of Management in Karachi	Added Mandarin to their curriculum
	6	Tuition Centers in Karachi and Lahore	Provide Mandarin language courses
Government	7	Chinese Embassy in Islamabad	Provides volunteer teachers to teach Mandarin at different institutions
	8	Scholarships for Pakistani students	Provide financial support to teachers to learn how to teach Mandarin in Pakistan
	9	Confucius Institutes across Pakistan	Promote Chinese culture, social values, and language
	10	Recommendation by Pakistan's Senate	Teach Mandarin to Pakistani students and staff working for the CPEC
	11	Pakistan Television	• Telecasts Chinese dramas dubbed in Urdu • Broadcasts a program entitled "CPEC Time" where an Urdu speaking Pakistani and an English-speaking Chinese discuss different aspects of the CPEC
	12	Sindh Government Initiative	Signed a memorandum of understanding with the Chinese Education Department to start teaching Mandarin at schools in Sindh

Pak-China Institute in Islamabad and Pakistan Institute of Management have also included Mandarin in their curriculum.

Similarly, government-supervised Mandarin language programs are also accommodating a lot of learners in Pakistan. Chinese Embassy in Islamabad hires volunteer teachers to teach Mandarin at different language centers and institutions in Pakistan. Likewise, the number of Confucius Centers has increased greatly after the inauguration of the CPEC-P. These centers, located in Islamabad, Faisalabad, Lahore, and Karachi (Ahmed, 2018), promote Chinese culture, social values, and languages. In addition to the provision of language support services in Pakistan, the Chinese

government also offers scholarships and financial support to teachers who wish to learn Mandarin language teaching skills in China.

Pakistan's government is also making efforts to promote the Chinese language and culture in the country. These efforts include the display of Chinese content on Pakistan's national television, PTV. For instance, Chinese dramas, dubbed in Urdu, have recently been screened in addition to the broadcast of a program called "CPEC Time" that includes debates and discussions on the CPEC-P. Similarly, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the Chinese Education Department and the Sindh Government to initiate the teaching of Mandarin in the province of Sindh. A recent development in this regard is the historic resolution passed by the Senate of Pakistan recommending the initiation of Mandarin language courses in Pakistan (Jakhar, 2018) to lessen language breakdown between the Pakistani and Chinese workforce.

3.1 Incentives for Pakistanis Learning Mandarin

As there are incentives for Chinese nationals learning Urdu, there are benefits for Pakistanis learning Mandarin. Since the number of Chinese visitors in Pakistan is increasing dramatically, the demand for people who can understand and speak Mandarin is also growing, which, as Naqvi (2017) argues, increases the number of Pakistanis learning Mandarin. There is a rising demand for translators, lawyers, supervisors, doctors, engineers, and many more who can communicate with Chinese investors and visitors in Mandarin (Hadid, 2018). Another reason for the growing interest in learning Mandarin, according to Naqvi, is the higher education opportunities in China. Since Chinese universities are more affordable and have good ranking, they provide an alternative to Pakistani students who cannot afford to pursue higher education in many Western countries.

The Chinese government offers scholarships to attract financially unstable students, which increases motivation to learn Mandarin. As the number of Mandarin learners increases, the demand for language teachers has also grown. Although the Chinese Embassy in Islamabad provides volunteer Chinese teachers, they are not sufficient to cope with the growing number of students (Hadid, 2018). Institutions that offer Mandarin language courses need language teachers; to fill this gap, financial support is offered to study Mandarin teaching skills in China.

Although attempts to promote Mandarin in Pakistan existed way before the inauguration of the CPEC-P, the project has played a pivotal role in accelerating its development across Pakistan. As Table 1 shows, currently the governmental bodies as well as private businesses are involved in its growth. As Zhang and Grenier (2012) noted, motivation to learn a language is directly proportional with the socioeconomic status, people learn specific languages for economic benefits. Since the CPEC-P is expected to provide sustainable economic growth to both China and Pakistan, increasing numbers of Pakistanis are acquiring Mandarin (Baloch, 2017) in the hope of employment and private businesses. According to Naqvi (2017), the upgraded

CPEC-P values $62 billion and is believed to provide abundant economic benefits to Pakistan. This is one of the reasons that Mandarin is becoming popular among the Pakistani workforce.

4 Current Operationalization of the CPEC-P and Pakistan's Linguistic Diversity

In the previous sections, I have provided an overview of the CPEC-P and highlighted its local and regional significance as a multimillion-dollar project. Through a discussion on the development of Mandarin in Pakistan, I have also emphasized its potential as an economic platform that has the ability to promote languages as commodities. In this section, I debate the current operationalization of the CPEC-P and highlight how the economic necessities associated with the project promote the use of English and Mandarin only. As it will be discussed later in this chapter, there is no consideration of how the project might be used to promote national and local languages through the creation of economic incentives.

4.1 Influence of English

One of the formidable challenges in the promotion of indigenous languages for and beyond the CPEC-P is the widespread use of English in Pakistan where it is an official language and is used in governmental offices, private entities, and educational settings (Raza, 2020). Many researchers (Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Durrani, 2012; Rahman, 2016) observe the dominating role of English in different sectors as well as in the depreciation of Pakistan's vernaculars.

Since English, despite spoken by only 8% of the total population, enjoys high social and economic value and is mainly employed by the upper class (Coleman & Capstick, 2012), its excessive use in the management of the CPEC-P is also visible. The information related to the CPEC-P and other related projects is mostly created and shared in English. For instance, the website about the CPEC-P, managed by the Government of Pakistan, contains important information about the project vision and mission, recent press releases, areas of cooperation and development, employment opportunities, geographical features, and key figures; however, none of this material is available in any other local language but in English. Similarly, the PTV program "*CPEC Time*" that is hosted by a Pakistani and a Chinese hosts to share recent updates on the project is another display of the influence of English; the Pakistani host shares information either in Urdu or English while the Chinese host uses only English to discuss issues with guests.

Another area where English language dominates vernaculars is the language exchange initiatives. The majority of the prominent institutions (e.g., RIS, Pakistan-China Institute) that offer Mandarin language programs in Pakistan generally rely upon English as a medium to share information about their courses, mission, and curriculum with the exception of NUML and NUST universities that use both English and Mandarin for language program-related information. This suggests that knowledge of English is a prerequisite for learning Mandarin in Pakistan. Such policies are not only limiting Mandarin acquisition opportunities to English proficient learners but also encouraging the dominance of English over Pakistan's comparatively common indigenous languages, thus ignoring local languages for knowledge production and sharing.

Although one can argue that English, being a lingua franca and Pakistan's official language, is probably the safest route and has emerged as a neutral language between Sino-Pak stakeholders involved in the CPEC-P, the ground realities do not support this claim. First of all, continuing to utilize English based upon the assumption that it is understood, spoken, and accepted by both Pakistanis and Chinese as an MOC would mean ignoring the fact that it is not a commonly used language by both Pakistanis and Chinese. Since there is a scarcity of research that reports on the languages used by the CPEC-P workforce, it is difficult to suggest how much English is employed in everyday communication. However, based upon the literature on the status of English language in Pakistan (Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Durrani, 2012; Raza, 2021) and China[2] (Wei & Su, 2012), it is evident that English is not a majority language in both countries, especially in the lower class that is educated in local languages and where most of the workforce comes from. Thus, excluding other local languages as MOC will result in limiting economic opportunities associated with the CPEC-P mainly to people that understand English, especially in Pakistan.

Secondly, allowing English to continue as the main language for Pakistanis would mean implementing a monolingual policy—a practice that has been controversial throughout Pakistan's language history and has been regarded as a colonial tactic[3] by many researchers (Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Durrani, 2012). Considering the language-based politics as well as the linguistic diversity of the country, the adoption of a single language policy, be it English or Urdu, intentional or unintentional, has never produced impressive results and has mostly incited local language speakers as they consider this as an attempt to suppress their language rights. This calls for creating a linguistic harmony where national and local languages are given equal representation against other languages.

[2] Wei and Su (2012) report that despite being the most common foreign language learnt by the Chinese, English is used "often" by only 7.3% in Mainland China, 15.79% in Beijing, 14.72% in Shanghai, and 8.24% in Tianjin.

[3] According to Durrani (2012), the notion of monolingual policy (English or Urdu) in Pakistan is borrowed from the British colonizers and has led to serious language-based movements in the country.

4.2 Influence of Mandarin

Another factor that is threatening the linguistic diversity of Pakistan is the accelerated promotion of Mandarin, which is another foreign language and is being promoted by the governmental bodies and non-governmental entities. Although Mandarin has economic incentives for the learners and plays a pivotal role in successfully attaining sociopolitical exchange between Pakistan and China, the speed with which it is gaining importance in Pakistan and in the CPEC-P concerns many. There are apprehensions that if its promotion is not monitored, the country may fall victim to another linguistic imperialism where Mandarin alone or with English will dominate Pakistan's national and indigenous languages (Awan 2018a) and the country will end up adopting another colonial language. The current practices in the context of the CPEC-P, where Mandarin is used as an MOC along with English, strengthen the concern that Pakistan's languages will be ignored again in the creation of local and regional economies.

From an economic point of view, the CPEC-P in its current form—as a bilingual economic forum—is mainly benefitting English and Mandarin speakers as other language speakers have to rely upon these two groups for recent updates, policy-related matters and potential opportunities. As it has been the case with the enforcement of English in the past, continuing with the currently enforced bilingual policy, the Pakistani government is allowing the promotion of the Mandarin language at the expense of national and local languages. There is already distress at the speed with which the Chinese influence is being exerted on Pakistani languages, society, politics, and the economy (Baloch, 2017; Jakhar, 2018; Naqvi, 2017) as some have started to perceive it as another version of the East India Company or as Ahmed (2018) termed it as "China's cultural diplomacy in Pakistan". Considering the seriousness of the issue, a language policy that can address these apprehensions is a must. Using a multilingual approach, Pakistan can create a local-language-anti-linguistic imperialism-measure to supervise the promotion of Mandarin and English languages in the country.

4.3 Status of Pakistan's National and Local Languages

Currently, English and Mandarin, non-indigenous languages of Pakistan, are being used in the operationalization of the CPEC-C and the utilization of national and local languages remains to be a neglected priority. The attitude of the Pakistani government as well as private stakeholders is contributing to the decline of the linguistic diversity in the context of the CPEC-P.

Considering the economic significance of the CPEC-P, the governments of Pakistan and China aim to promote cultural ties and develop long-term relations not only at the state levels but also among people. However, the main tool for communication, local languages, which plays a pivotal role in the success of socioeconomic

exchange (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009) is not being given its due consideration. Despite thorough planning and heavy investment in sociocultural, religious, and economic projects, the only Pakistani language that is being learned in China is Urdu, which, nevertheless, is not adopted as an official language for the CPEC-P administration. This situation has to change if Pakistan wants to take advantage of the economic opportunities associated with the CPEC-P and use it as a platform to promote its vernaculars. One of the serious concerns is the negligence of developing a language policy to administer the CPEC-P as a local economy that will not only create employment opportunities for the Sino-Pak population but will also result in developing economies in national and local languages.

In addition to the limited governmental sustenance, there is unsatisfactory support from the non-governmental agencies and the local population for the promotion of their languages. As mentioned above, educational institutes like NUML[4] and NUST offer Mandarin language courses and tend to provide information about their language programs and services in English and Mandarin but do not consider Urdu or other local languages as a medium. Since these programs are aimed at Pakistani students, the practices of ignoring vernaculars for information sharing can be problematic for Mandarin language learners that do not understand either English or Mandarin but are proficient in their native languages.

Similarly, Hadid (2018), while reporting incidents of cultural exchanges and weddings between Pakistanis and Chinese as one of the outcomes of the CPEC-P, highlights the disappointing attitude of the people toward utilizing their local languages as MOC as they interact with each other. She argues that the promotion of local languages remains to be a neglected priority as most of these couples choose to adopt English as an MOC for themselves and for their children. This suggests that English is also exerting its influence beyond the CPEC-P and is developing as a common language within cross-cultural relationships. Commenting on such attitude, Coleman and Capstick (2012) stated that a tendency toward English language use compared to vernaculars when communicating with foreigners is a common practice among many people from developing countries. Since English language and globalization are perceived to be interlinked, people believe that speaking English will earn them respect nationally and internationally. Until people start to be proud of their mother tongues and transfer their languages and cultures to their children, national and local languages cannot be elevated to the level of English.

5 Proposal—The Way Forward

I argue that if we want to benefit fully from the CPEC-P, we have to create an intentional multilingual policy that ensures the use of Pakistan's national and local

[4] It should be noted that NUML offers training for oriental, occidental, and Pakistani languages. The webpages for each of these languages contain information mostly in English or the language the webpage is about, but not in Urdu and local languages.

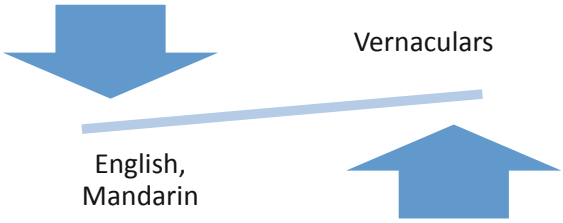

Fig. 1 Creating a balance between English/Mandarin and Pakistan's languages

languages in addition to English and Mandarin. As the project has the potential to be used as an economic platform for the promotion of languages, as it can be seen in the case of Mandarin, and involves governments as well as people, ignoring Urdu and other indigenous languages in information production and sharing will result in creating an economic scheme that benefits people with mostly English and Mandarin language skills—*the linguistically elite* class. Awan (2018b) argues that whether Mandarin supplants English as another "superior" language or both coexist, their growing influence in the CPEC-P is detrimental to the status of Urdu and other Pakistani languages and will increase the socioeconomic disparities. It is necessary that Pakistan's languages should not be ignored while promoting Mandarin or any other language, so that the country does not end up adopting another colonial language (Fig. 1).

Using an economic approach to language policy development (Zhang & Grenier, 2012) as its theoretical base, this chapter proposes the inclusion of Urdu as well as other local languages as official[5] languages for the CPEC-P administration for economic interests. Departing from the linguistic perspective of language policy and planning that argues for the representation of minority languages for linguistic, political, identity, educational, and cultural reasons (Christian, 1998; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997), I argue upon analysis that a possible way to elevate the status of Pakistan's national and local languages against English and Mandarin in the context of the CPEC-P and other economic projects is through their use for economic incentives. As Marschak (1965, cited in Zhang & Grenier, 2012) noted, "Language has economic characteristics, such as value, utility, costs and benefits" (p. 3) and is "a marketable commodity" (Heller, 2003, p. 474), certain languages can be promoted and/or adopted for financial gains and earnings (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Grin, 2003). Following this approach, Pakistan can utilize the CPEC-P as a platform to strengthen its national as well as local languages by and for creating regional economies.

The main challenge is a scarcity of literature that discusses Sino-Pak language issues and proposes solutions for the challenges. As it was observed during the process of writing this chapter, only a few research papers and newspaper articles highlight the issue (Raza, 2020). As a starting point for the enactment of the policy recommended here, the Government of Pakistan should document the

[5] The official status would require governmental and non-governmental bodies and sectors to disseminate the CPEC-C related policies and procedures in Urdu and other local languages of Pakistan and utilize them as MOC besides English and Mandarin. This will allow all language groups to have equal access to important information about the CPEC-P.

linguistic demography of the CPEC-C to see how the local workforce uses different languages. This data is essential in knowing what languages are currently in practice and whether they are utilized for formal or informal communication. Based upon the information about the current demo-linguistic situation, the government, in cooperation with researchers and policy developers, will be able to develop a well-researched and informed multilingual policy that ensures the utilization of national and local languages as MOC in the operationalization of the CPEC-P.

If Pakistan wants to create a linguistic harmony and elevate the status of its indigenous languages, it has to change current practices of developing selective languages and use the CPEC-P to leverage a shift in the way language use and learning is promoted in the country. We have to realize that the provision of language rights to minorities and the promotion of their national and local languages in the creation and administration of regional economies such as the CPEC-P will inculcate trust and confidence in its citizens about their own languages, government, and leadership. When societies find an economic benefit to learning and using a language, their interest in that language increases. As Cenoz and Gorter (2009) argue, "When more people use a language, it becomes more useful to other people. This has an effect on the attractiveness of particular languages" (p. 6). Since the CPEC-P also interests regional countries like Iran, Afghanistan, India, Saudi Arabia, and UAE, through a multilingual economic policy, Pakistan can manipulate this opportunity to promote its languages to these countries as well.

6 Conclusion

Research into economics and multilingualism indicates that languages, in addition to being promoted for educational, identity, political, and social purposes, can also be developed for economic gains. Taking a different stand on linguistic diversity, the economic approach to language policy and planning calls for realizing the economic advantages of a linguistically diverse population. Countries with diverse linguistic resources that have been heavily relying upon a single language (e.g., unrestricted use of English, and now Mandarin, in Pakistan) can use economic platforms to promote their indigenous languages within and beyond national boundaries.

Following the economic approach to language policy enactment, this chapter proposes forming a multilingual policy that can assist in creating a balance between the use of English, Mandarin, and Pakistan's national and local languages for the operationalization of the CPEC-P. Such a policy, created with the collaboration of academics and policymakers, will provide equal opportunities to all the main languages that are or can be used in the CPEC-P and may decrease social inequities. Although efforts are being made to promote Mandarin in Pakistan and Urdu in China, the representation of Urdu and other local languages is diminished by the excessive use of English and Mandarin. Pakistan has a great opportunity to use the CPEC-P as a platform to not only elevate the status of its national and local languages but also

monitor the influence of English and Mandarin. As a unique case of its kind, the enactment of a multilingual policy to develop indigenous languages for economic gains in Pakistan can also become an example for other linguistically diverse countries to follow as well as expand research in the field of language and economy.

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Chapter 12
Marginalized Students and Linguistic Challenges at Intensive English Programs in Lebanon

Tamara Al Khalili

Abstract This research study examines the role that English language policy plays in educational access and future success. The study is conducted in a private university in Lebanon that uses English as a medium of instruction (EMI), and it addresses the difficulties that students coming from refugee and public schools face when studying at such universities. The study is critical in nature and is based on qualitative interviews and classroom observations that revealed stress and inequality faced by marginalized students because of poor schooling experiences. Language education policy disadvantages many students by requiring them to take English intensive courses as prerequisites for higher education or limits their choices and career opportunities. The findings call for improvements in K-12 public instruction and changes in the expectations of the higher education system.

1 Introduction

Learning foreign languages like English and French for communication and collaboration with the world is highly required in Lebanon and many countries in the Arab region. With the neoliberal move in the last few decades, many countries have encouraged privatization and corporatization in the educational sector and promoted teaching in English at higher education as a strategy for increasing graduates' competitiveness (Barnawi, 2018; Harvey, 2005). Consistent with this international shift, many Arab countries that attract students of different nationalities, including Lebanon, have modernized teaching and learning and encouraged the spread of private schools and universities that use English as the main language of instruction.

In Lebanon, 70% of students are enrolled in private schools that follow an international curriculum. The students study most of the curriculum in a foreign language, mainly French or English depending on the school's orientations (Zakharia, 2017) except for the social sciences subjects which are taught in Arabic at these schools.

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Also, the students at private schools learn a second foreign language starting by lower elementary to help them be more global and have broader access for international higher education. The other 30% of the students residing in Lebanon study in public schools where the primary language of instruction is mainly Arabic. Several studies show that the enrollment in public schools is continuously decreasing because of the perceptions that public schools provide poor education quality and students who attend public schools are from disadvantaged and low-middle-class families or refugees whose circumstances and living conditions hinder their capability of having well-rounded education (Bahous et al., 2011).

It is important to mention in this study that because of the regional sociopolitical instability, a lot of students from the Middle East (ME) were obliged to leave their homes, cross their countries' boundaries, and reside in Lebanon for better chances of living. Some of these students are registered at free schools run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) or the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and many others are getting a formal education in afternoon public schools run by the Lebanese government for refugees and funded by external organizations. According to a report conducted by the Center for Educational Research and Development (2019), the total number of students registered for the academic year 2018/2019 in Lebanon was 1,073,141 including 36,212 Palestinian refugee students. In terms of percentage, the report revealed that 30.9% of the students go to public state schools, 52.6% go to non-free private schools, 13.1% go to free private schools, and 3.4% go to UNRWA private schools. As for the Syrian refugees, the latest statistics show that there are at least 400,000 school-age students in Lebanon many of whom do not go to schools or have dropped out because of language difficulties, overcrowded schools, transport costs, tuition fees, mistreatment, and discrimination (Maadad & Matthews, 2018; Shuayb et al., 2014).

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and some other European refugee aid organizations offer refugee students scholarships and grants to continue their higher education at private universities in Lebanon (UNICEF Annual Report, 2017). To help these marginalized students, as well as the French-educated public-school graduates, enhance their knowledge of scientific subjects in English and continue higher education smoothly, most of the Lebanese private universities offer pre-university intensive English programs (IEPs) to prepare all the members of the community for higher education in English. These universities have an open-door policy. They attract all types of students and follow lenient entrance requirements while requiring students to be placed in IEPs to enhance English proficiency (Nasser & Goff-Kfouri, 2008). However, many students still face difficulties when pursuing scientific streams like sciences, mathematics, engineering, and medicine in Lebanese private universities.

This study is conducted in one of the private universities that have recently opened in Lebanon with English as the medium of instruction. Although more expensive than the state university, this private university attracts some Lebanese from working-class backgrounds, many of whose previous foreign language was French, as well as refugee students (Palestinians, Iraqis, and Syrians) supported by relief agencies, many of whom have had disrupted education experiences. The study intends to fill

the gap in the literature regarding how well the language policy system followed in enterprising private universities in Lebanon serves marginalized students and to what extent lack of English language competency might limit their higher education options and opportunities. The study investigates the following research questions:

(1) What are refugee and public-school students' attitudes toward English as a medium of instruction (EMI) at private universities in Lebanon?
(2) What are the challenges faced by marginalized students in English-intensive courses at private universities in Lebanon?

2 Perspectives on EMI

Over the past few years, the argument of whether it is fair that Arab countries teach solely in English at the tertiary level has been fraught with controversy. On one hand, English is a global Lingua Franca in an increasingly interconnected world and "is being rapidly embedded into the curriculum in a wide variety of countries from preschool to higher education" (Marsh, 2006, p. 30). On the other hand, several studies affirm that EMI has detrimental effects on students' academic performance and acts as a barrier to learning when enforced as a top-down policy by governments (Cummins, 2008). Brock-Utne (2010) claims that primary school students' test results are affected negatively by EMI, and students should have the right to study in their native language. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) point out that ESL students not only feel that they have extra workload at colleges but also that they are not fairly assessed. Troudi (2009) supports this point of view by illustrating that

> the burden of having to study content subjects in an alien language can be detrimental and the problem of judging the students' language and not the thought it represents especially in the case when that academic language is a foreign language for the students is not fair. (p. 211)

Annamalai states that English "reproduces inequality and does not equalize opportunities as projected" and that inequality is even deepened when instructors at private colleges ignore students' different backgrounds and minimal exposure to good academic and linguistic resources that deter their success at college (2005, p. 35). The imposition of foreign language policy violates democratic principles and prevents students from their minimum rights of having appropriate education in their mother tongue in some cases leading to confusion, despair, and high dropout rates (Al-Bakri, 2013).

The ideology that the best education is only in a foreign language has become naturalized in Lebanon, but it has marginalized some students as well. In this respect and to minimize educational inequalities, the belief behind the critical methodology adopted in this paper is that Lebanon needs to adopt a middle ground proposal in education, like a dual-language instruction system that emphasizes the need to know both English/French and Arabic, not one or the other. For instance, Canagarajah (1993) sets the conditions for a pedagogy of appropriating discourses and supports a

model that does not reject English but rather encourages adapting it to one's needs. In the same direction, Troudi and Jendli (2011) recommend having "Arabic and English mutually coexist in a model of dual-language instruction for university students" in Arab countries (p. 23). EMI is a double-edged sword. It is professionally useful in many cases. It is a means to access modern ideas, innovations, and a privilege for career seekers in business, international affairs, and media. At the same time, it can be potentially detrimental to academic success and equality. Thus, it is the position of this paper that improving English instruction in K-12 refugee and public schools in Lebanon by adopting a well-rounded pluralistic linguistic policy and dual-language instruction would be a good option.

3 Methodology

This research is undertaken to improve conditions and opportunities for students currently struggling at higher education. The researcher employed a critical exploratory methodology to raise awareness that current language policies at public and refugee schools are marginalizing and repressing the students when they reach the college level. To better understand the challenges faced by marginalized students, the researcher conducted critical classroom observations over one month and held five semi-structured interviews with students. The observations focused on students' interaction and task completion in the class. The level of participation in class discussion, the interaction level between the students, the students' oral skills and fluency, and the ability to finish assignments individually within the allotted time were observed. The observations also recorded whether the students were effectively involved or marginalized in the learning process based on their social backgrounds. In the interviews, students reflected on their experiences in the English courses and voiced their concerns, challenges, and difficulties. They broke the silence and spoke about their life situations in their own words without shame or regret. The interviews gave the marginalized and underprivileged students the chance to reject oppression, hegemony, and inequality. The interviews were conducted in Arabic, and the excerpts reported here were translated into English by the researcher.

The participants are five ESL/EFL learners at the tertiary level in Lebanon aged between 17 and 22. All of them had studied two English courses as a prerequisite. The students are Palestinians, Syrians, and Lebanese. The Lebanese students graduated from public French schools, and the Syrian and the two Palestinians graduated from refugee public schools where Arabic is the main medium of instruction. A convenience sampling technique was employed. Nada, Mona, Hadi, Wael, and Saad are the pseudonyms that were used in this study. Ethical issues were all taken into considerations and confidentiality, and anonymity was guaranteed.

4 Findings and Discussions

The data collected through observations and interviews were analyzed and braided together in order to identify salient topics and issues (Ashour, 2018). Analysis indicated that challenges faced by the marginalized students could be grouped according to whether they related to previous poor schooling experiences or their current challenges as a result of EMI.

4.1 Previous Poor Schooling Experiences

4.1.1 Lack of Motivation in English Courses

The students participating in this study admitted that at school they were unmotivated to learn English, that is why they did not care about attending English sessions. Wael said, "I was not interested at that time in learning English at all. Now I am learning English because I know its importance in reaching my goal." Similarly, Hadi mentioned that he had taken three English courses till now, and he studied just to pass the courses and raise his GPA regardless of developing his language skills. He added that "I did not have this plan in mind before. I avoided participating in English with others and I prefer Arabic. I am not used to speaking in English and my surroundings prefer Arabic too." Nada as well expressed the same feeling by confessing that she got her formal school education in French and she did not care about English before because she did not need it to graduate. She said, "I used to be shy, I never asked the English teacher about the meaning of a word. Now I dare to ask about anything because I am getting a grant and I do not want to lose it." Interviews revealed that the students were intrinsically unmotivated to learn English at school, and they did not exert any personal effort to overcome this lack of motivation until they realized the importance of what they now perceived as a prestigious international language in maximizing their chances to get a better education and develop their future careers.

4.1.2 Poor Pedagogical Practices

When the students were asked about their previous English instructors and the influence they had on the students' learning, they all said that the teachers and school management were the main reason behind the difficulties and the challenges they were facing at college except for one Palestinian student who said, "the instructors that taught me at school were not all bad … Some of them were not good but I am the one who is responsible for this weakness in language." The rest felt that the language policy followed in public schools and the leniency in learning languages were two major causes for difficulty in language courses at the tertiary level. They blamed the public schools for not enforcing better pedagogies, and they accused the teachers

of not teaching English properly, like in private schools. Nada said that her foreign language teachers were the main reason behind her difficulties. She said, "they did not let us participate, they did not explain well, they focused on the smart students, and they ignored the rest." This marginalization of students confirms Auerbach's belief that the instructional approaches used at schools and access to literacy are subjected to uneven power relations, and that classrooms are sites of struggle about "whose knowledge, experiences, literacy, discourse practices, and ways of using language count" (as cited in Shohamy, 2006, p. 79).

Wael mentioned that if he had better language instructors, he would have been better now, and if he had been better, he would have been given better opportunities to attend prestigious universities. He explained that he entered this local university because here English is easier than other universities. He told the story of a close friend who got his formal education in a good private school and was excelling abroad. He said:

> He did the IELTS and the TOFEL and scored high. I would like to be like him. His mom is an English teacher and used to follow up with him at home daily, and now he is studying engineering in Turkey. If my language was very good and I was raised in similar circumstances, I would have been studying in excellent universities now.

Wael's story confirms the inequality that occurs when some students are permitted to progress to better opportunities, and others are forced to accept underperformance by being demoted to an increasingly shrinking sphere of opportunity. According to Hadi, the teachers decided the curriculum to be followed at schools, and to Hadi, all the sessions were amusing except for the English ones that were his "break time." He said that he used to help his friends in all the scientific subjects during written assessments, and in return, they helped him in the English assessments.

Gallagher (2011) suggests that if students lack of ability impede them from learning English, then it is the teachers' responsibility to formulate alternative classroom practices to help the learners learn different languages, but that does not seem to have happened for these students. Moreover, most of the students voiced concerns that placing them in very huge classes with more than forty students per section and hiring teachers who teach English in Arabic had affected their learning experiences negatively.

According to the five students, academic writing and reading were the two skills that were disliked the most. They explained that writing was the most difficult language skill taught at school. It was never taught in an appropriate way that could have made their life easier at college. To them, writing meant composing three paragraphs, introduction, body, and conclusion. The teachers never explained the writing process or even different writing techniques. According to the interviews and the observations, all the five students used to memorize their teacher's model essays to pass the writing tests. This fact revealed a harsh reality that is still prevailing in many public schools nowadays and requires immediate action to be wiped out. Saad who came from a refugee school said, "I cannot write without memorizing sentences and I usually memorize few phrases in English, and I add to them few more to come up with a short paragraph." The absence of criticality and prevalence of memorization

in writing blocked the students' smartness, limited their imagination, and prevented them from realizing their full potentials (Masri, 2015).

As for reading and fluency, Saad added that the English sessions revolved on reading simple texts and answering straight forward questions by the teacher. Students were not given chances to think critically and analyze the texts. These practices cause severe problems at university; as Cummins explains, "critical reading is a prerequisite for successful writing since academic language is found primarily in written texts" (2000, p. 98). Unfortunately, the students were not trained to read and think critically. Hadi indicated that he did not understand what he was reading most of the time at school, especially when the texts were long, and he did not know how to summarize them. He added that the teacher used to read the lessons, answer the questions by herself, and they only used to copy the answers from the board. During observations, this point was obvious, especially during assessments. The students faced comprehension problems. Reading and understanding what was requested was difficult for all of them. They faced difficulties in understanding what the question was about. Nada confessed that she needed more time than what was allotted by the teacher to understand a text. She said that she found difficulty in translating the text and there some words had different meanings in different sentences. Moreover, students were never asked to research information and present it in class.

Fluency is a major issue that is as important as writing and reading. According to Saad, the teachers used to explain English lessons in Arabic and the students communicated in Arabic during English classes, which deprived them of the opportunity to practice the foreign language in the only place to be practiced. Nada mentioned in the interview that she was not capable of expressing herself in English without preparation, but now she is trying to participate in class to improve her communication skills and overcome shyness. Wael said, "I am not used to speaking, but I would love to improve my speaking skills. I am working on improving it by watching English movies." Saad said, "I feel I need much more practice. I never used to speak in English in class, and the teachers read in English and explain the lesson in Arabic."

Observations showed that the students did not actively participate in class due to a lack of motivation and bad prior experiences at school. They passively sat and listened. Occasionally they took notes or wrote down the meaning of new words. They preferred not to participate in English in class and when they had concerns, they expressed them in Arabic. Their lack of interest and their weak prior school experiences lowered their self-esteem, impeded them from participating in classroom discussions, and affected their learning process negatively.

4.2 Current Challenges Because of EMI

4.2.1 Difficulties in Intensive English Course

English language difficulties were faced by all the students coming from public and refugee schools at the tertiary level. When students were asked whether they expected

difficulties before starting the English courses, many of them said "yes" based on the English entrance exam which was very difficult for them. Nada said that since that moment she expected facing difficulties in the English courses, and this feeling was intensified when she failed the previous course. In short, her weak command of English made her suffer in the courses which are considered difficult for students with limited knowledge of English. She admitted that she regretted choosing a major in an English-speaking university. Therefore, her English was both an obstacle that was delaying her progress at college and a source of pain and suffering to attain her aim which was becoming a preschool teacher. Similarly, Hadi disliked the reading component of the English courses. He said that he had a poor vocabulary bank and he did not understand the text very often, especially if it was hard.

4.2.2 Frustration and Helplessness

All the students interviewed expressed their fear and stress. They referred to the idea of unfairness and inequality among the students several times. They all felt a need to blame someone or something for their difficulties, which is a sign of frustration. For instance, Hadi said, "three-quarters of the students are weak in English, and this indicates that the curriculum has gaps." At public schools, they focus on math and sciences, and they ignore teaching English properly, which is the main way to study at good colleges according to Saad. He added that the bad prior English instruction at school was causing lots of problems that were accompanying the students to college, depriving them of appropriate education and causing frustration and helplessness.

The students also stressed that they were Arabs and they had the right to have a good education in their mother tongue language, which would be easier for them, but this option did not exist. They reported that the strict English language policy at private universities was wasting their energy and effort. It was delaying their progress and affecting their relationship with their parents negatively.

Classroom observations revealed anxiety, frustration, and lack of confidence. Nada and Mona panicked before every oral assessment, and they were stressed most of the time especially during written exams. They were worried about not passing the course and facing more complications. To them, learning English properly at this age was difficult. Their errors in syntax, pronunciation, and vocabulary resulted from the influence of the French language. They pronounced certain sounds with difficulty and sometimes incorrectly due to interference from another language. They both thought that if they had learned English at earlier stages simultaneously with French and Arabic, things would have been easier for them.

Observations supported what was spoken about in the interviews and confirmed that students coming from public and refugee schools face many difficulties at higher education that are frustrating and distressing to them.

5 The Way Forward

This study pinpoints the challenges that some public and refugee school students face at private universities and their attitudes toward EMI in Lebanon. Findings show that students coming from public and refugee schools are struggling at English-medium universities because of their previous poor schooling experiences which are causing difficulties, lack of motivation, frustration, and helplessness at higher education. Poor schooling experiences are marginalizing vulnerable students at private universities and are deepening the inequality between "those for whom proficiency in English opens doors and those for whom lack of proficiency closes doors" (Piller & Cho, 2013, p. 29).

Expecting students to participate actively in class discussions, express themselves fluently in English, write legible comprehensive and unified essays without mistakes, and excel in their majors in English after only four English courses as prerequisite for university education seems ridiculous. Students coming from public and refugee schools need more care, more attention, and differentiated English content programs at the tertiary level before evaluating them equally with others who have better and longer English knowledge and experiences and limiting their options.

Several successful theories show that for K-12 education and IEP programs to be beneficial and to develop the students' cognitive academic language proficiency, academic literacy tasks such as writing assignments or reading textbooks should be situation reduced and cognitively challenging (Cummins, 2000). Similarly integrating academic language into the English curriculum can accelerate second language learning and prepare students well for college courses (Beckett & Haley, 2000). Also, Content and Language Integrated Learning has proven to be a successful educational approach that has surpassed traditional approaches to both subject and language teaching and has promoted the learner's general learning abilities, motivation and interest (Marsh, 2006). Therefore, preparing students for academic language proficiency is essential and can be achieved by implementing a well-rounded English based curriculum that associates the language with higher-order thinking skills at the public schools and the IEPs (Cummins, 2008), and these curricula should be reviewed continuously to achieve the desired goals.

Based on the findings, it is necessary to wipe out the gap in the English curricula between the public and private education in Lebanon to allow all citizens to have good quality education. Continuous cooperation between public schools and universities, development plans, and a "solid English language curriculum, designed with clear and realistic objectives… that reflect a sound knowledge of methodology, language pedagogy, and appropriate materials" should be created and followed to help public-school students succeed at private universities (Troudi, 2009, p. 210). Also, intensive English instructors should be well trained to understand all students' needs and help them improve academically by providing them with differentiated materials and extra resources; they should encourage their students to visit writing centers that can provide extended help. In a nutshell, having dual language instructional programs and a well-rounded K-12 English language curriculum followed simultaneously in

public and private schools in Lebanon will enable all potential students to study and succeed at higher education in any university they want without pain and frustration.

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Chapter 13
Humoristic Translanguaging in Intercultural Communication in Qatar: Merits, Limitations, and Its Potential Contribution to Policy Development

Irene Theodoropoulou

Abstract This paper deals with the merits and limitations of a pedagogical practice that has been developed in the context of teaching undergraduate sociolinguistics courses in a state tertiary education institute in the State of Qatar. This practice is called humoristic translanguaging, and it translates into the humoristic use of a diverse set of verbal, semiotic, and sociocultural resources that people know by degree and can use to enhance their linguistic input/output. Such an approach is practice-based, and the meanings that are shaped in the context of this interaction are created through an assemblage of diverse linguistic, semiotic, and sociocultural resources. Three major purposes of humoristic translanguaging have been identified in my datasets: the creation of classroom climate and efficiency of teaching, the breaking down of the rigidity of hierarchical structures by humanizing and personalizing interpersonal communication, and the delivery of sanctions and other necessary unpleasantries to students. Having provided evidence in favor of the idea that humoristic translanguaging can work successfully as a pedagogical strategy in the tertiary education classroom, I offer this as a suggestion of a strategy teachers but also students in TESOL can use as a resource to secure their autonomy and constant motivation to improve their respective teaching and learning performance.

1 Introduction

Over the years, the State of Qatar has created for itself the image of a global marketplace after having witnessed a massive influx of an array of diverse peoples from virtually all corners of the world. As such, it would not be an overstatement to suggest that Qatar is a goldmine for sociocultural linguistic research, namely research that tries to bridge language with the broader socio-political, historical and economic context of Qatar. The reason for this is the fact that Qatar is one of the few countries

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in the world whose population, comprising Qatari nationals and various expat groups, is characterized by great diversity. The current population (as of 25 August 2019) stands at 2,839,386 people. In terms of its population, it can be characterized as a super-diverse country (Vertovec, 2007), because over 87% of its population consists of non-Qatari citizens. The foreigners who arrive in Qatar for work comprise (highly) skilled (expats) and unskilled migrants (also known as blue-collar workers). Table 1 provides a list of the top 20 nationalities found in Qatar.

Indeed, such superdiversity is evident in the educational landscape of the country at the level of primary, secondary, and especially tertiary education (cf., Hillman & Eibenschultz, 2018; Nebel, 2017), and language policies in education settings keep changing over the years (Mustafawi & Shaaban, 2018). In such a dynamic and socioculturally diverse context, identity is a theme that has been investigated in the context of Qatar (e.g., Al-Janahi, 2014), and more specifically, in the context of tertiary education, which is the focus of this chapter. An example of a relevant recent study is Abou El-Kheir (2016), who has looked into teacher identity construction in the context of Qatar University. With a focus on intersectionality of various types of identity (national, religious, gender, professional), he provides an

Table 1 Top 20 nationalities found in Qatar

Nationality	Population	Percent of total* (%)
India	700,000	21.8
Bangladesh	400,000	12.5
Nepal	400,000	12.5
Qatar	333,000	10.5
Egypt	300,000	9.35
Philippines	236,000	7.35
Pakistan	150,000	4.7
Sri Lanka	140,000	4.35
Sudan	60,000	1.9
Syria	54,000	1.7
Jordan	51,000	1.6
Lebanon	40,000	1.25
USA	40,000	1.25
Kenya	30,000	1
Iran	30,000	1
Indonesia	27,350	0.85
Tunisia	26,000	0.8
Ethiopia	25,000	0.8
UK	22,000	0.7
Nigeria	11,000	0.35

Source http://priyadsouza.com/population-of-qatar-by-nationality-in-2017, accessed on 20 August 2020)

in-depth phenomenological analysis of one Qatari female academic's reflections on her education-related experiences. The study finds that the academic's identity is the outcome of a complicated and lengthy negotiation with multiple dimensions of social reality found in Qatar. More specifically, the teacher identity of his participant is the outcome of various themes that emerge from the analysis, including Islamic principles, her domestic role as a wife and a mother, her struggle to deal with bias against Qataris in the workplace, her attempt to be in alignment with the Qatar Vision 2030, her attempt to keep up with constant changes in education, her effort to balance between Arabic and English, as well as her effort to keep her self-motivation, in order to improve her teaching.

The country is currently witnessing a rapid social change, which is evident, among other domains, in the ways women nowadays receive university education (Al-Maadheed, 2017). Upon graduation, many of them decide to enter into the workforce, a fact that has resulted in dramatic changes in until very recently traditionally segregated gender roles, translating into men acting as breadwinners and women acting as housewives and mothers. Subsequently, research on language and gender tries to document and interpret these changes. Theodoropoulou and Ahmed (2019) is an example of such a study. More specifically, their ethnographic study examines how gender roles associated with male and female Qatari students in intercultural communication courses in a university in Qatar are negotiated between them and their two female instructors from the USA and Greece. The study argues for the need for students' and instructors' mutual engagement in a pedagogical approach, which the researchers call "dialogical infotainment" as an efficient way to overcome cultural misunderstandings. This translates into sharing various types of power in order to sharpen people's cultural sensitivity and subsequent tolerance and respect for each other's gender role-related peculiarities. Such an approach serves as a means for the two university instructors to share their institutional power with their students in order to empower the latter by encouraging them to express their perspective, to tackle sexism (cf., Theodoropoulou, 2018) and to celebrate any intercultural communicative differences. At the same time, the study shows that the students empower the instructors by sharing with them their knowledge of the cultural particularities associated with their perception of gender in Qatar. In light of this, such a critical intercultural communicative viewpoint (cf., also Rostron, 2009) on gendered cultures can eventually help all people involved in educational processes learn from each other in a democratic way, and embrace deeply shared cultural understandings, as well as new forms of creative and expressive communication, as dialogic outcomes in the university classroom.

All universities in Qatar, national and international, public and private, recognizing the role and status of English as a lingua franca in the country (Alkhatib, 2017), have engaged over the years in TESOL as a need not only to prepare Qatari nationals for the extrovert and international job market of the country but also to offer courses in English as a lingua franca to speakers of various languages that decide to study in Qatar (Eslami et al., 2016b; Pessoa & Rajakumar, 2011). TESOL research has recognized the role of bilingualism (e.g., Baker, 2011; Garcia, 2009) and multilingualism in English language teaching, which is considered to be a pledge for

fostering global engagement. In fact, multilingualism is considered to be a priority in English language education, according to the Action Agenda for the Future of the TESOL Profession, with some very specific action steps being suggested in order to cement the cosmopolitan character of this type of education, including that as educators we should a) "engage in practices that recognize multilingualism as an asset to English language teaching that positively influences language outcomes, innovation, and practice," and b) "enhance intercultural communication and the development of global engagement in English language education programs" (TESOL International Association, 2018, p. 6).

In light of this recent turn to the way multilingualism is viewed, in this chapter I reflect on my teaching experience in the context of higher education in Qatar, by focusing on the merits and limitations of an educational approach I have developed over the years, which I call "humoristic translanguaging," and explore its potential contribution to policy development. After a brief discussion of my background, I elaborate on humoristic translanguaging by providing specific examples from the classroom, and eventually I link this approach to issues of TESOL-related teaching policy development.

2 Background

Originally from Athens, Greece, I have completed a long period of studying classics, linguistics, and English language teaching in diverse educational and cultural contexts in countries, including Greece, Austria, the UK, and USA. A common feature I have been able to identify is that my favorite teachers have always been the ones who were the most enthusiastic about their work, and, hence, have shown interest in their students. Enthusiasm is, in my opinion, bound to lead someone to success, as it helps instructors develop their teaching skills and, subsequently, to also watch students improving. As part of this enthusiasm (and, I would argue, as a result of this) comes extensive (either conscious, or, more often than not, unconscious) use of humor. Gervais and Wilson (2005) broadly defined humor as "nonserious social incongruity" (p. 399), which plays out primarily in language and is constructed through the use of language. The double voicing analysis of humor entails recognizing "a clash of simultaneous incongruous messages or 'bisociated' meanings" (Norrick & Chiaro, 2009, p. X).

As a language teacher and scholar, who has been working in Qatar for almost a decade, I began to ask myself whether TESOL education policy in the form of a monolingual offering should be celebrated as a model of success or whether a more multilingual take, which does justice to our students' linguistic background and linguistic needs, would be considered more successful, more appropriate and, hence, more in tune with their expectations (cf., Flores & Chaparro, 2018). Leaning toward the second option, I feel that if we embrace multilingualism in class, we should make sure that we, both students and teachers, try to deliver it through humor, as much as possible, given that appropriate use of humor in the classroom (cf., Bekelja Wanzer

et al., 2006) can minimize the social distance that already exists not only due to the institutionally inherent hierarchical relationship in the classroom but also due to our respective different social backgrounds. Minimizing the social distance means paving the way for the creation of mutual respect, trust, and, eventually, maximizing the chances of efficient learning on behalf of both parties, namely students and their teacher.

In light of the above thoughts, in this chapter, I suggest that we need to broaden the notion of TESOL and consequently what counts as language education. My argument builds upon Phillipson's critique of English linguistic imperialism (1992), which he identified with the situation we have when "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (p. 47). What this critique proves is that micro level linguistic inequalities created in the context of a classroom through the adoption of a monolingual prioritization echo larger societal inequalities.

Relevant to the discussion of English linguistic imperialism is also Clyne's (2005) concept of "monolingual mindset", namely the use of a single language, which entails the absence of language choice, which has been argued to seem normal and natural. In this sense, linguistic proficiency and linguistic diversity get ignored or trivialized, a reality that again paves the way for the creation of social polarization and, eventually, discrimination.

In order to avoid these pitfalls, since I started teaching sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, along with language and gender and intercultural communication at Qatar University, I have embraced the concept of "translanguaging" (Eslami et al., 2016b; Hillman et al., 2018; Lewis et al., 2012). Essentially, we are talking about a gradual building of a linguistic repertoire (Blackledge & Creese, 2017), which translates into developing abilities to use different linguistic features from various languages in order to fulfill different functions (Canagarajah, 2011. Translanguaging is a dynamic process, which allows people the constant drawing from all languages in their palette to communicate. At the same time, as a social accomplishment, it also entails the creative use of linguistic material—more often than not in a collaborative way with one's interlocutors—to co-construct meaning. Such linguistic improvisation is subject to the local communicative context (cf., Theodoropoulou, 2019) and the intentions of the speaker. As such, translanguaging can be seen as a lived sociocultural linguistic reality in Qatar.

As a linguistic practice, it presupposes "a multicompetence that functions symbiotically for the different languages in one's repertoire" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 1). As a social practice, translanguaging is also in full alignment with intercultural communication in a multilingual world. Real language matters in intercultural communication. Multilingualism and linguistic diversity is an ubiquitous sociolinguistic reality, and speakers are asked to make choices from the languages and language varieties they have access to. These choices are a form of social practice and are embedded in language ideologies and the political economy of language (Piller, 2017). Of particular interest here is what Canagarajah has called the "interactional dimension of translanguaging activity," namely "the dialogical practice in which the uptake of

one's semiotic acts may be as consequential as the structure of the semiotic acts themselves" (2011, p. 5). What this means is that the translanguaged meaning needs to be recognized by the interlocutors of the translanguager. Such translanguaging proficiency associated with the idea that the embedding of a particular linguistic practice in a particular social space or a particular institution automatically enhances or restricts access to that space or that institution is essential on behalf of both students and teachers. Language choice and understanding are indeed a matter of what is acceptable in intercultural communication in the classroom: "what a language ideology enables us to accept, within a particular social space or institution" (Piller, 2017, p. 88).

3 Translanguaging Humor

In light of the above, in this section, I discuss translanguaged humor as has unfolded over the years in my classes on behalf of my students and also on behalf of me as their teacher. At the end, I reflect on the ways whereby such a practice can find its way into policy documents pertinent to TESOL.

3.1 Teasing

An element of humorous communication in the classroom is teasing, or playfully making fun of someone (Banas et al., 2011). It is not a strategy I use a lot with my students, because it can always lead to misunderstandings, but in the rare cases I use it, I always try to convey it sociolinguistically through translanguaging; in this particular example following immediately below (Fig. 1), translanguaging is found in the assessment of one of my students' essays, and it takes place in an entertaining and, hence, harmless but decisive way, as I illustrate. In the following example, the student has erroneously translated into English the Arabic text of a tweet pertinent to Sheikh Tamim's leadership during the blockade that was imposed on Qatar on the 5 June 2017. Instead of writing that "Qataris love their country", which was the intended message, she wrote that "Qataris are good lovers", which I, personally, found hilarious, given that usually my Qatari students are very conscious of and they tend to refrain from discussing Qatari people's sexual performance, at least in the context of the classroom, due to cultural and religious constraints.

However, in this particular example, I wanted to bring my student's attention to the fact that her translation was not successful by simultaneously alerting her in a discreet way that what she wrote could be misunderstood by another reader with less tolerance; this is the connotation of the word "haram" [= religiously forbidden] I used in my hand-written comments. Overall, there is a history in terms of my use of the word "haram" in all my classes, which my students know; whenever I need to talk to them about something that is considered to be "haram" in their culture,

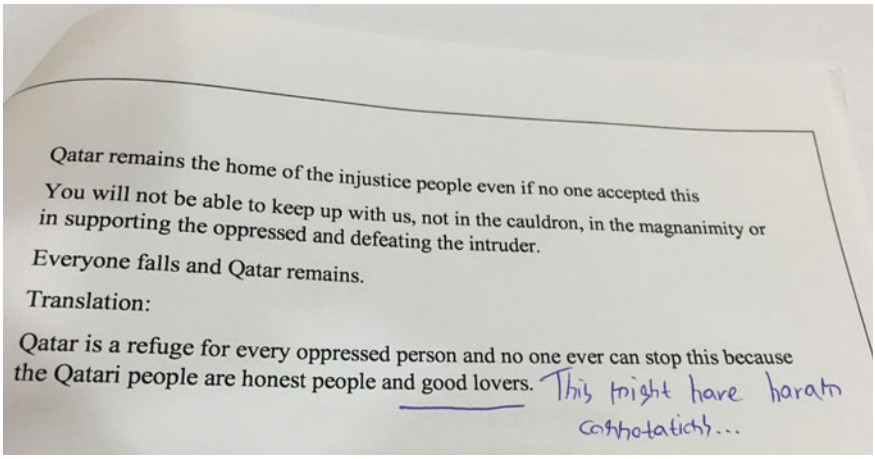
Qatar remains the home of the injustice people even if no one accepted this
You will not be able to keep up with us, not in the cauldron, in the magnanimity or in supporting the oppressed and defeating the intruder.
Everyone falls and Qatar remains.
Translation:
Qatar is a refuge for every oppressed person and no one ever can stop this because the Qatari people are honest people and good lovers. This might have haram connotations...

Fig. 1 Haram Connotations

I always "warn" them by framing what I am about to say as "haram," so they will not be offended, and such a translanguaging choice has helped a lot in terms of maintenance of rapport and mutual respect between us. Because I am an outsider in their culture, they consider my use of "haram" as a rather humoristic conversational choice. Eventually the student, whose essay has been discussed here, was able to pick up the teasing tone in a discussion we had about her paper after its grading. She realized her mistake without me having offended her but just alerting her in a culturally appropriate way.

3.2 Translanguaged Humor for Clarity

Over the years, I have tried to learn Arabic not only because of my personal and research interest in the various Arabic cultures but also because I would like to be able to use some "keywords" in my communication with my students, the vast majority of whom are native speakers of Arabic (and, in particular, of the Qatari dialect), in order to make my points clear (Theodoropoulou, 2015). In light of this, whenever I have to explain to them issues that have to do with how to study or how to do research, I usually employ translanguaging, which includes a creative and yet understood use of my idiosyncratic Arabic. Such an example of humoristic idiosyncratic use of Arabic, which my students always find fun but they understand it and thus they follow it, is my use of the word "zibdah". In Arabic, this word literally means "butter," but it also means "the gist" or "the essence" of something. I use it in my translanguaged idiolect in class with the aforementioned meaning, but I also use it as a verb, "to zibdatize", which of course does not exist in Arabic. It is a blend neologism consisting of the Arabic word "zibdah" and the English suffix

"-ize", which means "to form," "to make," or "to become." The reason why I use "zibdatize" and not "zibdize", as some would have expected, is due to a grammatical rule that exists in Arabic, according to which if a word in Arabic ends with a ة(called "tah marbutah"), and this ta marbuta is followed by other sounds, then it needs to be pronounced as /at/ and not as /a/. Having in mind this grammatical rule, and trying to stick to it, given that I know how important grammatically properly formed words and phrases are to native speakers of Arabic, I have decided to coin the verb "zibdatize". This neologism means "to find the gist of" or "to summarize". The rationale behind its creation is to encourage my students to do this when they read texts and they try to extract the information they need from those texts. An illustrative example containing this act of translanguaging is the following email I sent to one of my students, who was inquiring about how she can collect academic bibliography pertinent to her term paper topic in my sociolinguistics course:

(1)

Hi Maryam,

Thanks for your email. No, reading the abstract is not enough; please read the whole paper, but please do so strategically: We usually read the abstract, and we skim through the intro, and conclusion of a research article first, just to get its basic idea and argument(s). Then, if we feel it is relevant to our own study, we read through the methodology and the analysis by *zibdatizing* their main points!

I hope this makes sense.

Best wishes,

Dr. Irene

Both students and I know exactly what is meant by this translanguaged neologism without having to revert to lengthy and, sometimes, non-sensical discussions where the zibdah is lost (in translation or in elaborate syntactic formations).

3.3 Translanguaged Humor in Students' Examples

Due to the nature of the courses I teach, translanguaging only seems natural as a linguistic practice during class, as our discussions with students include the analysis of linguistic examples from students' countries, communities, and respective cultures used to illustrate sociolinguistic concepts. The following example (Fig. 2), taken from Blackboard Collaborate Ultra chat, which my students and I have been using extensively in online teaching during the COVID-19 pandemic, includes the word "sheefa" in Arabic, which means "ugly girl," and it was offered by a student as an example of a lexical gap, namely a situation of linguistic bias, in which there are (usually negative) words created to refer to women but there are no equivalent terms to refer to men. This discussion was taking place in the context of my language and gender course.

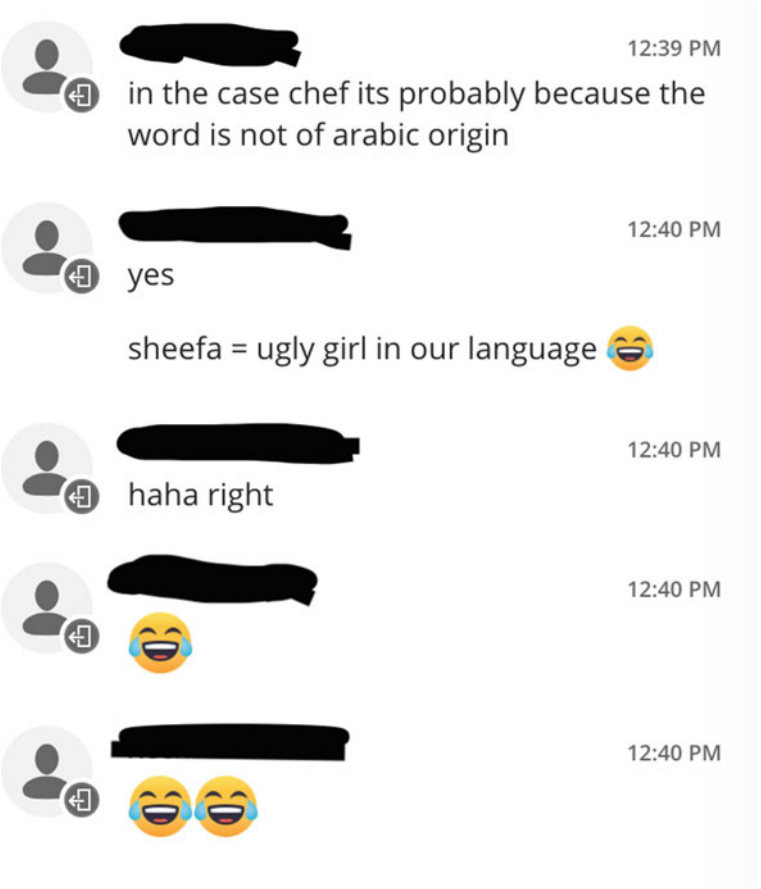

Fig. 2 "Sheefa"

Translanguaging in the realm of computer-mediated communication (cf., Kim, 2018), which was the norm in teaching substituting face-to-face classroom discussions during COVID-19, will be ready for use all over the world. It also includes the alternation between typed language (in various alphabets and scripts) and the use of emojis. Students, in this particular example, react with the use of the face with tears of joy, which in turn indexes their enhanced laughter. Such use of emojis suggests that the "sheefa" example is a very culturally specific and appropriate example of a lexical gap in the Arabic language.

Another type of translanguaging that can be found in my datasets is the use of Enabic (a blend from the words "English" and "Arabic") variety, namely the opposite of Arabizi (a blend of the words "Arabi" [= Arabic language] and "Ingilizi" [= English language]): It is when people type an English word in the Arabic script, such as the word "yes", which is spelled in Arabic in the following example (Fig. 3).

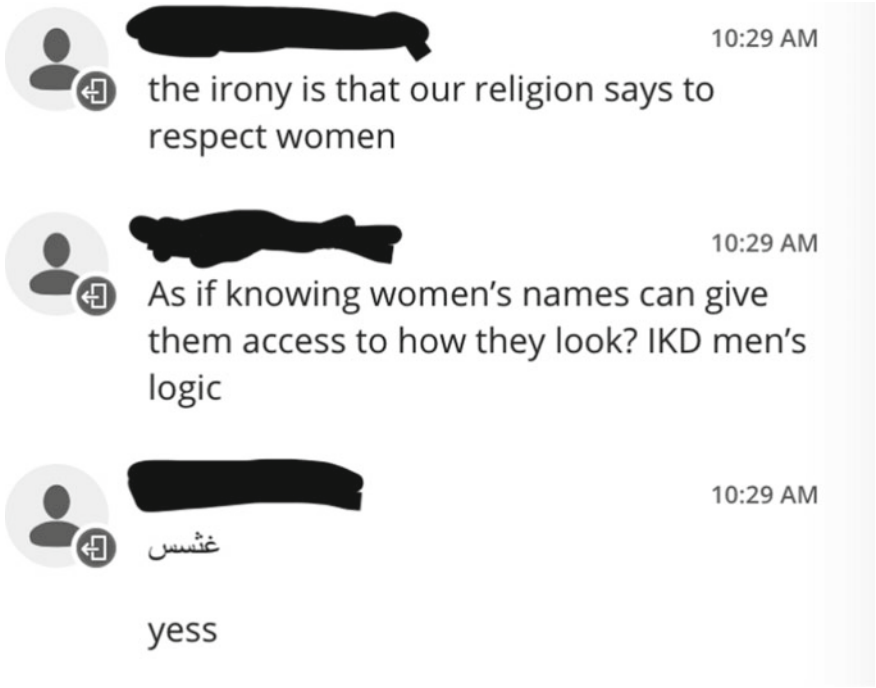

Fig. 3 Enabic version of "yes"

Along the same lines, students usually employ this type of translanguaging when they wish to communicate with each other in the realm of such a discussion; the following example containing the shaking hands emoji serves as a way for students to express their agreement (Fig. 4).

It is noteworthy that students in this type of translanguaging also tend to use a more informal writing style indexed through nonstandard spellings, including "cuz," and "its" (Fig. 5) instead of "it's", etc., and also through the use of acronyms, congenitally used in digital communication, such as tbh (to be honest). Such linguistic evidence can be seen as a sign of the creation of an informal atmosphere, which in turn could be argued to facilitate learning.

On the other hand, of course these are spellings that in assessment activities, where formal spelling is to be expected, we would penalize, and it is exactly at this point that a challenge pertinent to translanguaging is created: Even though it is a practice that is happening in the classroom and most of the time it is embraced by all agents involved in the learning process, on some very important occasions in the learning process, which include students' assessment, it can create confusion and can be penalized. So, how do we make sure that a balance is kept between these two states of affairs? In order to deal with this dilemma, an agreement (cf., Raza, 2019) can be made between students and their instructor that in "official" assessment activities formal spellings and the use of "proper" grammar is to be expected, but in cases

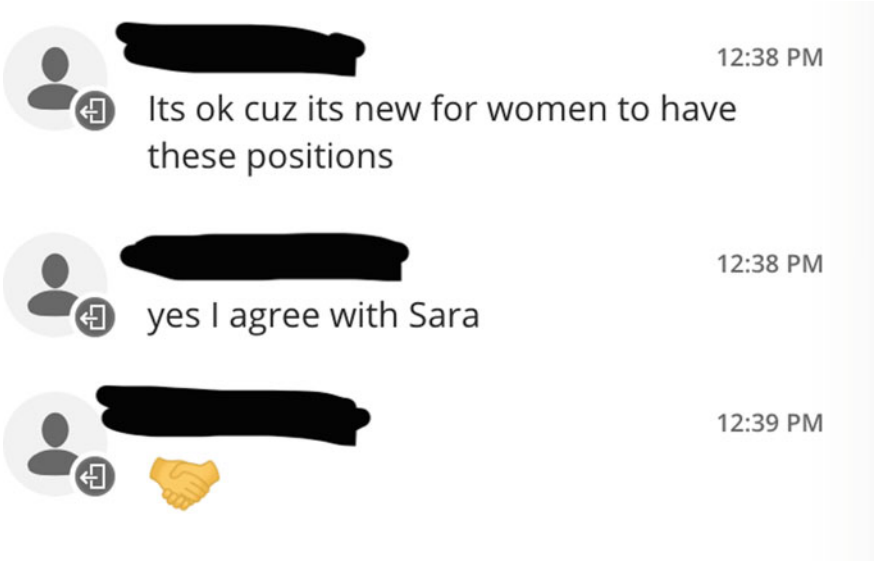

Fig. 4 "Shaking hands" emoji

where examples should be provided, this is where students can use translanguaging. In this way, students can be made more sensitized and more reflective toward their use of language and, at the same time, the "rules" of the game of assessment are clear to everyone.

4 Concluding Discussion

On the basis of recorded classroom discussions and activities with female students, who are Qatari nationals, I have illustrated some of the functions of humoristic translanguaging. In particular, I analyzed examples where the translanguaged humor illuminates some of the tensions experienced by both my students and myself working within the institutional framework of a university. The dynamic flux of interaction allows distinct aspects of communication to come to the fore at different given moments. The relevant in-group shifts and the humor may correspondingly orient to boundaries dividing different institutional roles, as well as different ethnic groups at different times. In each case, the humor functions to build solidarity and rapport between in-group members, which are euphemerally constructed in the context of university life. Three major purposes of humor usage have been identified in my datasets: to create and improve classroom climate and efficiency of teaching (the "zibdatizing" example from my part and the use of emojis and nonstandard spellings on behalf of students), to break down the rigidity of hierarchical structures by humanizing, personalizing, and rendering interpersonal communications

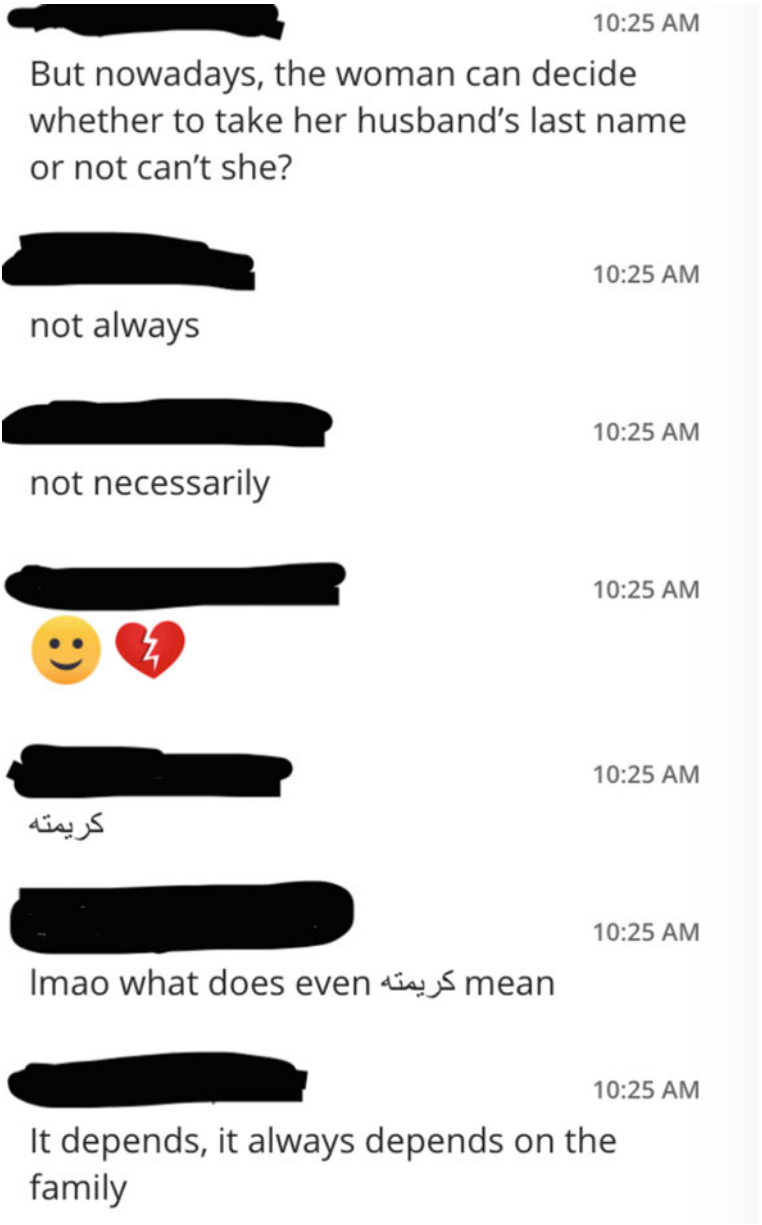

Fig. 5 Use of non-standard spelling and acronyms by students

(the "sheefa" example); and, when applicable and appropriate, to deliver sanctions and other necessary unpleasantries to students (the "haram connotations" example).

As it has been shown, the dominant language of communication in the classroom is primarily English, given that all of us use it as our preferred shared code of communication. However, on many occasions English is enriched through the use of examples or keywords in Arabic and also the use of emojis, all of which serve as means for maximizing clarity and their efficiency in communicating the intended messages through humoristic delivery, which usually entertains people, breaks the ice, and, eventually, creates the circumstances for an equal and respectful exchange of ideas and knowledge. Humoristic translanguaging expands the range of opportunities for individuals to contribute rapport-enhancing, boundary-marking humorous utterances to enliven mundane, primarily interactionally oriented classroom discourse. Overall, drawing on and expanding my previous work on "dialogical infotainment (cf., Theodoropoulou & Ahmed, 2019), I argue in favor of an English language-based but humoristic translanguaging-oriented pedagogy, which leaves space for local languages to develop to the benefit of all participants involved. In this sense, this project can be seen as an initiative aiming at expanding and strengthening of policy development within the field of TESOL (Lewis et al., 2012) by leaving space for the introduction of moments of translanguaging as a successful code of communication, especially in courses that deal with the relationship among language, culture, and society. These moments can be used as initial stimuli, which are culturally specific, and which can be elaborated or reflected upon in English. In this way, the whole TESOL-related learning experience can turn out to be rich, creative, interesting, and stimulating for everyone involved in the process without the limitations and traps of linguistic imperialism and monolingual mindset.

Such observations are in alignment with one of the recommendations to policy-makers about the importance of teachers' autonomy in the context of collaboration, which reads as follows: "Galvanize discussions on teacher informed evidence-based strategies to support teacher autonomy and motivation" (Edge et al., 2017, p. 101). Having provided evidence in favor of the idea that humoristic translanguaging can work successfully as a pedagogical strategy in the tertiary education classroom, I offer this as a suggestion of a strategy teachers (but also students) in TESOL can use as a resource to secure their autonomy and constant motivation to improve their respective teaching and learning performance.

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Chapter 14
TESOL's Way Forward to Policy Development and Multilingualism in EMI

Shelley K. Taylor

Abstract EMI's expansion in higher education has not been without growing pains. One unresolved problem lies in how to address English when it is not taught as a subject and is viewed as a means rather than an end; another involves how to maintain a local knowledge base and national identity when teaching through a non-local language at the tertiary level (Bowles and Murphy, English-medium instruction & the internationalization of Universities, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2020b; Coleman et al., TESOL Q 52:701–720, 2018; Pecorari and Malmström, TESOL Q 52:497–515 2018). To address the impact of "Englishization" that EMI might have on smaller European languages, the Nordic Council (2007). Deklaration om nordisk sprogpolitik 2006 [Declaration of a Nordic language policy]. Nordic Council of Ministers. Retrieved from: https://www.norden.org/da/publication/deklaration-om-nordisk-spraakpolitik) introduced a policy of "parallel language" use (or concurrent use of several languages), including strategies to prevent a single language (English) from devaluing or replacing local languages. The study outlined in this chapter takes a bottom-up view of the role EMI professors' lived experiences and language ideologies can play in their enactment of *parallel language* policy and adoption of initiatives in a Nordic university. Framed on theories linking (monolingual) ideologies and policies, the findings highlight how the positioning of EMI professors aware of their students' linguistic resources may shift in response to their views of pragmatic solutions to students' language-related academic challenges. In the future, TESOL leaders must seek opportunities to align English and parallel language development in EMI and raise policymakers' awareness of the role of multilingualism in internationalization overall.

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1 An Introduction to EMI in Higher Education and the Need for TESOL

A rapidly growing phenomenon in higher education is English as a medium of instruction (EMI) or the "use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English" (Dearden, 2014, p. 2). It is believed that students can heighten their career prospects by gaining intercultural literacy and improving their proficiency in English (a desirable global commodity) through EMI programs (Beck, 2012; Clarke, 2020; Heller, 2010). Their introduction followed on the heels of the Bologna Process in Europe, which aimed to standardize university degrees, facilitates credit transfer between universities in different countries, increases student and staff mobility, and promotes internationalization (Kirkpatrick, 2014).

Though the free flow of students and faculty between "multilingual" universities was the goal, some European countries with lesser-spoken national languages encountered recruitment roadblocks. In some cases, students (and professors) were not inclined to "invest" time and effort in learning smaller (less sought after) national languages to undertake disciplinary studies in them (Cots et al., 2014). EMI enabled international students and faculty members to bypass learning (smaller) national languages. Nordic countries offer the largest number of EMI programs, which has enabled them to attract "the best and the brightest" (students and professors), raise their international ranking and compete for designation as "top global universities" (Airey et al., 2017; Bowles & Murphy, 2020b).

While adopting EMI in higher education may seem like an ideal way to support a university's internationalization process, it represents a change to national language policy. Furthermore, it influences (if not diminishes) national language use, prioritizes the use of English, and influences teaching policies and practices (Phillipson, 2015). As Bowles and Murphy (2020a) note, national language policy enacted through EMI programs not only trickles down to programmatic and curricular choices; it also seeps into individual professors' instructional practices. Policymakers and education managers take "top-down" decisions regarding whether to implement EMI programs, viewed as a means to meet national economic goals (Briggs et al., 2018). By not involving key stakeholders in the decision (e.g., professors, students, and the public), they enact an aggressive university reform and change process (Bowles & Murphy, 2020a). The absence of linguistic goals in EMI decision-making has prompted Jenkins (2014) to view languages as sidelined in the discourse on globalization and internationalization, and Pratt (2010) to question whether language is even a category of analysis in those discussions. These top-down policy decisions have also led to controversies and concerns surrounding the rate of EMI offerings, for if they exceed the development of infrastructure to support educational programming, there may be implications for program quality. For instance, faculty members may be deemed to have insufficient proficiency in English to teach graduate degree courses in their area of expertise; however, expectations for language proficiency may be unclear, and guidelines for teaching and learning in EMI programs may be

hastily developed. Still, views about local professors' English proficiency can have implications for national language policies, as is described below.

Another concern involves the need for disciplinary specialists that teach in EMI programs to have a background in TESOL to be able to:

- integrate a focus on both content and target language learning in their teaching and assessment,
- make content lessons more accessible in English, and
- be more aware of learners' linguistic needs and the range of linguistic diversity that exists among their students (Coleman et al., 2018, p. 711).

Though novice professors, newly hired as disciplinary specialists, have limited teaching experience, few seasoned professors have the teaching credentials or TESOL background needed to provide the kind of instruction that Coleman et al. (2018) and TESOL (2019) deem desirable and advantageous (e.g., creating safe spaces, scaffolding, building on/valuing multilingualism). Research also suggests that many disciplinary experts (vehemently) reject calls for them to focus on language issues in content teaching (Airey, 2012; Dearden, 2014), which suggests that they might reject initiatives to provide them with a knowledge base in TESOL. Given the role professors play in EMI program delivery and policymakers' belief in the role these programs can play in raising university rankings, it is unclear whether the policymakers would counter professors' wishes. This observation begs the following question: In the case that TESOL accreditation standards were developed, would they be applied if professors objected to complying with them? Worthman (2020) suggests that the time and resources needed to plan and teach disciplinary content in English are rarely provided for in policy directives even though "student and instructor English-language proficiencies affect the quality of instruction and student learning" (p. 156). Finally, research suggests that content learning through the medium of English in EMI does not support students' English language development and may have negative impact on local language development (Macaro et al., 2019; Pecorari & Malmström, 2018; Phillipson, 2015). Before Coleman et al.'s (2018) recommendations can be met, policymakers that simply view EMI as a mean to a sociopolitical/economic end must understand its linguistic dimensions.

In this section, I highlighted current issues linking the fields of TESOL and EMI. Next, I discuss language ideologies, plurilingualism, translanguaging, and their implications for professors' personal language policies and instructional practices. I then present the research question, followed by the methodology, brief findings, and a discussion. Tentative conclusions are followed by recommendations for how TESOL can contribute to EMI policies that support parallel language use in the Nordic countries and multilingualism in broader perspective.

2 Key Constructs and Their Implications

Clarke (2020) views language policy as a "reflection of a nation's or an institution's language ideology" (p. 169), noting the overlap between policy and ideology in terms of beliefs, ideas, and representations of experiences. Heller (2010) discusses ideologies in terms of the beliefs that people hold about why certain languages play the roles they do and the (il-)legitimacy of the social order. Cummins (2007) speaks in more concrete terms; he describes monolingual ideology as strict adherence to only using a target language when teaching it as a subject or using it as a medium of instruction. Seen from the perspective of monolingual ideology, recognizing or drawing on other languages in instruction or to supplement student understanding would be viewed as "time off task." The latter view does not leave room for professors or students to use local languages or any other languages in their linguistic repertoires as they would not be viewed as legitimate. Furthermore, this ideology holds that languages should be kept separate, and there can be no translation between the L1 and target language (Cummins, 2007). The latter tenet precludes "translanguaging" or what Garcia (2009) defines as "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (p. 45).

As monolingual ideology does not allow individuals to draw on all the languages in their linguistic repertoires—they are not equally recognized, valued, and heard—it denies their "voice" (Blommaert, 2008). Clarke (2020) concurs, noting that: "… language ideology can be understood … in terms of power and hierarchy … [because] languages can be excluded or ignored, included or valued or can be seen as unequal or empowered within a given institution" (p. 170). Similarly, in EMI, different values may be attributed to "native-like" and "non-native-like" varieties of English, and these values can impact professors' and students' *voice*. Blommaert (2008) observes: "Institutions have the tendency to 'freeze' the conditions for voice: unless you speak or write in this particular way, you will not be heard or read" (p. 428). Conversely, "plurilingual" professors' beliefs and experiences could sway them to adopt classroom language policies that are more accepting of linguistic diversity and voice; similarly, students with *plurilingual* ideologies may be more likely to value professors with less proficiency in English who, however, can clarify academic English through translanguaging or other linguistic means.[1] A monolingual (English-only)-oriented classroom would not make space for either *plurilingualism* or plurilingual pedagogy (including translanguaging).

Plurilingualism refers to the complex, evolving linguistic repertoires of individuals who are social actors with varying degrees of proficiency in several language varieties—including partial competences that are nonetheless part of their linguistic repertoires. Coste, Moore and Zarate (2009) observed many learners abandon language studies after being made to feel as though they would never measure up

[1] Earlier research on local professors involved in EMI programs in the Nordic countries suggests that they may feel as though they lack sufficient English skills to teach in English and feel a loss of classroom authority due to their perceived lack of linguistic competence (Henriksen, Holmen & Kling, 2018).

to (unattainable) yardsticks such as "balanced bilingual" and "native-like" (Taylor, in press). Jenkins (2020) views common practices such as suggesting that "international" scholars have their journal submissions "checked by a native English speaker" as such yardsticks and as indices of monolingual ideologies that delegitimize non-native Englishes (p. 63). Preferentially hiring English-speaking international professors to teach EMI courses rather than local professors due to (supposed) insufficiencies in their English proficiency precludes the possibility of professors having the ability to draw on parallel language use through *translanguaging*. At the same time, it imposes a monolingual yardstick that undervalues plurilingualism.

The ideological leanings and practices of the professor presented in the findings are situated along this inclusionary (plurilingual ideology)/exclusionary (monolingual ideology) spectrum in response to the following research question: How do EMI professors' language ideologies influence their understanding of the learning needs of students for whom the language of instruction is not their L1 and shape the initiatives professors develop to meet these needs?

3 Methodology

In this section, I discuss the methodology, participants, and setting. Based on the aim of understanding the lived experiences that shape the language ideologies of professors in EMI programs, this exploratory case study adopted qualitative research methods. They enabled me to understand and gain insight into the participants' instructional choices from their own perspectives (Creswell, 2013). I conducted ethnographic interviews on site at a Nordic university and via electronic means from Canada. I also analyzed a range of policy documents (e.g., on higher education in the Nordic countries, parallel language policy, etc.). My focus was on how plurilingual professors interpret language policy and orchestrate learning for plurilingual students in the context of disciplinary teaching "housed" in an EMI program. A limitation of the study was that I was not able to interview students to "member check" given time constraints on site; however, I was already very familiar with the university and had examined student data in related comparative/international studies to gain insight into student perspectives (e.g., Clarke, 2020). Additionally, interviewing three distinct groups of professors (as outlined next) provided different perspectives through a form of perspective triangulation (Patton, 2002).

3.1 Participants

The 16 participants in this study are professors in a major research university in a Nordic country. They can be broadly classified into three different groups. A few were born in the country in which I conducted the study and were L1 speakers of the local language. The rest were international hires that had resided in the host

country for different lengths of time (ranging from three months to almost two decades). A few of the international professors constituted a subgroup as they were born in English-dominant countries; however, the bigger subgroup was born in a variety of other countries. Several reported completing their doctorates in English-dominant countries and/or spending a large portion of their working lives functioning in English (e.g., academic reading, international conferences, or collaborations, etc.). Their EMI-teaching responsibilities also contributed to their high levels of proficiency in English. The international professors that taught a foreign language had not been required to write their theses in English, but they still developed their English proficiency in similar ways to the others (living or teaching abroad; disseminating research at international conferences; through international collaborations, etc.). All 16 described their English proficiency at the highest levels of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for Languages scale ("C1–C2").

Many of the international professors that I interviewed revealed that they had been hired for both their disciplinary expertise and English proficiency. They reported that, during the interview process, they had been told they would mainly teach in the EMI program as they were better prepared to teach in English than local professors. All of the participants were plurilingual, speaking their L1 and either English or the local language (with varying degrees of proficiency) as a second language, and most knew other languages as well. The local professors had partial competences in other Nordic languages and additional European languages, and the international professors had extensive plurilingual/pluricultural backgrounds. None were familiar with the field of TESOL. They taught in disciplines ranging from the social sciences (anthropology, archeology, economics, media), to math and science courses, arts and humanities (specific foreign languages), and health and medical sciences. As noted earlier, Nordic universities function in accordance with intergovernmental and institutionally sanctioned parallel language policy (described in the next section).

Adopting plurilingual pedagogy strategies such as translanguaging is not the only way professors can show openness to students' plurilingual voices. They can also recommend supplementary readings to students in their L1s, recommend study groups organized in ways to enable students to discuss challenging academic materials in their strongest languages, etc. In the case of courses with many local students, in-course translanguaging in Nordic languages was viewed as being just one more way of supporting parallel language development. My interview questions explored these topics from the viewpoint of professors as intuitively adopting best practices to impart content knowledge, not whether they had any prior TESOL background (and none did). In keeping with the exploratory case study approach adopted for this qualitative study, I only profiled one of the participating professors in the findings section. By doing so, I provided an in-depth portrait of a "specific issue, problem, or concern" (Creswell, 2013, p. 98), namely how a plurilingual professor negotiates somewhat conflicting programmatic language concerns and Nordic language policy and why he launches a certain initiative to meet students' linguistic needs.

3.2 Context of Parallel Language Policy

The Nordic Council of Ministers for Education and Research (2007) from Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark signed a "Nordic Language Declaration" involving strategies for "parallel language" (i.e., the "concurrent use of several languages within one or more areas"). Its intent was for no single language (e.g., English) to replace others as "they are used in parallel" (Gregersen et al., 2018, p. 9). In the declaration, the ministers (2007) specify that although Nordic residents have relatively strong English skills compared to other speakers of English as an international language, English cannot replace Nordic languages; rather, one or more Nordic languages must be developed in tandem with it. To do so:

1. English and the Nordic languages must be used as languages of science.
2. Scientific results must also be presented in Nordic languages.
3. Instruction in genre specific language (e.g., technical language referred to as "the language of science" or "the language of math") must also be provided in Finnish, Norwegian, etc., not just English (e.g., the language of science in Finish; the language of math in Norwegian).
4. Tertiary educational institutions must develop long-range strategies for the parallel use of languages within their fields (Gregersen et al., 2018, p. 9).

These specifications are intended to be used as strategies to avoid loss of local academic language domains, quality of education, and cultural identity. They are also needed to ensure a place for a strong, legitimate Nordic voice in EMI.

4 Findings

The professor profiled in this chapter, Peter,[2] fits the description of educators from English-dominant countries that are "long-term sojourners" (Copland et al., 2019, p. 349). Like other *long-term sojourners*, Peter counters negative stereotypes of native English-speaking teachers abroad in that he is fluent in the local language and considers the country in which he works as home. Peter earned a Ph.D. and a postdoctoral degree in the sciences. He had considerable intercultural competence after having lived in three countries, but no TESOL qualifications. When asked to self-appraise his plurilingualism, he identified top-level (C2) proficiency in English and advanced beginner-level (A2) proficiency in Italian. After having worked at the Nordic university for six years and advancing to associate professor, he had passed the highest level of the national language exam. He estimated that he had upper intermediate/advanced range (B2/C1) proficiency in the local language. He was not from a heritage language background in either his second or foreign language.

I asked Peter if he ever drew on students' L1s (or other languages in their linguistic repertoires other than English) in his EMI teaching in a graduate science program. The

[2] Peter is a pseudonym to maintain confidentiality.

question was intended to gain insight into how he conveyed concepts that he thought his students may have difficulty understanding due to academic English, or how he supported their content learning in a foreign language (i.e., English). Several of the teaching strategies he described reflected a plurilingual orientation to pedagogy. For instance, he encouraged his graduate students to share drafts of their work in other languages if there were enough speakers of language-x to form a working group. Peter also noted that sometimes he would specifically break up groups of shared L1 speakers and group them with students from other language backgrounds not due to an English-only policy, but for them to develop critical language awareness; that is, he wanted them to see how students from other language backgrounds (e.g., Lithuanian) wrote scientific reports in English differently.

When asked whether he discussed the plurilingual work environment of the university with his students, Peter noted actively praising his students for conducting all their work in English. He did so to build up their confidence in their written English, telling them that he knew first-hand how much harder it is to function in an academic language that is not their L1:

> … you can see that some students, particularly, you know they are really nervous and they are used to being quite high performing, they feel insecure a little bit… [so I give] them encouragement and feedback and tell them that I don't think I could write a Masters thesis in [the local language]. So … their confidence comes back.

Peter also described how his colleagues' views of students' local and English language proficiency played out in departmental discussions, with some professors wanting to admit more local students, and others arguing: "… if you want to do really great in science, you need to go larger than Scandinavian talents. So there is a big struggle and it comes down to language proficiency." This comment suggests that monolingual yardsticks at odds with supporting Nordic parallel language policy are applied to local students as well as to local professors in the name of rankings and internationalization.

In response to what sort of linguistic challenges Peter has dealt with in his EMI teaching, he again mentioned academic writing and described a related initiative in which he is involved: He teaches scientific writing for the Master's and PhD students in his department. With no background in TESOL or writing, he intuitively translanguages between English and the local language, adding comments in the local students' L1 on their written drafts because "if you can't explain a concept enough in English, it helps to be able to explain using a [local language] example sometimes." He suggested that the students greatly appreciated his academic English writing initiative outside of course hours: "They seem to respond very well because I think they understand that, to be competitive, they need these kinds of supports. So, they are also very well engaged in that way because they got some really good feedback."

He suggests that it is imperative for students in the EMI program to be mindful of their academic writing in English because they could lose out on international grant competitions if there are language errors in their proposals. He notes that to "stay in academia," his students will need to publish in competitive international journals in

English "because writing papers and getting published are such a key weapon now for an academic." In these comments, Peter shifts along the plurilingual/monolingual language ideology scale. He moves:

- from initially supporting plurilingualism and plurilingual strategies to motivate his students, develop their critical language awareness, and build up their self-confidence,
- to later looking at the international academic scene and promoting his students' mastery of standard academic English for what he views as pragmatic reasons (i.e., knowing the rules of the game to succeed academically).

In the end, pragmatics hold greater sway as, in Peter's view, graduates of EMI programs must navigate the Nordic and international context of market-based universities: They will need to vie for grants and publications in high-impact journals that provide "personal and institutional biometrics" (Clarke, 2020, p. 167). Thus, it is crucial that they develop their written academic English—at least for now. As Blommaert (2008) observes, with the speed of globalization, norms can change.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

The findings highlight how the positioning of EMI professors that are mindful of their students' linguistic resources may still shift in response to their understanding of the mechanisms of higher education in times of internationalization. Peter's plurilingual ideology shifted to a more monolingual stance couched in terms of pragmatism when discussing graduate students' need for strong written academic English if they plan a career in academia. While he drew on plurilingual strategies to support his writing initiative, the end goal was for his graduate students to approach native-like proficiency to be able to compete for grants and publications in high-impact journals in the academic market regulated by English.

A future path for the field of TESOL requires tackling the current disconnect between TESOL and EMI programs. Armed with current research in both fields and knowledge of unresolved problems with EMI program outcomes, TESOL leaders can engage with local policymakers to raise their awareness of the challenges and complexities of attempting to teach through the medium of English and through a parallel language policy lens. Doing so would encourage policymakers to see beyond EMI for purposes of university reform and change processes and consider the role language plays in EMI. TESOL leaders could then guide policymakers on the infrastructure needed to support EMI professors who function as the foot soldiers of internationalization. Though unsung heroes such as Peter, the EMI professor described in this chapter, have no TESOL aspirations, they could nonetheless benefit greatly from the guidance of TESOL leaders; they could help such professors meet the

language challenges they encounter when launching initiatives to meet their students' needs. Systematic supports could bolster their initiatives to shepherd students through academic English requirements (TESOL International Association, 2018).

5.2 Conclusion

One way universities deemed "on the European margins" internationalize higher education is through EMI (Cots et al., 2014), yet it ushers in the threat of Englishization (Phillipson, 2015). Monolingual ideology can undermine the same parallel language policy introduced to address this threat. International professors hired because of their English proficiency may not have the proficiency in local languages needed to promote parallel language use, may not understand the value of doing so, or may lack strategies to include it in EMI. Long-term sojourners proficient in the local language may do so instinctively but need programmatic support to supplement their pedagogical intuition. To support them, TESOL leaders need policymakers to recognize language as a category of analysis in EMI and in internationalization more broadly (Jenkins, 2014; Pratt, 2010).

Raza, Coombe, and Reynolds (this volume) highlight the complex balancing act involved in countries attempting to promote English while maintaining or developing national languages. They note that English may affect or diminish local languages and caution that TESOL as a field needs to address this concern by devising policies to safeguard local languages and promote diversity while enhancing English language skills. This chapter outlined a Nordic language policy intended to support EMI in higher education while safeguarding local linguistic ecologies. It sheds light on the language ideologies of a professor involved in teaching disciplinary courses in an EMI program. With no formal TESOL training, he drew on his understanding of his own language-learning experiences to meet his EMI students' linguistic and content needs, showing implicit understanding of the value of plurilingual pedagogy and voice. At other times, he adopted a pragmatic monolingual ideology. His vacillation reflected understanding of the intent and need for the Nordic parallel language policy as well as the constraints of market-based higher education where there are no bibliometrics for parallel language use, and where a blinkered view of the road ahead only allows for English. Still, as Blommaert (2008) suggests, norms can change.

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Chapter 15
Working Sideways for Change: Extending the Notion of Ideological and Implementational Space

Fiona Willans

Abstract This chapter puts forward a sideways model of policy change in which engagement is required simultaneously with high-level decision-makers; classroom influencers such as curriculum developers, assessment units and teacher trainers; teachers; and the communities that they serve. This model moves the discussion beyond the typical dichotomy between top-down and bottom-up approaches, reminding us that language policy is a constantly evolving process that is created and sustained through overlapping and interrelated practices and discourses. A change in medium of instruction policy in Vanuatu is used as the focus for the discussion. Despite the policy opening up exciting opportunities for a multilingual and pedagogically supportive approach to the teaching of both content and language, a number of widely held beliefs continue to circulate unchecked that appear to challenge these opportunities. Hornberger's (Lang Policy 1:27–51, 2002) notion of ideological and implementational spaces is operationalized here by separating its ideological and implementational aspects, and noting how implementational space may be left unutilized for two main reasons—the absence of ideological space and the limitations of "implementational tolerance" without the addition of "implementational support." At every level of the education sector of Vanuatu, there are discourses and practices underpinned by complex ideological configurations that are serving to keep spaces shut, but there are clearly also counterdiscourses and practices that indicate new spaces opening up for alternatives. By working sideways, it becomes easier to involve actors at all levels in the interrogation and occupation of the ideological spaces that emerge.

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1 Teaching English as a Second Language to Support an English-Medium Education System

In many postcolonial education systems, the former colonial language—such as English—has retained a prominent role as medium of instruction, whether right from the start of school or from relatively early on. For the majority of children in such contexts, this language needs to be taught as a second language even as they are already expected to be able to use it for complex purposes across the content curriculum such as reading, writing, numeracy and knowledge about the world. However, it is not uncommon for this language to be introduced to the children through what has often been described as "submersion." In other words, rather than teaching English explicitly as a second or additional language, before expecting this language to be used for other purposes, children are simply immersed—or submerged—in this language across the curriculum and expected to survive. Even where a local language is used for a few years prior to a transition to English, this change is very often made before children have gained sufficient grounding in the first language, so such programs merely "delay the 'sink or swim' ritual" of submersion (Chimbutane, 2013, p. 316).

In her survey of multilingual approaches to education, Benson (2009) points out that submersion can be considered neither multilingual nor an approach to education, since it suppresses knowledge of the languages that children bring with them to school, and makes no attempt to engage with questions of language and pedagogy at all. However, any context in which children are being introduced to English as a new language to be used as a medium of instruction is surely ripe with potential for a multilingual approach to the teaching of both language and content. The children and teachers bring with them to the classroom at least one other language but are typically asked to leave these languages outside the door and navigate the curriculum monolingually through an unfamiliar language. The untapped linguistic potential for both language and content learning is immense but colonial habits die hard. If new pedagogical approaches are to be imagined, then we also need new ways of thinking about change.[1]

2 Implementational and Ideological Spaces for Change

This chapter engages with Hornberger's (2002) concept of "ideological and implementational spaces." Hornberger examines the way macro-level multilingual policies can create, but also close down, spaces in which different linguistic resources may be used in ways that were not necessarily intended. Ramanathan has referred to these as "spaces of unplanned language planning" (2005, p. 98).

[1] This chapter draws on the data from the author's thesis (Willans, 2014).

While some aspects of a policy may appear to be closing down ideological spaces, there may be other policy moments going on elsewhere that manage to keep these spaces open (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Educators may find ways to wedge open spaces in their local contexts that may not be noticeable from other vantage points, but they may equally ignore spaces that could have been productively used. Moreover, the implementation of new policies may actually close down spaces that were previously being used to good effect. As Johnson (2011) notes, such spaces are only *potential* opportunities for change. Somebody needs to implement something that takes advantage of this potential space. Hornberger states that "there is urgent need for language educators, language planners, and language users to fill those ideological and implementational spaces as richly and fully as possible, before they close in on us again" (2002, p. 30). She later expands on this to argue that

> It is essential for language educators and language users to fill up implementational spaces with multilingual educational practices, whether with intent to occupy ideological spaces opened up by policies or to prod actively toward more favorable ideological spaces in the face of restrictive policies. Ideological spaces created by language and education policies can be seen as carving out implementational spaces at classroom and community levels, but implementational spaces can also serve as wedges to pry open ideological ones. (2005, p. 606)

3 Finding and Filling up New Spaces Within Vanuatu's Language-In-Education Policy and Practice

Vanuatu has a particularly complex history, having been subject to a double dose of colonialism at the hands of Britain and France simultaneously between 1906 and 1980. Some children today are thus educated principally through English, while others use French, with the second European language also studied as a compulsory subject. Until 2012, a dual submersion system was in operation, with no languages other than English or French allowed in any classroom, right from Year 1. However, since 2012, a new policy has been in place, through which children begin their education through the medium of a home language—either the national language, Bislama, or one of the more than one hundred Oceanic languages native to the country—before transitioning to either English or French from Year 3 or 4, while continuing to use other languages to support learning for as long as is necessary (Vanuatu Ministry of Education & Training, 2012). While far from a perfect policy, especially as originally conceived as an early exit transition (Willans, 2017a), it has opened up a vast amount of space for new and different languages within the curriculum.

From Year 1 to Year 6, eleven hours per week are dedicated to the "Language and Communication" subject. This combines oral communication, language experience, rhymes and poems, phonological awareness, reading and writing. Starting from the second term of Year 1, a small amount of oral English or French forms part of this subject, while the remainder is intended to be in the first language. For example, the Year 2 teacher guide (Vanuatu Ministry of Education & Training, 2017) recommends

spending between one hour 40 min and two hours each day in the first language, and 20 or 30 min each day in the second language. No reading or writing is done in English or French during the first year, but children begin to follow classroom instructions in this language, have short simple conversations, use appropriate language to speak up in class, and learn some specific vocabulary that is used in other curricular subjects such as Science.

The Bislama phrase "ademap lanwis sloslo" (gradually building language) is now used to capture the philosophy underpinning the curriculum. Skills and confidence in both the first and second languages are built gradually throughout primary school, as well as throughout individual lessons. For example, teachers are recommended to design each content lesson so that it moves from social conversation (such as greetings) and classroom instructions, using both first and second languages; to the main content teaching in the first language; and finally to an "ademap lanwis" activity that begins in the first language but then switches to the second language to cover part of the same content topic. Since primary teachers are responsible for both language and content, there are multiple opportunities to use the different languages fluidly across the whole curriculum. English or French (and, later, the other of these two languages) is thus introduced and developed within a very supportive, multilingual, and content-rich environment.

Anecdotal evidence from the curriculum team responsible for its implementation suggests that early years classrooms very quickly started to come alive with children actually participating in their own learning for the first time. The silent, teacher-dominated lessons have been replaced by lively classrooms in which children have something meaningful to say (Attison, 2015; Tamtam, 2015). Moreover, now that this "ademap lanwis sloslo" philosophy is in place and more explicit attention has been paid to how to teach English or French explicitly as a new language for the children, the learning of this language and the gradual transition to its use as a principal medium of instruction appears far more realistic than the original version of the policy suggested.

4 The Underutilization of Implementational Space

Despite the positive change described above, reactions from a range of different actors in the policy network indicate that the policy is controversial and there is significant discomfort with the inclusion of languages other than English and French in the domain of formal education. A recent thread from August 2020 on a well-known Vanuatu Facebook group begins with a post lamenting the new policy on the grounds that teachers from later primary and secondary are now struggling to teach through English and French, and parents have a right to expect these languages are being taught in exchange for their school fees. All 38 responses to the post are made in agreement, adding the points that Bislama is destroying children's brains, parents can teach these other languages at home if they want to, that this is probably the work of some foreigner testing out ideas on Vanuatu (although Satan is also credited), and

that it is not too late to switch back to the old system which was working perfectly well.

Posts of this nature are relatively common on this and similar Facebook groups. Social media provides a good window into the views of a cross-sector of society, with parents, teachers, members of the general public of all ages, and even members of parliament weighing in to give their views. The most common concerns expressed on social media are that the use of local languages will prevent children learning the "international languages" associated with better opportunities, that the national language Bislama (an English-lexified pidgin/creole) in particular will interfere with the learning of English, and that Vanuatu's children have become guinea pigs for the government and their external advisors to test new ideas on. There are also concerns that the teaching of English and French will be delayed, and thus, the teachers in later primary levels will simply need to catch up on what has been missed (Willans, 2017b). There has been no commentary on social media about the power of utilizing multiple languages in harmony, or drawing on knowledge of one language in the teaching of others.

Similarly, a study conducted at secondary schools and at the Ministry of Education just before the new policy was approved revealed a very strong monoglossic ideology underlying conversations about the use and teaching of languages throughout the educational system as a whole (Willans, 2014). From ethnographic observation and interviews, four factors emerged that were serving to close down space for change: a sense of duty in following the English-only or French-only "rules" or "standards" perceived to have always been there; limited recognition that there is anything wrong with a submersion model of education, and that any challenges students or teachers face are due to their own linguistic deficiencies; the perception that English and French provide automatic routes to further studies, employment, global participation, and mobility; and the construction of "bilingualism" in both these languages as necessary for Vanuatu's unique situation, thus further limiting the interest in interrogating space for other languages.

More recently, discussions with preservice and in-service teachers from Vanuatu during teacher training courses at the regional University of the South Pacific have revealed very similar beliefs. As applied linguistics students, these trainee teachers take on board the pedagogical evidence in favor of teaching through a language that children understand, and they are committed to policies that will not threaten the vitality of local languages. They are also well aware that the approach currently used to teach English (or, indeed, use it as medium of instruction) is far from successful. However, they struggle with the idea that languages other than English should be used in the classroom as anything other than a fallback strategy when learners do not understand. The vernacular is considered a crutch for slow learners, unnecessary in class for the bright ones and undesirable for anyone hoping to get ahead. The undeniable need for better proficiency in the international languages of English and French appears to undermine any discussion of a multilingual scaffold that might support this proficiency. Despite constant debates and discussions about educational underachievement, there has been little desire or commitment to the interrogation

of any ideological space that might exist for meaningful change, particularly for the incorporation of additional or alternative linguistic resources.

The notion of ideological and implementational space is often applied in relation to top-down policies that appear to constrain the agency that actors such as teachers are able to use, leaving teachers and their learners to seek out and wedge open cracks that are left open by the policies. However, the situation in Vanuatu is far from this. Official policy coming from the top is now very much in favor of a multilingual approach throughout primary school and, while guidelines produced by the Ministry of Education hardly *encourage* the use of languages other than English and French at secondary school, they leave room for a variety of different interpretations. Interviews at the ministry reveal that the policymakers at the top are tolerant and pragmatic about the use of different languages in school and there appears to be little policy traffic from ministry to schools (Willans, 2014). Later primary and secondary teachers and their school administrations therefore have quite an open space within which to work.

Furthermore, despite reaffirmations by these teachers and their administrators of the importance of maintaining strict English-only or French-only environments (suggesting a lack of ideological space for change), these actors are far more relaxed about their own language use and that of their students than might be the case (Willans, 2014). Ethnographic observation also reveals that it is relatively easy to remain in line with norms of institutional appropriateness. Provided that students judge when to use English or French and when they can get away with another language, they appear able to navigate the potentially strict policy. They therefore make their own space among the policy for the use of multiple linguistic resources, while appearing to obey the English-only or French-only rule and thus avoid confrontation (cf. Heller, 1995). There is therefore considerable implementational space, firstly, for principals and/or school councils to deal with language policy as they see fit, and, secondly, for all school participants to actually use language as they feel is appropriate (Willans, 2014).

At this point in time, we therefore have a situation where teachers are working in spaces of great implementational potential but are constrained by a lack of ideological space within which to question some very deeply rooted beliefs about what is appropriate. The spaces created by the radical change in policy for primary education in 2012, and those left open for later primary and secondary education by an absence of clear policy to the contrary are being closed down or left empty by deep-rooted beliefs about what is appropriate. Within this context, it is very hard to rethink the way English and French are being taught as second languages and used as media of instruction. The challenge is thus twofold: to keep open and extend the implementational space that has opened up since 2012; and to occupy and wedge open the ideological space in which meaningful change can really be visualized. Hornberger's (2002) notion of ideological and implementational space is operationalized here by separating its ideological and implementational aspects, and noting how implementational space may be left unutilized for two main reasons—the absence of ideological space, and the limitations of "implementational tolerance" without the addition of "implementational support."

A number of widely held beliefs about language and languages continue to circulate unchecked that demonstrate how constricted the ideological space is, in spite and perhaps because of the new policy (Willans, 2014). The first and most influential belief that feeds into all others is that education operates most effectively through a single medium of teaching and learning, i.e., a monolingual ideology or habitus (García, 2009; Gogolin, 1997), despite the fact that almost every other aspect of life proceeds multilingually. Schools are expected to be monolingual sites in a recognized language of instruction, such that consideration of change is understood to involve a choice between different monolingual alternatives. Making space for languages other than English or French is thus thought of as reducing space for these more desirable prizes. The second belief is that whichever language is chosen as the medium of instruction can be mastered simply by trying hard enough. There is limited discussion of the need to teach such a language explicitly if it is not known to the children before starting school, and the mechanisms of assessment mean that variables such as language proficiency and literacy (in the early grades) or language proficiency and literary analysis (at senior secondary) become conflated to the point that no data exists to illustrate exactly what learners can and cannot do in their second languages. A range of other common beliefs, such as that English and French will lead automatically to job opportunities and scholarships, or that the vernaculars of Vanuatu are not sufficiently developed to deal with school topics, or that it would be too expensive to create multilingual textbooks, are thus exacerbated by a lack of interrogation of the default assumption that submersion is the best method of teaching both language and content.

The logic behind each of these beliefs can be challenged easily when held up to the light and deconstructed. For example, the desire for both English and French in Vanuatu goes some way to highlighting that it is not the number of languages, but the prestige of languages, that causes people's discomfort, whatever they may claim to the contrary. Meanwhile, recordings of monolingual classrooms in which the teacher is doing all the "language work" while orchestrating the interactional routines so that learners (often in chorus) can participate in the "content work" (Willans, 2014) can be used to show teachers how easy it is to get to the end of a lesson without the learners having to use much language at all, leaving them poorly equipped to demonstrate their knowledge independently in assessments. Furthermore, the belief that a lack of multilingual textbooks is an impediment to change can be countered by the observation that many schools already operate without a full set of prescribed textbooks and often rely on board work to copy notes from the teacher's copy. Finally, the assumption that English and French will lead automatically to new opportunities can be dispelled with the evidence that the ni-Vanuatu (citizens of Vanuatu) in well-paid jobs operating productively through one or both languages are vastly outnumbered by the school leavers and dropouts who have struggled to learn much at all through the submersion system (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2012). However, the strength of these beliefs draws from their interconnectedness, such that it is hard to challenge the logic behind the sum of their parts. They are myths—deep-rooted beliefs that appear true, despite being readily falsifiable—and their interlocking is serving to squeeze out what little ideological space there is. Whenever a small amount of space

opens up to reconsider one such myth, it is immediately closed down again by a different one.

It is also clear that attempts to probe the ideological space are not enough and that the implementational space must also be well-defined. This must go beyond *implementational tolerance* (opening up space for other languages) to *implementational support* (providing measures that will enable these languages to be used productively and effectively). Teachers who are now being asked to implement the "ademap lanwis sloslo" model in their own classrooms need a lot of support to enable them to make use of multiple languages together in a productive way and move beyond the deficit model through which the first language is used only when learners fail to understand what is said in the second language. They also need support in introducing and reinforcing the new vocabulary and structure of the second language, and developing learners' ability to use this language with fluency and accuracy. While this second language should be embraced as just one component of learners' developing communicative repertoires, it does still need to be recognized as a new system that needs to be taught explicitly. Since proficiency in these second languages is the main concern raised about the new policy, it is essential that enough attention is paid to their teaching, regardless of how well children are learning other content through more familiar languages.

Approaches to assessment also need to change as part of this support. Firstly, there needs to be a structure in place through which learners' developing proficiency in each of their languages can be assessed on an ongoing basis so that what they are expected to do across the curriculum in these languages remains realistic. Secondly, aspects such as content knowledge, literacy (in different languages), conversational ability, and academic language awareness need to be teased apart so that we have some understanding of what exactly we are assessing. At the moment, it is too easy for a parent or teacher of a child in Year 4 to claim that this child is not as good as the older sibling was at that stage, without knowing exactly what this means. It may well be that the child has a far better grasp of both content knowledge and literacy in their first language but has not yet learnt to transfer these competencies to the second language. Until more nuanced understanding is in place, we have a situation of implementational tolerance: Parents, community members, and many teachers appear willing to go along with a multilingual approach for the first three to four years of school but then expect children to be ready to plunge straight back into a submersion model without any further adaptation at that point. More worryingly, many of the moderate supporters of the policy in the social media debates appear willing to tolerate a certain amount of implementation time—to see what happens with the first cohort of children—but are quick to say that the policy should change back if it does not work (Willans, 2017b). Without a clear evaluation system in place and clarity about what exactly it is evaluating, this is a very unstable policy environment.

5 The Way Forward: A Sideways Model for Policy Change

This chapter puts forward a sideways model of policy change in which engagement is required simultaneously with high-level decision-makers (at the state or institutional level), classroom influencers (particularly curriculum developers, assessment units and teacher trainers), teachers, and the communities that they serve. This model moves the discussion beyond the typical dichotomy between top-down and bottom-up approaches, reminding us that language policy is a constantly evolving process that is created and sustained through overlapping and interrelated practices and discourses.

In the context under discussion here, it appears superficially that the state level is already onboard with a more realistic, multilingual approach to the learning and educational use of languages in Vanuatu. However, it is a naive view of policy power in any context to assume that official endorsement of a policy text has any bearing on the views and actions of the individuals working within the department from which it emanates. For a policy to remain in place, and for the accompanying implementational support that is so necessary to be provided, there needs to be far greater continuing engagement with the ideas that were behind it in the first place. As is the case in many postcolonial countries, Vanuatu's education sector continues to rely quite heavily on external advisors and donor funding, so this policy change can only take root if there is genuine in-house buy-in and involvement from the national Ministry of Education as a whole.

A constellation of actors who have significant influence over what happens in the classroom include curriculum developers, assessment units and teacher trainers. These actors may work in standalone units with clearly defined responsibility for national or local programs, or they may be stationed throughout the school system in roles such as school heads of department or mentors. It is important to recognize this diffusion of classroom influence, instead of conceiving of policy implementation as a unidirectional enterprise from a formal curriculum unit to schools, or from a ministry department to a teacher training institution to schools. Classroom practice is influenced by actors in multiple roles, official or otherwise, so there is great potential to build productive networks between such actors as a catalyst for positive change.

A new postgraduate teacher training program at the University of the South Pacific is engaging with quite a lot of this work. Much of the conceptual input that students encounter is provided via online resources, while the majority of synchronous interaction between teacher trainer and trainees is led by the latter, either via online discussion forums or in informal face-to-face sessions during which all students share their own experiences and consider collaboratively how new ideas might (or might not) work in their contexts. This blended model provides a balance between introducing new theories, concepts, and approaches that participants might not otherwise come across and enabling them to think these elements into reality with constant reference to their own professional experience. The online mode also ensures that participants do not need to take study leave from their jobs and travel to the University's main teaching campus in Fiji. They can study from home, get together with classmates in their own countries, and, most importantly, think about what they are learning

throughout their continuing working lives. This increase in accessibility means that new ideas can reach people at varying points in their teaching careers, as well as ensuring greater flow in both directions between their own learning and teaching.

The program also incorporates several summative assessments that require participants to design professional development workshops for colleagues, or blog posts and shareable video clips for the general public, to disseminate and further explore ideas they have acquired in ways that they think will resonate with their target audiences. Most importantly, as well as attracting school teachers to the program, the participants also comprise teacher trainers, curriculum developers and senior education officers from Ministries of Education across the Pacific region, meaning that actors across the educational landscape become engaged in similar conversations. The barriers between different groups of actors who are traditionally considered to operate in separate units are thus broken down, as participants come together from different roles, and as they extend the reach of the program beyond their classmates during some of their assessments. This leads naturally to many graduates conducting independent research in their own classrooms or other domains of the education system, and further feeding back into the system.

Taking this sideways approach—of which the above program only plays one small part—through which new ideas reach actors at multiple levels of an education system at once moves us beyond either a top-down approach (through which a new policy is sent down to the classroom from above) or a bottom-up approach (through which new approaches are pushed upwards by grassroots-led initiatives). It acknowledges the value of collaboration, ongoing opportunities to discuss complex ideas, and the relationships between different people at different points in a policy network. It respects the experience of those at all levels, removing the traditional barriers that are often metaphorically erected between those in different positions of a hierarchy, and it gives everyone a chance to engage with the same ideas on a more equal footing. By working sideways, it becomes easier to have the same conversation and therefore seek meaningful change.

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Chapter 16
Translanguaging as a Key to Socially Just English Teaching in Finland

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Abstract This chapter discusses opportunities for multilingual and social justice-based pedagogies in the context of teaching English in Finnish compulsory schools. Recent changes in Finland's national curriculum (FNCCBE, Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education. English version 2016. Finnish National Board of Education Publications 2014/2016) promote a language-aware approach that is inclusive of students' multilingual backgrounds. The document understands multilingualism as variation in any language system, including subject-specific languages, different modalities, and explicit language education. Against this backdrop, we ask: What opportunities for multilingual education are opened up and promoted by the new national curriculum? What is or could be the role of English as a subject, and particularly English teachers, in driving such pedagogies? Taking advantage of the relatively stable and dominant position of the subject English in Finnish schools, we explore opportunities for teaching English through frameworks that foster language awareness and equity in educational contexts (and beyond). Through an analysis of the FNCCBE that we complement with the voices of preservice teachers of English, we explore the interaction between multilingual pedagogies and educational approaches that promote social justice. Problematizing the common assumption that multilingual pedagogies are, by definition, equity-oriented, we ask whether and how multilingualism and language awareness may become stand-ins for equity pedagogies that fail to push for social change or self-critical and in-depth discussions of language in interaction with social factors and thus remain sociopolitically toothless.

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1 Introduction

The importance of languages and equal rights for learning and using them undergirds English teaching (TESOL) in Finland—at least in theory. In practice, pedagogies of equity and social justice in language education often prove difficult to implement. In the global field of TESOL, social justice pedagogies have recently gained traction. This chapter explores the opportunities for such approaches to TESOL in Finland by examining the most recent national policy document on comprehensive education, the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (FNCCBE, 2014/2016). More specifically, we analyze the FNCCBE's references to multilingualism on the one hand and social justice and equity on the other. Our analyses are complemented by voices of future English teachers, and our experiences as language teacher educators at a university in Finland. We suggest that translanguaging pedagogies would be one logical and appropriate way of implementing the FNCCBE's values and visions, and work as a bridge between the ideological guiding document and the local practices that are implemented in the classrooms. We further suggest that such approaches need to be promoted more explicitly in the official document and accompanied by respective support systems for teachers and teacher educators. In all, this chapter offers a discussion of educational policy in Finland, and the adaptations that are necessary to promote social justice-oriented English/language teaching.

2 Social Justice Approaches to TESOL

In language education in general and TESOL in particular, social justice pedagogies have recently gained momentum. There is a considerable number of scholars who have examined such social justice-driven approaches to teaching and teacher preparation (e.g., Crookes, 2013; Hall, 2016; García & Leiva, 2014). Although the bulk of this work has focused on preparing teachers to serve emergent multilinguals who learn English as a second language, some research has also come out of contexts where English is taught as world or so-called foreign language. Among other things, studies have analyzed how teachers learn to teach within a social justice paradigm (e.g., Lau, 2020; Nguyen & Zeichner, 2019), how teacher education programs can prepare teachers for this work (de Jong et al., 2013; Kleyn & Garcia, 2019; Lucas & Villegas, 2013; Robinson et al., 2018; Seltzer & Garcia, 2020; Vega et al., 2018; Villegas et al., 2018), and what obstacles exist for social justice-driven ESOL teaching and teacher education (e.g., Gándara & Santibañez, 2016; Khong & Saito, 2014; Motha, 2014).

In Finland, studies with an explicit social justice framework are scarce, particularly in the field of language education. Teaching and learning English does not have a tradition of being viewed as a sociopolitically sensitive endeavor, and if English is discussed in a politicized way, the recent (often nationalistically framed)

discourse revolves around it being a threat to other languages rather than an opportunity for multilingual pedagogies (Pyykkö, 2017; for the higher education context, see Saarinen, 2020). With this chapter, we hope to add to a more nuanced understanding of the role English teaching and learning could have in the Finnish educational and societal landscape.

3 The Finnish Context

3.1 Education in Finland

Finnish education is based on legislation that ensures free basic schooling for all students with the goal of promoting equality and equity. As stated in the Finnish Basic Education Act 628/1998, "[t]he aim of education shall further be to secure adequate equity in education throughout the country." (FBEA 628/1998, p. 1). Equality means ensuring that every learner, regardless of her home region, school, family background or gender, receives the same quality of education. Equity, on the other hand, implies that due to the diversity and different needs and abilities of the learners, each learner is provided with individually suitable resources for learning and participating in education and society.

Basic education, starting at the age of seven, comprises grades one to nine. After nine years of compulsory basic education, most students continue at a secondary school either in a vocational or an academic strand, which can also be combined, and both can lead to tertiary education. The documents providing the basic framework for education are the national core curricula, which exist in separate editions for early childhood education, preschool, basic education, and secondary education. These curricula are renewed approximately every ten years.

The most recent curriculum for Finnish basic education, which includes a major overhaul of the document, was published in 2014 (published in English 2016). Starting in 2016, this new Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (FNCCBE, 2014/2016) has been implemented gradually in all grade levels of basic education (i.e., years 1–9/ages 7–15). The FNCCBE provides the ideological backdrop and guidelines as well as a general operative framework for local, municipality or school-level curricula. Although the local curricula, which are practical tools for practitioners, are adapted to contextual needs, the basic tenets of the core curriculum need to be followed.

As one of its most prominently stated themes, the FNCCBE values the presence of multiple languages and cultures in education as part of its goal to address changing societal needs and to support all learners' identities and participation in the society. Although Finland has always been a diverse society (Keskinen et al., 2019), immigration has increased gradually since the 1990s and has been increasingly politicized since 2015, thus bringing issues of linguistic and cultural diversity into the center of

public awareness and debate. The relatively recent arrival of immigrants and multilingual language users in Finland brought on both an increase and a diversification of the linguistic landscape in Finland: There are now more speakers of a more diverse group of languages in the country. The most commonly spoken "foreign" languages in Finland are Russian, Estonian, Arabic, English, and Somali (Statistics Finland, 2020). Although the FNCCBE was written before this demographic change occurred, the forefronting of linguistic and cultural issues relate to the overall societal climate that may have already been palpable.

A yet more recent change in Finnish basic education and the FNCCBE is the decision of adding two more hours to the syllabus of the first two years for teaching a second (Finnish or Swedish) or a so-called foreign language. Thus, from the beginning of 2020, every pupil has started to learn a second or "foreign" language from the first school year onwards. This decision is framed in political and ideological arguments, one of which is the intention to enhance learners' equitable access to resources and participation in the rapidly globalizing society, regardless of their family background, socioeconomic status, or gender. Given the current parental, municipal, and administrative preferences, over 90% of the pupils will start learning English (Peltoniemi et al., 2018). This underlines the strong position of English in the Finnish society (Leppänen et al., 2011). The presence of English in the society is prevalent, which promotes learning it also in out-of-school contexts for many but not for all pupils.

Given the novelty of the Finnish FNCCBE and the recent demographic changes in Finland, we believe there is a need for an approach to language teaching that ties together existing and emerging multilingualism with a push for social equity. To do this, we need to know what opportunities exist in the interaction and potential tension between educational curriculum, teacher practice, and societal needs to realize social justice-based language education, particularly in the field of TESOL. Our chapter identifies opportunities to do that by offering an analysis of the FNEB document, which is guided by the following question:

- What values or visions undergird the promotion of multilingualism in education in the FNCCBE?

3.2 The Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education

As mentioned earlier, one of the most prominently stated basic issues of the newest core curriculum is promoting multilingual and multicultural education to meet the changing societal needs and to support all learners' identities and participation in the society. The new curricula in Finland follow the European values of promoting plurilingualism and recognizing learners' diverse languages as resources for learning

and equal participation in education (European Commission, 2020). In the underlying values of basic education (FNsCCBE, 2014/2016), cultural diversity in the community is seen as a richness in education.

Also in the sub-chapter introducing the principles that guide the development of the school culture (Chap. 4.2), cultural diversity and language awareness of the teachers and learners are emphasized. Cultural diversity is seen as a reality in the school and in the wider society that has to be responded to, but that simultaneously is worth embracing. This chapter also addresses participation, democratic action, equity, and equality of all of the learners. Concerning specifically the pupils with multilingual backgrounds in sub-chapter 9.4, the core curriculum states that "[i]n the instruction of other [than Roma and Sami speaking] plurilingual pupils, the particular goal is supporting the pupils' plurilingualism and the development of their identity and self-confidence" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 91) and following, in the same chapter: "Plurilingual pupils are encouraged to use the languages they know in a versatile manner in the lessons of various subjects and other social activities" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 91).

The above-mentioned chapters refer to the overarching idea of the curriculum of every teacher being a language teacher. When it comes to teaching "foreign" languages, sub-chapter 14.4.3 in the curriculum pays attention to holistic language education instead of mere language teaching, supporting language awareness, the linguistic and cultural diversity of the school community and the surrounding world, and guiding the pupils to "appreciate other languages, their speakers, and different cultures" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 236). Furthermore, in the syllabus for English (extensive A-language syllabus, starting from grade 1–3), multilingualism is repeatedly mentioned in the objectives of instruction, key content areas, objectives related to learning environments and assessment. These remarks vary from more general ideological value statements to more concrete, practical, linguistic, and English-specific ones:

> [Objective 1] to guide the pupil to notice the linguistic and cultural richness of his or her surroundings and the world, and the status of English as a language of global communication.
>
> [Objective 2] to motivate the pupil to value his or her own linguistic and cultural background and the linguistic and cultural diversity of the world and to encounter people without prejudices.
>
> The pupils familiarise themselves with multilingualism and multiculturalism in the surrounding community with the aid of internalisation at home.
>
> They listen to different languages, explore different ways of writing, and observe the way in which words are borrowed from one language to another.
>
> (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, pp. 237–238)

Figure 1 illustrates the different layers of multilingualism on the individual, institutional, and societal levels. As has been shown, the Finnish core curriculum promotes the role of language in education, language awareness, and multilingualism in many ways. However, these general statements can lead to contradictory discourses at schools where teachers as the de facto policymakers base their practices on the interpretations of the curriculum texts (Repo, 2020). Therefore, it is important to

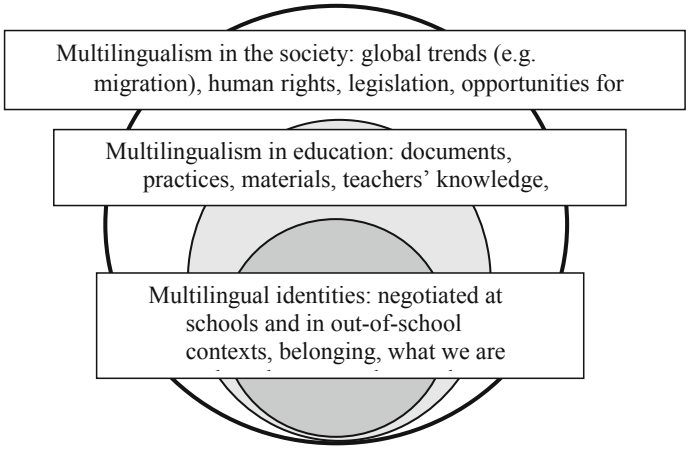

Fig. 1 Layers of multilingualism

investigate how the basic educational values of social justice, equality, equity, and multilingualism as a richness are stated in the core curriculum, and how these issues are reflected and translated in the discourses of diverse stakeholders in education.

4 Findings

4.1 Multilingualism and Equity in the FNCCBE

4.1.1 Multilingualism for Developing Cultural Appreciation and Identity

The value of multilingualism surfaces in the national core curriculum (FNCCBE, 2014/2016) in various ways. In addition to the benefit of using wide language resources for learning, the importance of promoting multilingualism is also recognized for guiding the pupils to cultural appreciation of their own and others' cultures and for developing their individual identities. In the chapters concerning the instruction of different languages, appreciation of linguistic and cultural diversity is repeatedly mentioned as a goal and the task of the subject. The following examples concerning Sámi, Roma, and Sign languages are from sub-chapter 13.4.1: "The instruction guides pupils to understand and appreciate also other languages and cultures" (Sámi) (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 117; (Roma) (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 120) and "—to guide the pupil to appreciate his or her own language and culture as well as linguistic and cultural diversity" (Sign language) (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 123).

These core values are stated in all texts describing language subjects throughout the document, regardless of the position of these languages as major or minor languages in Finnish society. For example, the same ideas appear in "Sámi language and literature" in the part of the curriculum addressing mother tongue and "English as a foreign language" under the title "Foreign languages."

Chapter nine of the curriculum is dedicated to specific questions of language and culture. This chapter has a particular focus on multilingualism, multiculturalism, and language rights, also including a sub-chapter (9.4) specifically targeted to the education of plurilingual pupils. Here, the goal of appreciating diversity encompassing all basic education is expressed clearly: "The objective is to guide the pupils to appreciate different languages and cultures and to promote bilingualism and plurilingualism, thus reinforcing the pupils' linguistic awareness and metalinguistic skills" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 90).

Following this, there is a general description that suggests how this could be implemented in practice: "School work may include multilingual teaching situations where the teachers and pupils use all languages they know" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 90). Without further explaining these situations, this is the sentence that most explicitly refers to translanguaging practices. It remains unclear whether this could be done for pedagogical purposes, for enhancing the learners' equality, or perhaps both. Supporting the linguistic and cultural identity of all of the pupils is also clearly visible throughout the beginning chapters of the document. In chapter 9.4, addressing explicitly the instruction of plurilingual pupils, the document declares: "–the particular goal is supporting the pupils' plurilingualism and the development of their identity and self-confidence" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 91). And also in sub-chapter 13.4.1: "The pupils are guided to become aware of the multilayered linguistic and cultural identities they and others have." (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 109).

In the specific syllabus of English as a foreign language, the curriculum mentions as one of the objectives of instruction "to motivate the pupil to value his or her own linguistic and cultural background and the linguistic and cultural diversity of the world and to encounter people without prejudices" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 237). This shows that the goals of language education are wider and more holistic than the narrower linguistic goals of traditional language instruction and, accordingly, teaching English like other languages can offer opportunities for multilingual pedagogies. Yet, the more concrete examples showing how to do this in practice are again left to the local curricula, school communities, and individual teachers.

4.1.2 Multilingualism for Exercising Human Rights and Active Citizenship

In its underlying values, the core curriculum states that "[b]asic education is built on respect for life and human rights" (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 16). The background part of the document refers to national and international legal documents, for example, non-Discrimination Act (21/2004), United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, and European Convention of Human Rights, Treaty series

85–86/1998. In Chapter 9, the curriculum mentions the pupils' diverse cultural backgrounds and linguistic skills together with supporting their identities and ensuring their constitutional rights in a very dense manner:

> The pupil's cultural background and linguistic capabilities are taken into account in basic education. Each pupil's linguistic and cultural identity is supported in a versatile manner. The pupils are guided to know about, understand and respect each citizen's right to their own language and culture protected under the Constitution. (FNCCBE, 2014/2016, p. 90)

This kind of abstract statements set the legal and ideological basis for the curriculum work of the local education providers who are responsible for the implementation of these rights at the local level. The final policymaking takes place in classrooms, where teachers are central actors in implementing the curricula. In interpreting and implementing the core issues concerning the value base of education, teacher education has a pivotal role.

4.2 The Voices of Preservice Teachers of English

As part of our professional lives as language teacher educators, we engage in discussions with students on topics of social justice and language pedagogies. We offer some of their statements here because they complement those in the FNCCBE in important ways.

On a course dealing with teaching English through critical cultural content, future English teachers were asked to complete a task on (white) privilege. Prior to this, they had been given background readings on the topic such as the landmark article on white privilege by McIntosh (2001) and a book chapter on the personal and collective transformation of teachers by Nieto (2010). In the task, students were asked to consider various statements regarding their own privileges and how these might affect their teaching. The statements dealt with privilege from various points of view such as gender, ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status, sexuality, and physical ability. Here are some of the students' thoughts:

> Because of the activity, I realized that I'm more privileged than I thought. It does worry me that as a teacher I might not be able to understand the difficulties my students are facing. I think we all categorize people unconsciously but whether we actually treat these people according to these categories, is up to us. I will emphasize the importance of education to my students but not because I am a teacher (and it's kind of my job), but because of my background [of growing up in a single parent family]. (*Student 1, female*)

> One of the articles mentioned that teaching is a political act, and it indeed is that. Unfortunately, it also means that a teacher has the power to pass on his or her stereotypes and prejudices – very often unintentionally. Therefore, it is important that we acknowledge our unconscious prejudices and stereotypes so that we can overcome them and don't transmit them to our students. Furthermore, it is important that we never assume anything. For instance, don't assume that a student with a black skin wasn't born in Finland or has ever been to Africa. (*Student 2, female*)

> I guess I'm more privileged as I thought, as the most of us Finns. Many of the things in the list are taken for granted here, I feel. We are very lucky in that sense. My fiancée comes

> from another country, and there many things are not that well. For example, good education is not free (if you want education good enough in order to continue to university or so). I do not think that my privilege affects my teaching. However, it can be more difficult to understand issues that students from different backgrounds as mine have. It does not have to be radically different backgrounds, such as foreign countries, but maybe just the fact that I lived my childhood in a two-parent family makes it harder to see things through the eyes of a student who just has a mother, for instance. (*Student 3, male*)
>
> The school I attended abroad was international and we had both teachers and students from all around the globe. It taught acceptance and understanding of different religions, cultures etc. The school took into account the religious holidays of many different denominations for example and we learned about world religions in class. Teachers also told us about their country of origin. I hope to carry on such values in my future teaching: to be open about various different cultures, religions etc. I also hope to provide my students with an understanding and curious worldview, and try to emphasize that although everyone is entitled to their opinions there is no need to be hostile or rude. (*Student 4, female*)

These excerpts are noteworthy for several reasons. First, they illustrate that many students are only beginning to think about their privilege, and this course was likely one of the first times they were encouraged to engage in such a reflective process. In their statements, it becomes evident how little thought the students had previously put into matters like privilege. As people who are commonly perceived as white, they had not had to worry about being racialized as non-white, and although some students shared stories of financial hardship, many had been quite sheltered from other forms of oppression. We noticed that once these students were given the task to reflect on their privilege, it transformed them. However, as most of them had little prior teaching experience, their ideas on how to incorporate social justice-oriented content in their teaching was understandably at the very early stages, and would have needed further development. Due to the way English teacher education is currently organized at our university, there is little opportunity for students to learn these skills. Once they begin their practicum, they will be under the supervision of a different department (teacher education), which does not equip them with subject-specific pedagogical skills. Unless their mentor teacher happens to have expertise in social justice-oriented language pedagogies, the experience of considering language/English and equity together is unlikely to continue within their teacher education program. Nevertheless, taking up such matters throughout teacher education is, in our view, of crucial importance, if we wish to see future teachers as agents of change and advocates of equity in the classroom.

5 Discussion

5.1 Translanguaging as a Way Forward?

Given the student statements we curated, we contend that there is a lot of interest and willingness to engage with social justice pedagogies among future English teachers of our university and likely beyond. We believe that particularly English teachers need to

understand that multilingual approaches have the potential to challenge traditional but persisting language ideologies and thus social hierarchies. As the editors of the recently published volume *Envisioning TESOL through a translanguaging lens* explain:

> We explicate translanguaging as a multi-faceted lens in three interrelated aspects: a descriptive, theoretical, and pedagogical lens with strong social justice implications; we see that it could provide a promising path to dismantle 'English' as a monolithic entity, 'native speakerism' as a pervasive ideology, and 'English-only' as a pedagogical orientation. (Tian et al., 2020, p. 1)

Given the policy gaps we are seeing in both the NCC's themes and the statements of future English teachers, we believe that what is needed is an approach to language education that brings together the recognition of multilingual resources with a social justice agenda. We found translanguaging to be such an approach. Since, in Finland, the responsibility for providing concrete teaching strategies lies with local curricula, which are informed by the NCC, we hope that the following section clarifies why a translanguaging approach would be a way to meet the NCC goals and address existing needs of teachers as well as the larger societal context.

While a plethora of approaches and concepts are in place to describe and promote multilingual teaching practices, translanguaging and translanguaging pedagogies are among if not the most widely used ones. In one of the foundational pieces that define the concept, García and Wei (2014) clearly address the intention and potential of translanguaging to initiate social change through linguistic equity and resistance to monolingual norms and ideologies. In its essence, translanguaging rejects nationalistic and colonial notions of standardized and normative languages and monoglot societies and, instead, is rooted in an idea of heteroglossia. This owes itself to the so-called multilingual turn (May, 2014) in applied linguistics (Poza, 2017), which brought on wide recognition of linguistic practices of multilingual speakers as dynamic, flexible, and hybrid and a critique of static, monolithic, and separate notions of languages.

It is important to note that a translanguaging approach to language education would not automatically result in a realization of the FNCCBE's goals of moving toward social equity. In fact, as Flores (2014) has noted, there is a trend of flattening and de-politicizing translanguaging approaches, or as Poza has called it, "dulling" (2017, p. 102), which leaves the broader social hierarchies and processes of linguistic oppression unaddressed and instead adopts a neoliberal agenda, which, for instance, operationalizes translanguaging for efficient language acquisition and commodification (Poza, 2017). Through a process like this, as Poza points out, "inequalities and injustice of current regimes will simply be perpetuated rather than interrogated for their complicity in language hierarchies" (2017, p. 102). To such diluting and appropriation of the concept, Flores responds that "[t]ranslanguaging research should not attempt to objectively describe the language practices of language-minoritized communities but rather should attempt to analyze the ways that these language practices are marginalized by the larger society" (para 4).

As Sembiante and Tian (2020) noted, the social justice orientation of the translanguaging approach makes it both an important and needed but also a contested contribution to the field of TESOL. Although resistance is not uncommon and can be expected to come also from practitioners (e.g., Andrei et al., 2020), research has documented how this can shift and practitioners can, with guidance and support, learn how to teach English through a multilingual and social equity lens (Fallas-Escobar, 2020; Robinson et al., 2018).

Although, as our data show, a strong ideological basis for a social equity focus exists within the FNCCBE, and at least our recent cohort of future English teachers seems to be intrigued by such approaches, part of the responsibility of channeling this into concrete practice falls on us as teacher educators and researchers. As the next section shows, some helpful work in this area exists, but needs to be expanded.

5.2 Research on Translanguaging in Finland

Research on translanguaging from Finland has received some attention in the contexts of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which refers to the teaching of content area subjects in a language that is not the dominant medium of instruction. In Finland, the most common CLIL language is English.

Within CLIL contexts, Moore and Nikula (2016) have investigated translanguaging as part of classroom discourse and shown how teachers in Finland, Austria, and Spain make strategic use of multiple languages or linguistic features in content-based classrooms to facilitate and oversee their students' learning. Leaning more toward the political conceptualization of translanguaging, a study by Jakonen et al. (2018) in a CLIL classroom (History taught through English) examined translanguaging practices as "subversive language play in an educational context that is driven by a monolingual norm" (p. 31). In an English-only setting, their focal student "Sakari" insisted on using his L1 Finnish, combining it playfully with a variety of linguistic and semiotic resources to mark his good/bad student identity and non-investment (see also Ennser-Kananen, 2018). Although in this context Finnish was the societally dominant rather than a socially marginalized language or linguistic practice, his discourse nevertheless resisted an otherwise monolingual space, thus illustrating that translanguaging can be a subversive act that reaches beyond language-learning processes. Even in contexts that are traditionally conceptualized as parallel monolingualisms, such as the relationship between Swedish and Finnish in Finland, the mere presence of multiple languages can help embrittle the monolingual habitus of schools, as Laihonen and Szabó (under review) show in their work on co-located schools. For example, Lehtonen (2019) reports on how school-based projects that incorporate translanguaging pedagogies in the classroom have increased students' motivation and contributed toward more co-operative practices in the classroom: After engaging in such projects, students co-operate a lot more and ask each other for advice on language-related matters. To promote equity in language education, a report has been commissioned by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, in

which language education researchers have made research-based recommendations to the politicians, including the promotion of multilingual pedagogies that integrate multiple, also less commonly used, languages with content teaching (Kyckling et al., 2019).

In all, we note that some research from Finland exists that shows how instances of translanguaging can further student learning and shift linguistic (particularly monoglossic) norms. However, such research is scarce and has not fully embraced the potential of translanguaging to promote social equity. Given that many researchers in the area of language education and TESOL are teacher educators or shape teacher education in Finland in profound ways, we hope to see a shift in the field on multiple levels, including research, that is true to the visions of the FNCCBE of promoting linguistic equity and social justice in a diverse education system and society.

6 Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on our analysis of the FNCCBE, our experience as teacher educators, and our students', that is, future English teachers', opinions, we see the following steps as a necessary way forward toward more inclusive English language teaching and learning in Finnish elementary schools.

- In the FNCCBE itself as well as in the local curricula that draw on it, we would like to see a clarification on encouraged and wanted language pedagogies. We hope that translanguaging pedagogies will not merely be presented as accidental or acceptable, but as an intentional and critical step toward more inclusive English, language, and other types of education. Considering the existing commitment of the FNCCBE to human rights, active citizenship, and social equity on the one hand, and cultural and linguistic diversity on the other hand, we believe such a recommendation would not be far to seek, but rather obvious. Nevertheless, it could have wide-ranging positive implications.
- Such a clarification on the policy level has to be undergirded by respective changes in teacher education and the design and publication of teaching and learning materials. Although materials exist that promote translanguaging and social justice pedagogies also in the world language contexts (Glynn et al., 2014), materials for teacher educators designed for the Finnish context are still scarce. Most importantly, linguistically and culturally sustaining pedagogies cannot be left to the responsibility and goodwill of individual teachers. Existing programs that equip teachers with language-aware and multilingual pedagogies (e.g., LAMP at the University of Jyväskylä) need to be extended and made attractive to all teachers.
- Researchers in the area of TESOL and other areas of education are called to adopt and promote the human rights/equity perspective of the FNCCBE. The more researchers and teacher educators learn to view translanguaging as promoting both social justice and multilingualism, the easier it will be for teachers to adopt and implement the respective pedagogical approaches.

- Pre- and in-service teachers of English play a particularly important role in this process. English enjoys a strong and relatively unquestioned position in Finnish curricula and schools—for example, as of 2020 pupils have started learning world languages, in practice almost always English, in grade 1. Not having to fear cuts, loss of status, or societal support puts English teachers in an excellent position to drive change and implement pedagogies that bring together multilingual and social justice pedagogies that amplify each other.

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Chapter 17
English as a Mediator for Communication and Understanding: The Case of Israel and Palestine

Anastasia J. Khawaja, Valerie S. Jakar, and Brigitta R. Schvarcz

Abstract Though with different perspectives and varied experiences, we three TESOL educators came together, through our affiliation with TESOL International Association, to explore the roles for English in the Israel–Palestine region where Hebrew and Arabic are the major languages of communication. In this chapter, we explore initiatives and policies that relate to the uses of English in education and broader society. English, as an International Language (EIL), has considerable status in various domains of society in the region. It acts as a means of striving toward greater communication and understanding between the two language communities, with potential to foster peace and understanding in the region. While we take the use of Arabic and Hebrew into account, we focus on how the shared use of English is or can be employed as a mediator. We explore the focal language situations through sociolinguistic and pedagogical lenses, with a view to identifying commonalities in places, spaces, and events which evidence awareness of social justice or the manifestation of humanitarian ideals. We close this paper with some suggestions, drawn from our findings, for worthwhile ventures for TESOL educators who wish to enable their students to work toward a more peaceful present and future in areas of conflict.

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1 Official and Educational Language Policies

When one sees the words "Palestine" and "Israel" in juxtaposition, assumptions and thoughts can run wild, there being a myriad of perspectives regarding the decades-long conflict that exists in that region of the Middle East (see Dershowitz, 2003; Pappe, 2004; Suleiman, 2004). This chapter, however, does not focus on the conflict issues themselves. It seeks to give account, through exploration and discussion of language policies and laudable initiatives that are currently in place.

The region known as Israel and the Palestinian Territories has a rich linguistic history. Language uses in the area, for spoken and written communication purposes, have been identified over time as Ugaritic (12th Century, BCE), Arabic, Aramaic, French, Greek, Hebrew, Turkish, Phoenician, and, in the early twentieth century, British English. Currently, there are three languages which are still widely used. In Israel, Hebrew is the first official language, with the use of Arabic, the mother tongue of more than one million citizens, designated for special purposes (Anon, n.d.). English language is taught in all schools which are under the Israel Ministry of Education authority. Other prevalent native languages, spoken and used by immigrants and their descendants, are Amharic, French, Moroccan and Iraqi Arabic, Russian, Ukrainian, and South American varieties of Spanish. Studies of the linguistic landscape readily show the plethora of languages used for various purposes (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Khawaja & Schvarcz, 2020).

Currently, in Palestine, formal Arabic is the official national language with Palestinian Arabic being used in non-official settings. English is the second most used language in the region. Amara (2003) notes that "knowledge of English is a powerful status symbol and class marker" (p. 221). English is seen as a language of academic importance, is in the curriculum of government schools, and is part of the final high school qualifying examination system (*tawjihi).* Though Hebrew has no official status, there is evidence of the use of Hebrew in domains such as commerce, industry, and welfare as well as official governmental dealings (Hawker, 2013; Khawaja & Schvarcz, 2020; Suleiman, 2004). Both Israel and the Palestinian Authority place great importance on English as an academic and global language even if it does not have "official" status (see Spolsky, 2004).

1.1 Israel Policies and Education

English in Israel plays a major role in public school education programs. English language classes begin officially in grade three, and compulsory English tuition continues until the twelfth grade when students are entered for their matriculation examinations (*bagrut).* The language of instruction is Hebrew in schools situated in predominantly Jewish sectors, and Arabic (AL1) in Palestinian Israeli areas, but the core school curriculum is similar for both sectors. Hebrew (as a second language) is taught in the AL1 from grade two onward, and Arabic (as a second language) has traditionally been taught in grades five and onward (as an elective in high school) in the Hebrew-speaking sectors (for further information on the Israeli education system, see Blass, 2018).

A communicative approach to teaching English was introduced some thirty years ago, following an era of traditional grammar translation methods which had been established by a British influenced educational system. Since that time, there have been shifts in the teaching approaches concomitant with international TESOL trends, informed by research and scholarship in the areas of second language acquisition and language teaching methodology, testing and applied linguistics developments (Cohen, 1998; Dubin & Olshtain, 1986; Olshtain, 1987; Spolsky, 1999; Ur, 2019). Teachers of English, currently assessed at 14,000, (R. Steinitz, personal communication, August, 2020), are required to be graduates of a university or academic college program, with a diploma in education at their chosen level (Elementary, Junior-High, High). Typically, the teachers are native speakers of Hebrew, although there is a sizable proportion of native speakers of English, native speakers of Amharic, French, Spanish, and Russian.

The curriculum is dictated by the Ministry of Education. While teachers are at liberty to introduce, create, and use ancillary materials and projects in their teaching, they are required to use one of the course books (or programs), of which there are a variety, approved by the Ministry. The course books adhere to the Ministry of Education policies, with regard to appropriateness of text types, featured topics and personalities, attention to local pluricultural phenomena, but also to global issues and world literature.

The *bagrut* examination (at three levels of proficiency) reflects the curriculum and the focus of instruction in that there are components which test reading comprehension, understanding and appreciation of literature, speaking ability, listening skills, and writing. Recently, two elective "majors" (credit-bearing coursework which enhances *bagrut* level of achievement) have been introduced: Translation, and Diplomacy and International Communication in English, known as DICE (discussed in more detail below). Both reflect the value and esteem in which English is held, but also point to a more global approach to language development. At present, there are teacher training sessions being conducted by the Ministry of Education, in which all sectors (cf. Blass, 2018) are represented. Most recently, the Ministry of Education published a new CEFR-aligned English Curriculum which included the aims of a plurilingual society and intercultural understanding (Council of Europe, 2018; Israel Ministry of Education, 2020).

A remarkable phenomenon within the Israel education system is the state-supported bilingual school movement known as *yad b'yad* (Hand in Hand), where an equal number of Arabic and Hebrew-speaking students, K-12, learn together. Five such schools exist around the country, with varying levels of academic and social success (Schlam Salman et al., 2015). It was noted in a study of language attitudes of students at the Jerusalem Hand in Hand School that language awareness and language learning awareness were evident in the alacrity and high levels of achievement in English studies among the students (Bekerman & Schlam Salman, 2011).

Recently, a vigorous move has been made toward consideration of the language situation in Israel, in general, and in the education system in particular: A research project is currently underway to develop a multilingual educational policy (Shohamy & Tanenbaum, 2019). The goal of this two-phase extensive investigation in all language areas and multiple language groups is to develop a modular menu that includes different types of frameworks for multilingual education.

1.2 Palestinian Territories

Official educational policies in the Palestinian Territories vary depending on the type of school. The Palestinian Authority obtained control of their education system in 1994 (Dajani & McLaughlin, 2009). Regarding English studies, most of the K-12 English teachers have degrees in either education, literature, or are graduates of a vocational training program. The current course materials, synonymous with the curriculum used for all English classes, are called *English for Palestine* (D. Dajani, personal communication, September, 2020). This series was developed with input from international English language professionals and Palestinian university personnel and members of the Ministry of Education. The first edition was produced in 2000 with an updated version in 2011. It remains the English curriculum for the government schools (Bianchi & Abdel Razeq, 2016; Dajani & McLaughlin, 2009; English Language Curriculum, 2015). The curriculum is praised by the Ministry and educators for the focus on Palestinian culture and life practices, but it has been criticized for its pedagogical approach which does not include many opportunities for communicative practice (Bianchi & Abdel Razeq, 2016) even though the Ministry of Education reports that the methodology for English language teaching instruction is the communicative language teaching approach (English Language Curriculum, 2015). This lack can be explained by the fact that the final *tawjihi* exams require extensive memorization in all compulsory topics, including English. Thus, the content and approach of textbooks are driven by the format of this final exam (Bianchi & Abdel Razeq, 2016; Fennell, 2007).

Private schools, on the other hand, which use well-known English course materials, are seen to prepare students to speak and use English more fluently. Unlike government schools where a lot of the English instruction is conducted through Arabic due to a lower English proficiency of many of the teachers, many of the private schools have the medium of instruction in English (Bianchi & Abdel Razeq, 2016). Some private schools also offer French or German as the language of instruction for certain school subjects. In these private schools, the curricula are oriented toward examination systems such as the SAT (USA), GCSE (UK), the French baccalaureate, or the German Arbitur exams that help to determine college admission both in the Palestinian Territories and abroad.

2 The Access Program in Israel and the Palestinian Territories

In addition to the formal governmental provisions of tuition both in Israel and in the Palestinian Territories, there are after-school programs in English that provide supplemental instruction. One such program is called Access (Access to English Microscholarship program) instituted by the United States Department of

State (USDS). This program provides adolescents around the globe with supplementary English education and enrichment during after-school hours and vacations as well as programs of professional development for the school teachers involved (E. Williams, personal communication, August, 2020; L. Stack, personal communication, September, 2020).

2.1 Access in Israel

Ancillary to the Ministry of Education provision of mandatory English education are several programs of enrichment and compensatory English education offered by local governments, the Community Centers Association, charitable organizations with contributions from European and USA donors, and two major international governmental sponsors: The British Council and the USDS. Of significant value to a population of underprivileged adolescents in various parts of Israel is the Access program instituted in Israel in 2004. The two-year after-school scholarship program supports underserved and disadvantaged communities by exposing students to American culture, society, and values through curriculum and cultural enrichment activities. Arabic L1 speakers comprise 95% of participants. The program has been particularly effective in the Bedouin community, "as Access students attain a score that is, on average, 10% higher than non-Access students on English language matriculation exams" (R. Levy, personal communication, September, 2020).

2.2 Access in the Palestinian Territories

The Access program is also available in the West Bank and Gaza, funded by the USDS through AMIDEAST, an American non-profit organization engaged with international education in the region for over 60 years. The two-year English program is offered to economically disadvantaged students who range in age from 13–20. Courses are offered in addition to regular student schooling roughly four times per week at education centers. Many teachers are Palestinian or Palestinian Americans who have an English teaching background, and in some cases American or British professionals. While the majority of the teachers do share English as a first language, it is not a written rule that all teachers have to be native speakers. In fact, AMIDEAST encourages diversity among their teaching staff (M. Hasan, personal communication, September, 2020).

The aim of the program is to teach participants foundational English skills in order to get a better job and/or to travel to study in the USA. As such, the curriculum is very US-centric, focusing on events and behaviors attributed to Americans and general American culture. While the curriculum does focus on US culture, there are opportunities for Palestinian culture to be brought in. For example, during Women's History Month, an American "institution" that is celebrated in March, students are

encouraged to choose a Palestinian woman to discuss. During Black History Month in February, students are encouraged to focus on an African American who has done something for Palestine (M. Hasan, personal communication, September, 2020). The Access program is very careful to stay away from local politics, religious affiliation, or gender identity topics. The program prides itself in being culturally sensitive. However, recently, "Black Lives Matter" and the "Me Too" movements being global issues have been topics for discussion along with related local concerns. After graduation from the Access program, students have the opportunity to apply for a microscholarship to live and study in the USA for one year. Therefore, while it is important to bring in the elements of Palestinian culture, the program is focused on US culture, behaviors, and norms.

2.3 Social Justice and Mediation Through Access

Access serves as a platform for social justice in terms of distributing compensatory educational opportunities. Firstly, participants get extra tuition for the purposes of assisting them to progress academically with regards to English studies and opportunities for higher education. Secondly, the English language instruction broadens students' competence, while the content of language and literacy experiences fosters cultural induction. The skills and the perspectives that participants gain in the program enable them to communicate with international peers and increase opportunities for participation in debate, discussion, and negotiation. Thus, while the Access program itself does not profess to mediate between people in conflict, it provides individual participants with the tools for international communication. Access is a program run and authorized by an outside agency with local input, namely the US State Department. However, there are also numerous locally initiated and based projects and enterprises some of which we will elaborate on in the next section.

3 Initiatives and Programs that Engender Mutual Understanding

This section explores initiatives and programs that use English as the main language of communication and encourage mutual understanding between Israelis and Palestinians. The three programs that we elected to give account of focus on specific content but also include elements of either conflict resolution or social responsibility. The learning communities are made up of Hebrew speakers, Arabic speakers (some with differing dialects) and in one case, international participants, speakers of French, Spanish, and (several varieties of) English. The goals of each program are to develop prowess and interest in, respectively, technology and entrepreneurship, environmental studies, and diplomacy and international communication skills.

3.1 MEET "Teamwork Makes the Dream Work"

Formerly known as the "Middle East Education through Technology" enterprise, the vibrant, and successful initiative that brings together youth from around the region is now known as "Middle East Entrepreneurs of Tomorrow" (MEET). Their mission is to bring Israeli and Palestinian high school students to learn to work together using problem solving skills in technology and innovation. The main language used in the program is English. Courses are offered in computer science, entrepreneurship, and leadership and taught in English by volunteer Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) students. The make-up of each cohort is strictly adhered to: fifty percent female, fifty percent male, fifty percent Jewish (Hebrew speakers), and fifty percent Arab (Arabic speakers). The selection process is highly competitive, and there is a three-year commitment with meetings throughout the school year and full summers together.

The goals of the program are clearly oriented toward academic excellence with a humanitarian approach to entrepreneurship and toward mutual understanding among the young people's range of diversities. Throughout this rigorous program, English is used as the *lingua franca* for most events. Participants' skills in the use of English for resourcing information, debating, and academic and commercial writing develop considerably.

We, the authors, were privileged to witness a presentation practice session in the summer of 2019, where the students critiqued each other as they spoke in English about their projects. We also interacted with the students in their small group-project development sessions including the brainstorming activity which yielded the slogan, and title of this section—"teamwork makes the dreamwork." Students were mentored by the volunteer leaders, who sometimes themselves were non-native speakers of English. In addition to the MIT instructors, there were several alumni who had maintained contact with the organizers, receiving support and giving support to the next cohorts of the program, due to the empowering experiences they had had as students. We met two such alumni, now employees of MEET, who had recently introduced regular discussion group sessions where the participants were able to opt for L1 groupings (primarily Hebrew or Arabic) in order to deeply explore issues of common interest, some contentious, but all completely confidential allowing for everyone to express their emotions, their concerns, and to articulate avenues for understanding. The leaders of the small "heritage" groups were native speakers of the chosen language of communication (i.e., Hebrew or Arabic). This was the only time during the day that the participants were not "pushed" to communicate in English. The majority of the time, they were in mixed groups creating new technological advancements, working together as teams. Despite this move toward multilingualism, most of the communication was in English. It was apparent that the participants' achievements were greatly enhanced by their participation in this program. This has been evidenced by the number of MEET emissaries studying at prestigious academic programs abroad.

3.2 *Arava Institute "Nature Knows no Borders"*

A similar situation exists at the "The Arava Institute for Environmental Studies," located in Kibbutz Ketura, in the Negev, a desert region in southern Israel. The Institute's mission is to advance cross-border environmental cooperation in the face of political conflict. One of the main slogans of this program is "nature knows no political borders." A prominent, enduring venture at this institute is the academic, one-semester program for university undergraduates or graduates from around the globe which consists of a multiethnic, multilingual learning community made up of one-third Israeli Hebrew speakers, one-third Palestinian and Jordanian Arabic speakers, and one-third international participants from Europe, USA, South America, and Africa (Arava Institute, n.d.).

The participants study a variety of interdisciplinary courses ranging from sustainable agriculture, through waste management, to political ecology. Participants engage in a weekly peace-building leadership seminar that serves as a platform to address the Arab–Israeli conflict and seeks to provide them with tools for open dialog and conflict resolution. A requirement for participation in the program is that students are capable of studying and conversing in English, but with no particular prowess. While the language of instruction as well as the *lingua franca* for interaction is English, there are regular dialogic workshops held where participants are encouraged to voice their thoughts in whichever language they feel most comfortable. In these meetings, though the norm is English, if a student prefers to use their own native tongue, they may seek help from fellow students who will translate for them so that the whole group has the benefit of knowing what each has said. The dialogic "training" includes active listening exercises, storytelling, and conflict resolution (see arava.org). In an interview about her experience with the program, one of the "dialog facilitators" who is an alumna, described herself as having entered the program as a self-identified "Zionist Jew" interested in environmental studies and having hardly encountered an Arabic speaker in her life. She recalled the profound effect the program had on her understanding of "the other", and the richness of her environment in social as well as ecological terms. She remarked that the use of English, in their program, works as an "equalizer", and as well as enabling the non-native English speakers to improve their skills while participating in the program, it brings empowerment to the group who collaborate on challenging but fulfilling projects for the sake of their collective environment (S. Ben Ezra, personal communication, October 2020).

3.3 *DICE (Diplomacy and International Communication in English)*

A credit-bearing program for high school students in Israel (both Hebrew and Arabic speaking), supervised by the Ministry of Education English Studies Department, is

the three-year elective school program in Diplomacy and International Communication in English (DICE). While it is not part of the final matriculation program of English studies, the medium of instruction is English and the content is almost entirely English-based. The rationale given for the "major" to be taught in English is that "English is the language of diplomacy today and the international language that offers access to multicultural understanding" (Sternlicht, 2017, p. 4). Within the program of study, certain elective activities enable the participants to engage in mutual understanding programs within Israel and with neighboring countries, environmental studies initiatives (see Ecopeace Middle East, n.d.; Sternlicht, 2017), and international communications, including the Model United Nations (MUN) program.

In its initial incarnation, the plan noted that the program "integrates course content with advanced language development opportunities" in academic language acquisition and increased language proficiency (Sternlicht, 2017, p. 4), assisting development through application in the active learning and experiential methods and through deliberate teaching and practice of new language where appropriate. Due to further developments of the program, and a shift in the educational policies of the Ministry of Education, a newly introduced feature of the DICE program is an acknowledged place for the use of the L1 in discussions and debates. Historically in this region, attendance at and preparation for MUN meetings (a worldwide activity for young people who train to meet and simulate United Nations congresses) was considered a particularly effective means of practicing and developing English proficiency. In the elective unit on MUN, until recently, meetings have always been conducted in English. However, of late, students have had the opportunity to conduct simulated meetings of the UN using their debating skills in their native tongues (Hebrew or Arabic). Students now employ their native tongues legitimately when in conversation with their peers discussing political and ethical issues.

In this section, we have given an account of three initiatives based in Israel which while serving different populations have certain common elements. The English language is the prime language of communication. All three of them include negotiation and debating skills, while MEET and DICE partially focus on the development of linguistic skills. None of these programs are instituted in the Palestinian Territories, but MEET and the Arava Institute involve participants from the Palestinian Territories. In the next section, we discuss issues arising: the roles of English, validity of meaningful content for language teaching, and Content-Based Language Instruction (CBLI).

4 Considerations, Reflections, and Moving Forward

In looking at various programs and situations, interviewing key people in both rural and urban areas, local leaders in education and foreign nationals, observing learners and teachers at work, and surveying the terrain with a view to identifying patterns or norms of use of the English language, we came to some conclusions and even consensus, each viewing our findings through our own lens and reflecting our fields

of scholarship and experience, personal contexts, language bases, and history. We all agreed on the undoubted efficacy of using English as a common bond, a "link language" (Kennett, 2011). Our investigation took us to new areas and new concepts but also to old familiar situations. We learned from the experts in the field and from the students we observed as well as their teachers. Below we offer some insights on the status of and attitudes to English and on methodological considerations, in light of our combined conclusions.

4.1 English: Neutralizer, Equalizer, or Mediator?

English has been part of the linguistic landscape in the region for more than a century. It has served as the go-to language for communication in the region for those Palestinians who do not speak Hebrew, or choose not to use Hebrew, and for those Israelis who do not speak Arabic (Bassiouney, 2020; Schlam Salman, 2012). One could posit that since the English language is "neutral", it serves as a mediator. This we noticed in several instances. However, while, as Motha (2013) has observed, English has "historically most frequently been represented... as race-neutral, apolitical,... and an historical endeavour" (p. 2), we discovered that in the English promulgated in the region in instructional materials through the USDS-sponsored programs, such as Access (made available to both Israeli and Palestinian learners), there is an explicit promotion of the (extant) North American values system. Further, the apparent "neutrality" of English did not always serve to ameliorate differences. Reports showed that in discussion group situations, for example, where interactants had similar proficiency, the use of English acted as a mediator. As our informant at the Arava Institute, Sara Ben Ezra, declared: English indeed acted as an "equalizer". However, where proficiency levels were unequal, one group or individual held an advantaged position. Schlam Salman (2012), in her discussion on Palestinian and Jewish English language learners in Israeli state schools, points out how English can be utilized in order to establish power over a situation or context through demonstration of proficiency in the language.

Thus, we realize that English is not just a "neutral" language, but rather, its history in the region and the contexts in which it operates along with the meanings and the values it expresses, have an influence on the ways it is used. The programs reviewed in this chapter demonstrate these differences.

4.2 TESOL Issues

Bearing in mind that the mandate we were given in writing this piece, we examine issues which are of importance in today's world of TESOL, namely methodological and curricular considerations and the acknowledgment of the use of L1. In our

examination of the formal English instruction programs in both education authorities, we were made aware of a familiar phenomenon: Though in theory and professed policy, ELT pedagogy is in line with current methodological practice, in effect, some teachers employ methodologies such as the grammar translation method (GT) that were prevalent 50 years ago. However, approached from a different standpoint, one could cite GT as a bilingual approach in that the L1 and second language are involved concurrently. This is becoming more popular as theorists and scholars pose a positive rationale for the use of other languages in the English as an Additional Language (EAL) classroom. We found that there is a growing emphasis on permitting the use of the L1 in certain circumstances, especially with regard to situations where contentious or "hot" topics are discussed in more intimate or monolingual group events, as observed in the MEET and the Arava Institute programs. From the above assertion that there is a credible case for "allowing" the use of L1 in educational encounters, we see an aspect of the acceptance of a multilingual approach to language learning pedagogy in that a resilience is now in place whereas even five years ago, this would not have been acceptable.

In secondary and tertiary education today, we see an increasing tendency toward interdisciplinary curriculum where ESL or EFL is one of the components: The Israeli Council for Higher Education recommends the inclusion of two disciplinary courses conducted in English (Council for Higher Education Israel, 2019). In ELT practice, the issue of meaningful tasks, communicative interactions, and authenticity of text, plus a renewed interest in developing the four skills continue to be of great importance. The approach employed in all programs observed by us can be recognized as CBLI (Crandall & Kaufman, 2005; Jakar, 2005; Snow & Brinton, 1988). This is in line with recent sociocognitive theories of SLA which highlight the balance between cognitive involvement and social interaction (Larsen Freeman, 2018). In each of the programs, we examined, it was evident that the learners were engaged in effective language acquisition skills while communicating, deliberating on and accessing information, and negotiating, comprehending and understanding opinions and interpretations regarding meaningful topics.

4.3 Moving Forward: Considerations and Recommendations

When we started our investigation, we planned to explore how English acts as a mediator between Israelis and Palestinians, but we have come away with more questions than answers, while discovering so much more about initiatives that exist in the region, their energy, their relative efficacy and the enthusiasm of the many groups who participate.

Our considerations for further research include involving the teachers and students in a more participatory role in exploring their language situations and using English as the main language for communication. In conjunction with this endeavor, we must continue to survey how English can be used as a mediator in situations regarding conflict resolution and mutual understanding. In relation to this, it will be interesting

to examine proficiency as empowerment (cf. Schlam Salman, 2012), i.e., how the differing or similar proficiency levels of participants in programs, which involve language learners using English for academic and social purposes, have an impact on their mutual understanding on topics ranging from local to global issues. Another way of maintaining power and status is by using one's most refined language skills, which are likely to be one's L1. In instructional second language learning contexts, this is achieved by involving the mother tongue. In light of the recent recognition of the linguistic repertoire of the learners which embodies the L1, we plan to observe the development of learner identity in the English language learning process.

Given our findings, we recommend an increasing use of CBLI which is predicated on meaningful content at the learners' cognitive level and appropriate context. We further see value in the creation of more programs that offer joint learning experiences and contact between diverse groups of learners.

We are aware that we do not have the full picture as it is almost impossible to obtain. We are also aware that the participants discussed in this chapter do not represent all socioeconomic groups present in the region. There is still a great deal to explore regarding different sectors of the societies. But further, as Schlam Salman (2012) suggested, "we must proceed with care, ever aware of the presence of unforeseen consequences lurking among even the best-intended initiatives" (p. 18). We as TESOL educators are not seeking to take on the roles of advocate, activist, or politician in this chapter, but we have sought to be reflective informants in our inquiry about the use of English in the region. We acknowledge the ideological issues surrounding English as well as possible consequences to using English as a mediator. Despite this area of caution, as an Arava Institute professor said, "let us find a constructive way forward."

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Part III
The Way Forward

Chapter 18
Building English Language Resources of Multilinguals

Dudley Reynolds

Abstract The TESOL field came of age in an era when educational systems were dominated by industrial models that used curriculum standards to identify the knowledge and skills necessary to know a language. Theoretical shifts in the field referred to as "the multilingual turn" now challenge the premise that anyone knows "a" language, arguing instead that language learners in particular have individualized repertoires of resources gathered through their experiences with multiple languages. Curriculum standards from Texas, Thailand, and Spain are examined for how they exemplify the monolingual ideologies of language that were prevalent when the field emerged. The standards are found to (1) omit opportunities to draw on and make connections with resources previously developed in other languages and (2) ignore the possibility that students will need or want to use multiple languages as part of a single communicative act. This presents a challenge for teachers who would like to follow the field's multilingual turn. Opportunities for teachers-cum-policymakers to comply with, resist, and transform curriculum standards are proposed.

1 Shifting Perspectives

TESOL as a recognized profession and academic discipline emerged in the 1960s in a world where language learning meant learning "a" language. TESOL followed the paradigm that had been set in educational systems around the world for learning languages of "other" (i.e., foreign) places. These paradigms relied on mathematical metaphors based on set theory, linear addition, and computational processes to configure language learning—regardless of whether the language was English, Latin, or Swahili—as the acquisition of a new and unique set of mental rules that could enhance an individual's human and social capital. The metaphors privileged the object to be acquired and its internal structure over the mental system as a whole, the target over the trajectory, cognitive capabilities over social being, and attainment of individual capital over societal equity and harmony. The systemic structures

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that realized these metaphors included *English* classes for homogenized groups of *learners* governed by curriculum *standards* tailored to specific proficiency *levels* and assessed by *standardized* tests. Teachers followed guidelines disseminated through textbooks and government mandates, creating objectified *activities* and mental *exercises* appropriate for their ability-grouped students. In short, the new field of TESOL fell into line with the broader paradigms for schooling that had emerged during the industrial revolution in England and which continue to dominate many classrooms around the world today (cf., Hamilton, 1989).

As is often the case when ideas become structures, they became institutionalized and resistant to change. The metaphors used to understand language, educational systems, and teachers have changed and evolved, but the institutionalized structures have not. This presents a problem today for TESOL teachers and educators who want to adopt new perspectives of language and the resources we use to express identity, connect with our communities, and collaborate globally. This chapter examines one aspect of the institutionalized system, English language curriculum standards, and explores ways that teachers may find agency through exploration of what it means to teach "multilingualisms" as opposed to "a language." After reviewing how metaphors for language and teacher agency have evolved since the institutionalization of the field, the chapter examines three sets of standards mandated for recognized contexts within the TESOL field: English as a second language in Texas, English as a foreign language in Thailand, and English as a global and professional language in Spain. It examines the underlying ideologies that inform the standards and considers how they might be adapted by a teacher intent on deepening the linguistic resources of multilingual students.

2 Background: Language Competency and Teaching

The teaching of language to "speakers of other languages" has recently experienced what many now refer to as a "multilingual turn" (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014). This turn specifically challenges the perspective that what is being taught is an "addition" to anything, configuring what is learned by individuals instead as multilingualism and what is taught in classrooms as multilingualisms (Gajo, 2014). It redefines individual language competency from being essentially a compilation of monolingual competencies to what Cook and Li refer to as "multicompetence" (2016). MacSwan refers to it as an "integrated multilingual model," a unified competency that tags all language knowledge for use in specific social contexts but positions some knowledge (e.g., reading comprehension strategies) as usable across a wide range of contexts while other knowledge (e.g., French technical terminology) as appropriate for more particular contexts (2017, p. 172).

A corollary to the multicompetence perspective is that what we perceive, and what school curricula label, as "languages" are in fact socially constructed phenomena (Jørgensen et al., 2011; Mühlhäusler, 2000; Turner, 2019). The notion that a subset of the lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic resources used to communicate in Morocco

belong to the same "language" as a subset of the resources used in Egypt is based on interpretations of history and a willingness to privilege some components as similar while dismissing differences in others. What any individual knows as language is actually a unique repertoire of resources gathered through a lifetime of experience (Blommaert & Backus, 2013). An individual's repertoire contains some of the elements (vocabulary items, pragmatic distinctions between politeness markers, genre conventions) that society associates with one or more named languages, but it never contains all. When two individuals have a wide range of overlapping resources, society perceives them as sharing a language.

Communication thus occurs across modalities as a type of negotiated interaction where participants can only use the resources they have but must also accommodate the likely repertoires of other participants. Social conventions for grouping resources into a named language become helpful at this point because they help participants predict which resources may be comprehended and/or valued in a given context. If we perceive another participant as likely not to understand or be antagonistic toward "Arabic," then we may choose to suppress our ability to explain a concept in Arabic and opt for English terms and grammatical patterns, even if our command of them is less fluent, because that is what we think will work (Sánchez, 2018). If we perceive other participants as able to understand both Arabic and English, then we may opt for one or the other or do what society perceives as "mixing." As argued in the extensive literature on translanguaging (cf., García, 2017), this mixing is an enactment of identity, not a sign of limited competency. We all have the resources that we have; when we use them, we express who we are.

Within this emerging perspective on language, the goal for language teaching becomes repertoire expansion and solidification, recognizing that what that looks like for each individual student will vary (Turner, 2019; Turner & Lin, 2020). Historically, the monolingual perspective on language competency positioned language teaching as the presentation, practice, and at least partial acquisition of a new repertoire, not the expansion of what students started with. The traditional perspective is particularly problematic for students who are already socially marginalized because it devalues the knowledge they already have and frequently leads to the weakening of prior resources through disuse (Reynolds, 2019). Language teaching that expands repertoires, on the other hand, centers questions about when to use which resources. It affirms all resources as powerful and effective in their right context and gives agency to students to decide whether to accommodate or resist the usage of others.

3 Curriculum Standards

Unfortunately, many TESOL curriculum standards adopt a monolingual perspective of language competency (Flores & Schissel, 2014; Turner & Windle, 2019). They codify expectations for knowledge and use of "English," while ignoring relations with students' existing resources or the possibility that students might actively use other languages at the same time that they are using English. The three sets of curriculum

standards examined here are grounded in three different approaches to characterizing linguistic knowledge and prepare students to use English in three different contexts. While they recognize students' knowledge and use of other languages to varying degrees, the focus of the standards themselves is consistently on what students should be able to do in English.

The Texas Education Agency's English Language Proficiency Standards (2007) adopt a skills-based perspective of language, specifying performance goals and proficiency levels for listening, speaking, reading, and writing as well as the use of language-learning strategies. The following reading standard exemplifies the exclusive focus on English:

> use visual and contextual support and support from peers and teachers to read grade appropriate content area text, enhance and confirm understanding, and develop vocabulary, grasp of language structures, and background knowledge needed to comprehend increasingly challenging language. (§74.4.c.4.F)

Multilingual readers trying to understand challenging academic content presented in a language for which they have fewer resources should use context clues and ask others for help. We might also expect them, however, to look for cognates of vocabulary they already know, apply schema developed from prior reading in other languages, and summarize the content using resources associated with other languages that they control more fluently. By focusing only on the resources afforded in the text and classroom, the Texas standards target for instruction what is available for all students while ignoring the potential of more individual resources such as knowledge of a Romance language or subject matter expertise.

In line with this restricted view of the resources available to students, the Texas standards position students as needing accommodated or simplified input, emphasizing what they do not know rather than what they know. The descriptor for reading content comprehension, for example, describes the goal as:

> read linguistically accommodated content area material with a decreasing need for linguistic accommodations as more English is learned. (§74.4.c.4.E)

If the only resources they have and will be encouraged to use, for comprehending a text are the English vocabulary and grammatical patterns that they have already added to their repertoire, then the need for modified texts is logical. Imagine, however, what they might be able to do with English texts that are paired with content area material in a language where they have more resources. Imagine also if they were asked to do more cognitively demanding tasks with the content than identify information. If they are asked to make comparisons or synthesize materials from paired texts, how much more might they understand the content in general?

The Thai Ministry of Education's Learning Standards and Indicators for Foreign Languages issued as part of the Basic Education Core Curriculum seem intended to support pedagogical approaches grounded in theories of communicative competence. They target "enabling learners to acquire a favourable attitude toward foreign languages, the ability to use foreign languages for communicating in various situations, seeking knowledge, engaging in a livelihood and pursuing further education

at higher levels" (2008, p. 267). While the standards themselves refer to learning "foreign languages" rather than English specifically, the introduction notes that the language "prescribed for the entire basic education core curriculum is English" (p. 266).

As an indicator of "Learners' Quality," grade 9 graduates of the Thai curriculum are expected to:

> Use foreign languages in searching/ conducting research, collecting and drawing conclusions about knowledge/various information sources from the media and various learning sources for further study and livelihood; disseminate/convey to the public information and news about the school, community and local area in foreign languages. (p. 271)

As with the Texas standards, what is interesting about this standard is what is omitted in the descriptions of language use. Initially, the standard seems to be addressing the ability to use English as part of conducting and disseminating a research project. When we consider the language resources likely to be used in the activities described, however, the standard actually seems to describe two separate scenarios. In the first scenario, English would be used to collect information for "further study and livelihood," suggesting that the knowledge gained would be used as part of their daily interactions in Thailand. In the second project, knowledge about the local context, which we might assume would be primarily available in Thai, would be gathered and packaged for dissemination in English to international audiences. The true indicator of quality in this standard, therefore, is the ability to gather information in one language and disseminate it in another. However, the standard only mentions the parts of this process that would occur in English.

The third set of example standards are the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport's standards for a first foreign language (Primera Lengua Extranjera) issued as part of its basic education curriculum for obligatory secondary education and bachelor's levels (Real Decreto, 1105/2014, de 26 de diciembre, por el que se establece el currículo básico de la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y del Bachillerato, 2015). These standards incorporate the action orientation of the Common European Framework of References for Language (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) and target "lo que los estudiantes deberán ser capaces de hacer en el idioma extranjero en diversos contextos comunicativos reales en los que... tendrán oportunidad de actuar [what students should be capable of doing in the foreign language in different real communicative contexts where... they would have a chance to act]" (p. 422). Unlike the other documents, the Spanish standards explicitly argue for the benefits of multilingual competence, "un perfil plurilingüe e intercultural [a plurilingual and intercultural profile]" (p. 422). Like the Thai standards, the Spanish also set goals for any foreign language and even provide example syntactic and discursive structures for eight languages commonly spoken in Europe. Nevertheless, European Union statistics indicate that 97.8% of secondary students in Spain study English (Foreign Language Learning Statistics, 2018); these would be the standards that guide that instruction.

Despite the overt reference to developing a plurilingual profile, the Spanish standards still seem to focus on what students can do in and with the target language. This

first secondary evaluation criteria for comprehension of written texts, for example, appears remarkably similar to the Texas reading standard discussed above:

> Reconocer léxico escrito de uso común relativo a asuntos cotidianos y a temas generales o relacionados con los propios intereses, estudios y ocupaciones, e inferir del contexto y del cotexto, con apoyo visual, los significados de palabras y expresiones de uso menos frecuente o más específico. [Recognize commonly used written language about daily topics and general themes or related to their own interests, studies and occupations, and infer from context and co-text, with visual support, the meaning of words and expressions that are less frequently used or more specialized.] (p. 426)

The pedagogical focus is again on what students can do using the context, co-text, and visual support present in the text itself without any references to the use of resources gained in other languages.

Perhaps because of the CEFR's focus on functional capabilities, the Spanish standards in general seem to focus more on the description of performance than the resources used to perform. The assumption seems to be, however, that language performances are monolingual affairs. Even when there is a high possibility that language mixing might be involved, that possibility is not included, as exemplified in this evaluation standard:

> Comprende correspondencia personal en cualquier formato en la que se habla de uno mismo; se describen personas, objetos y lugares; se narran acontecimientos pasados, presentes y futuros, reales o imaginarios, y se expresan sentimientos, deseos y opiniones sobre temas generales, conocidos o de su interés. [Understand any form of personal correspondence talking about oneself, describing people, objects, and places; narrating past, present, and future, real or imaginary, and expressing feelings, desires, and opinions about themes that are general, known, or of interest.] (p. 426)

More informal correspondence on personal topics could easily involve language mixing as a type of solidarity marker with a multilingual recipient, but the standard treats this correspondence as if it would be composed entirely in a "foreign" language and misses the opportunity to encourage the practice of mixing.

These three sets of standards together exemplify institutionalized ways of scaffolding language teaching. How they model the target units of linguistic knowledge varies among psycholinguistic skills (Texas), communicative acts (Thailand), and individual capabilities (Spain). The uses of language and individual abilities they target all seem appropriate for their respective contexts. What is surprising, however, is the degree to which they all (1) omit opportunities to draw on and make connections with resources previously developed in other languages and (2) ignore the possibility that students will need or want to use multiple languages as part of a single communicative act. Given that these standards are issued by governmental authorities and may be used as a basis for student assessment (and thus indirectly or directly, teacher assessment), the question becomes whether these omissions in turn restrict the agency of teachers who want to teach multilingualisms (cf., Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996).

4 Teacher Agency vis-à-vis Language Policy

Curriculum standards embody what Hornberger (1994) labels as form-oriented, language "policy planning" (in contrast to more functionally oriented language "cultivation planning"). They are a top-down attempt to promote the "acquisition" by a group of students, a "status" they should achieve, and a "corpus" they should be able to use. Moreover, they are also part of an educational paradigm where "the practitioner is often an afterthought who implements what "experts" in the government, board of education, or central school administration have already decided" (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 417). For teachers who want to recognize and encourage the full potential of their students, as well as be agents of social change themselves, the standards' monolingual perspective on language combined with the passive role of implementer assigned by the systemic paradigm can be demoralizing. They may feel that they are contributing to the imperialistic "diffusion of English" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996) that will ultimately lead to their students' losing language and cultural identity.

Ricento and Hornberger go on to note, however, "that educational and social change and institutional transformation, especially in decentralized societies, often begin with the grass roots" (1996, p. 417). This grass roots challenge begins when teachers recognize that far from being implementers, they are in fact policymakers. Lo Bianco argues that public texts such as curriculum standards are only one stage in a dynamic process: "[language planning] is spread over a continuum involving public texts, public discourses and performative action" (2010, p. 163). He goes on to state:

> In stratified multilingual and multiliterate contexts, school practices give effect to decisions that must be made about what to teach and how to teach. Some of these choices confirm existing practice of the wider society, some resist and some produce change. Curriculum content and pedagogy are the result of choices; that is selections made from what curriculum content and pedagogical practices are available and possible. The totality of curriculum content and pedagogy choices ultimately constitute an enacted language and literacy policy. (p. 165)

This emphasis on the choices that teachers have and make on a daily basis aligns also with recent re-conceptualizations of teacher knowledge and agency (Freeman, 2018; Freeman & Johnson, 1998). In a 2018 review of changing conceptualizations of the knowledge-base needed by language teachers, Freeman notes an initial shift from knowledge of "the academic disciplines of linguistics and psychology" to the "knowledge teachers [use] in the day-to-day practices of classroom teaching" (2018, p. 3). He goes on to argue that more recently, changes in the way English is being used in the world, as well as who is using it, who is teaching it, and who is learning it, are all serving to destabilize institutionalized structures such as curriculum standards: "As its uses and functions in different situations evolve globally, who curates English, as well as the dynamics that arbitration process exerts through institutional and national curricula, classroom materials, and transnational assessments, all come into play" (p. 5). Beginning to think of curriculum standards as only one force in a dynamic

"arbitration process," makes us realize that teachers and their individual agency are an equal or greater force. Focusing on teacher learning, Freeman notes that "in a mandatory training session, teachers' participation can be described as using their 'agency' to comply with (or resist) the requirement" (p. 9). In the classroom, teachers can comply with, resist, or transform curriculum standards.

5 Policy in Practice

Analysis of the three, sample curriculum standard documents suggested that they are informed by monolingual ideologies of language and language use. They view the language whose development they are intended to support as being learned and used in isolation from other languages. For teachers who are expected to use these standards as a basis for classroom activity and student assessment, this rarefied view may seem incongruent with current theories of multicompetence, not to mention their own experiences of multilingualism in the world. If teachers are to assume agency in complying with, resisting, and transforming these standards, what can they do?

Perhaps the best place to start is to realize what the standards in fact offer. They each provide a way of talking about language use that can be employed with students as an analytical tool. The Texas standards for listening, for example, provide terminology for forms (e.g., *sounds, intonation patterns, long and short vowels, silent letters*), strategies (e.g., *monitor comprehension and seek clarification*), and target abilities (e.g., *understand general meaning, main points, and important details*) (English Language Proficiency Standards, 2007, §74.4.c.2). The Thai standards identify communication tasks that can structure classroom activity: "Give information about themselves, friends, and the surrounding environment" (Basic Education Core Curriculum, 2008, p. 269). The Spanish standards focus attention on the nature and structure of communicative acts: *interactuar de manera sencilla en intercambios claramente estructurados, utilizando fórmulas o gestos simples para tomar o ceder el turno de palabra [interact in a simple way during clearly structured exchanges, using formulas or simple gestures to take or give way in turn-taking*] (Real Decreto, 1105/2014, de 26 de diciembre, por el que se establece el currículo básico de la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y del Bachillerato, 2015, p. 425).

While the standards employ this language to describe the structure and use of English, the terminology is equally useful for discussing structures, uses, and strategies in communication more broadly. In essence, they provide metalanguage for analyzing semiotic resources and uses–whether the communicative act is in a language being learned, a language where students already have substantial resources, or is what society perceives as translanguaging. Indeed, one way of contributing to the presumed goal of the standards—awareness of these concepts as they apply to English—is to engage students in comparisons with how the concepts manifest in instances of communication that do not rely solely on resources linked to English.

When considering how teachers may feel compelled to resist the standards, it is important to recognize that the problem identified here has not been what the standards say, but rather what they do not say. They omit opportunities to draw on a wider range of resources than those immediately available through the "target" language. As noted, this may be an attempt to treat all students equally in a sense, to avoid presumptions about what students have already learned and experienced. This least-common-denominator approach, however, misses the opportunity to value what makes each student unique and special. It also configures language learning as a primarily individual, primarily cognitive process. When we conceive of each student as unique, we begin to see how each student can be a teacher for other students (cf., Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

For teachers-cum-policymakers, resistance to curriculum standards may entail resistance more to the monolingual ideology behind the standards than to the actual standards themselves. Teachers may choose, for example, to use resources from languages other than English in the classroom. Vaish (2015) describes a support class to help students learning to read in English at a Singapore elementary school where the children came from Malay-speaking homes. When the teacher began to use both Malay and English in the class, as opposed to only English, the students began to speak more and asked more speculative as opposed to factual questions about stories. They became better readers of English because their teacher had resisted the ideology that only English could be used.

Similarly, transformation of the standards will entail weaving back in what has been omitted. When the Thai standards reference being able to use English to conduct and disseminate research, they omit the need to transfer knowledge gained through English into interactions in Thai and vice versa. Teachers will need to unpack the Thai standard, to recognize the implicit need to go between languages and how this is different from being able to do something in a language. Similarly, teachers using the Texas and Spanish standards for reading comprehension will need to encourage students not only to make inferences from context in a text but also based on their overall knowledge of textual genres, information schema previously developed, and even possibly tools such as online translators.

For TESOL, the "multilingual turn" is not a U-turn; it is not a repudiation of the expertise and knowledge-base upon which the field has been built. It is an expansion of the resources available to language learners and a removal of artificial walls that separated English as a social context from what Aronin and Singleton refer to as "a new linguistic dispensation" in the world: multilingualism (2008, p. 1). For teachers who have been asked (or required) to conform to curriculum standards and other policy documents developed around monolingual perspectives of language, the multilingual turn is not a call to put their jobs at risk; it is an unfolding of the road ahead. It is an invitation to assume agency, to consider what they know about language, not just *A* language, to bring a more authentic version of the world into their classrooms, and in the process, create a richer space for comparing, distinguishing, negotiating, and empowering.

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Chapter 19
From TESOL to TOLSE: Plurilingual Repertoires at the Heart of Language Learning and Teaching

Sílvia Melo-Pfeifer

Abstract In this contribution I claim that, in light of current language education policies that encourage language learning and, paradoxically, have led to the reinforcement of English as a foreign curricular language, the time has come to conceptualize teaching other languages to speakers of English (TOLSE; Melo-Pfeifer in Multilingual turn in foreign language education: facts and fallacies. John Benjamins, New York, Amsterdam, pp 191–212, 2018) from the perspective of multilingual education. More specifically, if English has become the most taught (foreign) language worldwide, I claim that English could be an ally in foreign language learning and teaching if combined with learners' first and foreign languages. In light of research in third language acquisition (see Vetter and Jessner in International research on multilingualism: breaking with the monolingual perspective. Springer, 2019 for recent accounts), whereby previous linguistic knowledge, in the first and foreign language(s) generally, and English specifically, influences how other languages will subsequently be learned, my claim is that pluralistic approaches (Candelier et al. in Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures. Graz, Conseil de l'Europe, 2012) to TOLSE should be encouraged in order to develop and capitalize on plurilingual resources.

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1 Introduction

In 2014, May called for a multilingual[1] turn in language learning in general and teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL), particularly. In that same year, Conteh and Meier highlighted the opportunities and challenges connected to such a multilingual turn in language education, claiming that "multilingual identities and competences can be valued in schools" and that "multilingualism can serve to construct a sense of belonging to one or more groups," thus fostering social cohesion and justice for all (2014, p. 1). In other words, plurilingual competence could be perceived as both starting point for learning and, at the same time, the goal of the (language) learning process (Fürstenau, 2011; Turner, 2019), if only ideologies related to power, nation-state language ideologies and monolingual language pedagogies could be overcome (Young, 2014).

Although the plurilingual nature of the teaching and learning process is clearly declared in the TESOL name (being one of the few designations acknowledging the "other languages" of learners), its practices have more often than not been oriented through a monolingual bias leading to subtractive linguistic practices and privileging monolingualisation and native speaker ideologies over the construction of a plurilingual repertoire and the acknowledgment of hybrid identities, both for teachers and students (Flores & Aneja, 2017).

It may be claimed that TESOL was developed in contexts where English is a second language to children or adult migrants and refugees in English-speaking countries (Simpson, 2020) and that these students' needs should not be amalgamated with those of learners in other contexts, namely the needs of students learning the language as a foreign language. Nevertheless, it is worth highlighting that TESOL, as a concept, acknowledges students' previous linguistic repertoires, where "other languages" can refer simply to the heritage languages when students are in English-speaking countries, or also to the majority language, when students are in other countries (in which English is a curricular foreign language). Yet, paradoxically, theories, pedagogies, and practices in both TESOL and English as a Foreign Language (EFL)—as well as, ironically, language education practices in languages other than English—have predominantly preferred monolingual teaching and learning practices over plurilingual ones, focusing, in terms of research, mainly in the "negative impact" of one language on another.

In this chapter, I will first review some of the widespread fallacies that have prevented the field from acknowledging the still prevalent monolingual stance in (foreign) language education and thus from reinforcing the praised multilingual turn going on. Considering the field's paradoxes (Huxel, 2018) and resistance to change (Krüger-Potratz, 2011; Young, 2014), I will engage in the discussion of (yet another) proposed new acronym, teaching other languages to speakers of English

[1] In this contribution, following Moore & Gajo (2009), I use the terms plurilingual to refer to the linguistic repertoire of individuals and multilingual to the languages present at the societal level. However, in the English literature on language education, multilingual refers both to individual plurilingualism and societal multilingualism.

(TOLSE), which shall serve to uncover and challenge some of the fallacies supporting the monolingual mindset in language education. I will then present the pluralistic approaches to learning and teaching as methods that allow teachers and students to capitalize on plurilingual repertoires and effectively benefit from the multilingual turn, going beyond the mere positive appraisal of linguistic diversity in the classroom and tackling its paradoxical invisibility in teaching practices.

2 Multilingual Turn or Multilingual Turmoil? Reviewing the (Still) Pervasive Monolingual Stance in Language Education

In different disciplines, school levels, and at schools as a whole (Fürstenau & Gomolla, 2011; Moore, 2006), there is growing evidence from research and projects around the world on the advantages of acknowledging plurilingualism in education. In spite of this, it seems that educational systems are quite conservative when it comes to introducing curricular changes that capitalize on students' linguistic skills. Researchers and, at least to some extent, teachers already recognize the added value of formal and mainstream language education grounded in students' preexisting skills (Haukås, 2016; Lundberg, 2019; Portolés & Martí, 2020). Nevertheless, stable representations regarding the expert role of teachers in a given and single language still prevail. Multilingual interaction and the use of heritage languages are viewed as pernicious, and crosslinguistic comparison and use of students' linguistic repertoires are seen as sources of students' mistakes (Conteh et al., 2014; Young, 2014). This lack of responsiveness from the field has led researchers to a deeper engagement with plurilingualism as a way of thinking about and working with languages (going beyond "just" praising them). Indeed, a lot of concern has been put on recognizing and raising awareness of plurilingual resources and linguistic diversity in the classroom and beyond, but little has been done to develop and evaluate disruptive, multilingual practices or to operationalise what "valuing plurilingualism" means in the classroom. It does not come as a surprise therefore that, across several countries, a number of experts identified critical aspects to be studied more intimately related to the efficiency of multilingual education, such as "effectiveness of multilingual support in regular lessons," "features of multilingual didactics," and "effectiveness of literacy support in home languages on the development of academic language skills in the majority language" (Duarte et al., 2020). As the authors put it, "experts [in the empirical study developed by the authors] prioritise research to enhance didactical knowledge that corresponds to multilingual pupils' language use" (Duarte et al., 2020, p. 8).

Even though some curricular changes have been carried out, supporting the development of a plurilingual competence, namely in Europe, many of these changes are still testament to a monolingual lens toward plurilingualism. The dominant model is as a sequential and disconnected offer of different foreign languages (see Benson

& Elorza, 2015; Elorza & Muñoa, 2008; Lasagabaster, 2010 for a praise of the Basque model of the integrated multilingual curriculum; also Reich & Krumm, 2013 for principles and models of a multilingual curriculum). Around the world, foreign languages have been introduced earlier in the curriculum, but this measure tends to value English only and native speakerism (see Mourão & Lourenço, 2015 for studies in Europe; for non-European countries, see Joo et al., 2020 on South Korea). Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) has been another widespread recommendation as a step to value authentic linguistic input and communication using the target language. This curricular move, however, has still ended up favoring English over other languages (see Moore et al., 2020 on CLIL in Japan). And even when more languages are introduced in the curriculum, two effects could be observed: More offerings do not necessarily imply a more diversified demand, and monoglossic and teacher-centered practices prevail since languages are kept separate in teaching, learning, and assessment. In cases where countries have developed structures to foster migrant and refugee students' competences in the dominant schooling language, i.e., German in Germany, withdrawing them from regular German (L1) language classes and moving them to specialized classes (e.g., DaZ in the "Internationale Vorbereitungsklassen" in Hamburg) does not help teachers of other subjects to engage with plurilingual practices, thereby perpetuating a monolingual view of teaching and learning at school, instead of fostering the dissemination of (multiple) languages across the curriculum.

The approach of developing plurilingual competence by resorting to monoglossic practices seems to be rooted in social representations that are entrenched in monolingual ideologies and monolingual practices surrounding the traditional three angles of the didactic triangle: teacher, student, and target language. The teacher is seen as embodying a target language and target culture, someone that should be close to a native speaker or even pass for one, engaging students in monolingual interaction from the very beginning. Learners should avoid using other languages in the learning process, be extremely careful when coming across cognates, and keep their linguistic biographies outside the classroom. Lastly, the target languages, offered in a successive order in closed curricular spaces, are ultimately referred to in purist and discrete terms that do not account for crosslinguistic embedment. The main tenet of this monolingual bias in language education rests in the idea that "what learners need to learn is what native speakers actually do with their language in natural contexts of use" (Simpson, 2020, p. 43). This means that the TESOL industry and other domains of language learning "continue to treat the acquisition of an additional language (most often, English) as an ideally hermetic process uncontaminated by knowledge and use of one's other languages (May, 2014, p. 2).

3 TOLSE or Teaching Other Languages to Speakers of English: Yet Another Acronym?

In addition to being anchored in monolingualizing practices (despite its multilingual designation), TESOL is also frequently associated with subtractive bilingualism and social reproduction (Flores, 2017) through overemphasizing English learning rather than maintaining previous linguistic resources, which are considered disposable in the new linguistic and hegemonic context. Referring to English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) in the UK, Simpson concedes that "ESOL teachers only rarely make systematic use of students' full linguistic repertoires in pedagogy, to the extent that some ESOL classrooms are explicitly monolingual "English only" spaces where multilingual language practices are viewed as being unconducive to learning and are prohibited" (2020, pp. 42–43). As a proxy for other English-speaking countries from the Inner Circle, Chik claims that, in Australia, "students who speak English as an additional language or dialect (EALD) are frequently not viewed as having bilingual or multilingual competence, but as lacking competence in English literacy," with the provision of English language classes being framed as "remedial supportive measures" (2019, p. 4).

In recent work, recognizing English as the *lingua franca* of the moment and its well-established role as a dominant foreign language in many non-Anglophone countries, I have postulated that English should be an ally in the development of responsive plurilingual practices and a basis for learning other languages (Melo-Pfeifer, 2018). Echoing Breidbach (2003) such a position seems fairer and more realistic when compared to perspectives that denounce English as an endpoint or an obstruction in the linguistic path or even as a language killer. As a provocation, I proposed calling such an approach TOLSE: teaching other languages to speakers of English. As I put it,

> A possible pedagogical approach that could be conceptualized following the spread of English would thus go beyond TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and embrace what we would here call TOLSE (Teaching Other Languages to Speakers of English), acknowledging the fact that English is becoming a shared linguistic resource in classrooms around the world and may therefore function as a starting point for further language learning. English could then be the linguistic basis for integrative approaches to language learning, mainly at school (development of institutional multilingualism), as the foundation for further development of multilingual repertoires (both institutional and biographical) and not an end in itself (learning English as the ultimate goal of language education). The rewording (TESOL to TOLSE) is intended to imply epistemological changes regarding the position of English in the contemporary world, and in additional foreign language classrooms in particular, since it is commonly the first foreign language taught. (Melo-Pfeifer, 2018, pp. 204–205)

In this approach, English would be a tool for the development of further linguistic and communicative skills. Besides acknowledging the contemporary dissemination of English, the proposed TOLSE approach highlights many important points: (i) It acknowledges that English is not enough, even or specially for so-called native speakers, but part of a broader linguistic repertoire (that is why the emphasis is on

teaching other languages); (ii) it respects subjects' previous linguistic knowledge (namely English, but without ignoring other semiotic resources) and builds upon previous knowledge and skills to further develop individuals' plurilingual competence; and (iii) related to the legitimacy and ownership of English, it recognizes all social actors with previous knowledge of English as legitimate speakers, even those with partial knowledge, thereby rethinking the "native speaker" as the only model to follow and a native-like competence in all communicative skills as the goal in language learning. The move from TESOL to TOLSE, then, is a move from English being a goal to English being a resource or basis of transfer in language learning, being attributed with mediation and remediation functions (Melo-Pfeifer, 2014), i.e., facilitating learning and communication and helping to overcome challenges in those two processes.

Finally, it should be stated that a TOLSE approach is not considered detrimental to the teaching and learning of English. Two interconnected transfer processes can be developed:

- Language teaching *for* transfer (Cummins, 2008), as formal instruction designed to encourage transfer of linguistic and cognitive skills and knowledge in new linguistic and communicative situations, has a prospective nature and is oriented toward the languages learners might be called to learn in the future; so, English can support further language learning.
- Language teaching *through* transfer, as formal instruction based on already acquired competences, with a retrospective connotation, values previous resources in the teaching of the new language; consequently, English could benefit from transfer processes occurring in the classroom.

In this contribution, I claim that both transfer processes can start with English and in the English classroom, benefiting English learning as well, because of the positive feedback loop in linguistic repertoires, i.e., the retrospective and multidirectional effects that transfer can have (e.g., through enhanced language awareness). TOLSE accepts that language learning is most effective (cognitively, less time consuming) if based on the language(s) already known and that the process of language learning benefits from all other previously acquired linguistic resources, even if partial.

4 Pluralistic Approaches to Teaching and Learning in TOLSE?

To develop a TOLSE approach to learning and teaching, I will present and discuss the pedagogical principles behind the four pluralistic approaches to language learning and teaching (Candelier et al., 2012): awakening to languages, intercomprehension, integrated didactics, and intercultural learning (see also Melo-Pfeifer & Reimann, 2018). Pluralistic approaches to languages are approaches that favor attitudes, knowledge, and know-how related to linguistic diversity and plurilingual repertoires:

> This is to be contrasted with approaches which could be called "*singular*" in which the didactic approach takes account of only one language or a particular culture, considered in isolation. Singular approaches of this kind were particularly valued when structural and later "communicative" methods were developed and all translation and all resort to the first language were banished from the teaching process. (Candelier et al., 2012, p. 8)

Awakening to languages is a pluralistic approach aiming to raise awareness of linguistic diversity and plurilingual repertoires, usually among children, and is frequently perceived as an approach-fostering language awareness (namely in its affective dimension) and as a propaedeutic path to formal foreign language learning. It promotes focus on languages as lived and contacted within diverse settings, inside, and outside the school.

Intercomprehension, ordinarily among languages of the same linguistic family, aims at capitalizing on transparency across languages in order to accelerate the learning of a target language or to support the simultaneous learning of several languages of the same family (Candelier et al., 2012). Intercomprehension as a didactic approach systematically draws on similarities between languages and exploits contrastivity as a cognitive tool to favor the development of receptive skills and as a collaborative device to facilitate interaction between speakers of different languages. Intercomprehension can be seen both from a receptive and from an interactional perspective (Melo-Pfeifer & Araújo e Sá, 2018; Ollivier & Strasser, 2013). In the former, intercomprehension exploits similarities between languages to accelerate the development of reading or listening skills. It applies in interaction when speakers do not need to use a third language (e.g., English, as a *lingua franca*), each one speaking their own languages and understanding those of the other, provided they adopt strategies of co-construction of sense.

Integrated didactics suggests that it is possible to make the most of previous formally learnt linguistic knowledge, language-learning strategies, and learning experiences, therefore, reducing the foreignness both of the language being learnt and of the learning process. Integrated didactics proposes establishing systematic links between languages across the curriculum (without forgetting heritage languages), avoiding seeing the learner as a permanent novice each time she/he starts a new language and diminishing redundancies in the learning process of several curricular languages. This particular approach recognizes the dynamic nature of language learning, with retrospective and prospective implications: Learning a first foreign language should prepare one for subsequent language-learning processes, and learning a new language allows students to revisit their knowledge and competences of previous learnt languages, upgrading knowledge and skills in all languages of the plurilingual repertoire.

Intercultural learning assumes that learning a language entails a decentring process that introduces the learner to new worldviews and values, which influence identity construction and intercultural encounters. Ideally, learning a foreign language would allow students to understand others' perspectives, deconstruct prejudices and stereotypes, develop empathy, curiosity and respect, and thus go beyond a utilitarian perspective of language learning (Byram, 1997).

Thus, all four of the pluralistic approaches just described go beyond identification of instances of linguistic diversity and praising their social and affective role, actively engaging with students' linguistic repertoires in the majority, minority, and curricular languages as tools for learning (about) languages. Hence, pluralistic approaches go beyond acquiring declarative knowledge about languages, through developing and capitalizing on learning strategies and procedural knowledge that accelerate the language-learning process, through what we previously presented as "teaching *for* transfer" and "teaching *through* transfer." In their presentation of pluralistic approaches, Duarte and Kirsch synthesize them as follows: "These approaches incorporate several languages into the instruction process, based on the idea that students and teachers have various linguistic resources that can be acknowledged and used for learning" (2020, p. 4). Such approaches are possible because, as Cummins showed, linguistic skills and literacy acquired in one specific language become available while learning other languages (Cummins, 1981), regardless of their acclaim and activation or not by the teacher.

The pluralistic approaches promote a double slant to translanguaging (Melo-Pfeifer & Araújo e Sá, 2018), a much appreciated approach nowadays (García & Li, 2014), i.e., the flexible use of the full range of semiotic repertoires to co-construct meaning and participate in meaningful (classroom) interaction: On the one hand, translanguaging might be perceived as a tool to foster language learning ("translanguaging to learn"), and, on the other hand, acquiring new linguistic resources might be reinvested into new communicative and learning situations, enhancing communicative ability ("learning to translanguage"). Pluralistic approaches go beyond communication using different languages in the classroom and promote a systematic use of linguistic and other semiotic resources as pedagogical tools, enhancing "meta" skills (i.e., metalinguistic, metacommunicative, metacognitive abilities).

From this perspective, TOLSE would also allow increased recognition that learning a third language is inherently a different process from learning a second one (De Angelis, 2007; Jessner, 2006), because of the network of linguistic and procedural knowledge that is developed, allowing transfer at diverse levels (e.g., grammatical, phonetic, lexical, cognitive, and metacognitive). Thus, in non-English-speaking countries, the pluralistic approaches would allow recognition that English is one of the most learnt languages and that it could be considered as an entry point to other languages, whether of the same linguistic family (Germanic languages) or not (e.g., Romance languages display a lot of vocabulary and syntactic similitudes to English). Even if the written and/or spoken languages are very different, English can also serve as a proxy permitting access to other languages using the Latin alphabet, which facilitates the burden of learning a different writing system. In English-speaking countries, a TOLSE approach would mean: (i) recognizing the linguistic resources of minoritized learners and non-dominant speakers alongside English and recognizing the fluid and dynamic practices they engage with in their daily lives, supporting additive bilingualism and the maintenance of heritage languages; and (ii) advocating foreign language learning and a multilingual experience for all.

5 Conclusion and Perspectives: Envisioning Multilingualism for All

What started as a provocation coming from a researcher in the field of Romance languages and French and Spanish teacher education, TOLSE continues resonating as a realistic challenge and a productive reframing of English as either mother, foreign or a second language integrated in curriculum. As I advocate in this contribution, the goal of language instruction should be the development of students' plurilingual competence: Acknowledging the advantages of such competence, we should commit to the principle of "multilingualism for all" (Benson & Elorza, 2015). In many cases, English is the most shared language in linguistic repertoires and present in students' and student teachers' Dominant Language Constellations (Aronin, 2016; Aronin, this volume). Recent accounts of experiences using translanguaging and pluralistic approaches as practices and pedagogies have shown the potentialities opened up by the use of students' linguistic and semiotic repertoires to learn, usually the schooling or majority language in the case of migrant and refugee populations, but these findings could be transferred to mainstream foreign language learning.

If we accept the "multilingualism for all" principle and are keen to transcend monolingual and monoglossic practices and ideologies (Cummins, 2007), we might think of including pluralistic approaches in the English classroom, problematizing the role this language may have, its sociolinguistic status, and how porous its designations might be (mother, second, first foreign language or parallel to additional foreign languages). This inclusion could be productive from preschool to university, making it clear that all students should have the opportunity to benefit interculturally and cognitively from multilingual language learning. I should claim that not all the proposals involve "teaching" another language as it is usually understood in the curriculum, but rather use plurilingualism and multilingual strategies to teach (about) languages.

To finish this contribution and considering the specific aims of this book, I will focus on the diversity of contexts in which English can be called on to support the development of plurilingualism. In the case of English as a "mother tongue," we can think of other languages being introduced in the classroom to raise awareness of linguistic or pragmatic features and (ir)regularities that could otherwise go unnoticed, thereby fostering speakers' language awareness. As for English as a second language, in which students identify or are identified with linguistic minorities and are simultaneously minoritized, their linguistic repertoires could be used in crosslinguistic comparison activities, actively capitalizing on previous linguistic repertoires as affective and cognitive assets, and thus reducing the emotional burden in learning and communication in a majority, hegemonic language. In teaching English as a first foreign language, where it is a curricular subject, systematic bridges could be established between the majority language (or languages, in case of countries with co-official languages) and the new language, paving the way to new language-learning paths and to the development of new language-learning ideologies and strategies. In fact, since learning a first foreign language is being introduced

earlier in the curriculum, children could be exposed to and participate in multilingual practices from the very beginning, helping to deconstruct the monolingual mindset in education. Finally, in cases where English as a foreign language is added to a previous foreign language (and to the majority language and even heritage languages), transfer strategies from the so-called mother tongue and all previously learnt foreign languages could be built upon, tightening skills in and knowledge of all the languages composing students' plurilingual repertoire. The double principle underlying these suggestions can be synthetized as follows:

> Educational curricula of the present and future should therefore maximize learners' existing linguistic and cultural resources and build on them, not attempt to erase them only to impose a single dominant 'standard' language and its referent culture. This also means that educational curricula should not leave dominant language speakers monolingual. (Benson & Elorza, 2015, p. 557)

TOLSE thus recognizes the role of English as a springboard and as a resource in the development of students' plurilingual competence, firmly inscribing its learning and teaching in the field of multilingualism and multilingual pedagogies, instead of giving up that (potential) role and adopting the mainstream "language killer" slur. This viewpoint should nevertheless still acknowledge the problems that could emerge from a narrow perspective of TOLSE, meaning the solidification of English's hegemonic position, and its legitimation as the first and only curricular foreign language.

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Chapter 20
An Overview of Turkey's Policy Development in TESOL and Multilingualism

Melike Ünal Gezer and Laurie Quentin Dixon

Abstract The present chapter examines the underlying assumptions about multilingualism, English language education, and language planning that establish Turkey's multilingual education policy. As an economically and geopolitically advancing country, Turkey has accelerated shaping her image in the international arena by changing perspectives on language planning and policy implementation regarding minority languages and foreign language education. It exemplifies a stellar context embodying different learner populations: (a) the "indigenous' for whom the language at school and suppressed home language are not the same (i.e., Kurdish-speaking children in Eastern Anatolia); (b) the "displaced" Syrian children whose home language differs from the societal and educational language in Turkey, where they currently reside; and (c) the learners whose everyday language perfectly aligns with the medium of instruction in the education system in Turkey, yet they fall through the cracks, left behind with negative consequences of English as a foreign (EFL) language instruction. The present chapter will further extend (Kırkgöz in RELC J 38:216–228, 2007; Educ Policy 23:663–684, 2009) discussions on Turkey's EFL polity by distilling the educational policy discussions through a multilingual framework. This chapter discusses the linguistic policy and planning practices regarding the domestic minority language of Kurdish, Syrian refugee integration "presenting a unique picture with the highest number of Syrian refugee [children] after the outbreak of civil war in Syria in 2011" (Ünal-Gezer in Eurasian J Appl Linguist 5(2):303–322, 2019), and EFL instruction in Turkey through multilingualism. Diversity is the reality of Turkey and only when it is embraced, will it leverage access to languages and multicultural and multilingual development with an intact identity and heritage. The linguistic choices of nations bear disguised messages about the value put into a language or the appreciation of certain ethnic groups and their heritage (Reynolds in Language policy in globalized contexts (RR3.2019; WISE Research Series). World

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1 Introduction

Plus ça change, plus c'est la mẽme chose—French Proverb.

Turkey, a uniquely bicontinental country, is in the northern hemisphere and the eastern part of the globe (measured from the Prime Meridian in Greenwich). A member of the United Nations since 1945 and NATO since 1952, Turkey presents a unique picture on the world map as a bridge connecting Asia to Europe. Turkey shares the geological and cultural borderline with European and West Asian countries. Being the interlocutor between the two worlds "…emphasizes the uniqueness of Turkey's status as a socially Islamic but politically and diplomatically West-leaning country" (Park, 2012, p. 123).

Turkey is a multiethnic country with an approximate population of 82 million (CIA World FactBook, 2020). The country's rich history has resulted in diversity in ethnic and linguistic groups such as Arabs, Armenians, Azeris, Kurds, Laz, Jews, and Zaza that are some ethnic minorities having existed in different regions of Anatolia for centuries.

The largest ethnic minority group in Turkey is the Kurds who speak Kurdish. Kurdish is a member of the Satem sub-group of the Indo-European language family as well as a member of the Iranian language branch under the Indo-Iranian sub-family. Turkish, on the other hand, is a Uralic-Altaic language, and it differs from Kurdish in its syntax, lexicon, and phonology (Fromkin & Rodman, 1992). The CIA World Factbook (2020) asserts that currently almost one fifth of the Turkish population (19 percent) is comprised of Kurds. This estimate gives us a Kurdish-speaking population of 13.8 million in Turkey out of a 78 million total population; however, May (2001) has estimated that approximately 15 million Kurds live in Turkey with only 3.9 million Kurds claiming to be native speakers of Kurdish. Since the very beginning of the Republic of Turkey, the existence of the Kurdish language and ethnic group has been actively rejected, denied, and repressed by the Turkish government; this ongoing repression negatively affects the accuracy of the data on the Kurdish population of Turkey (May, 2001).

Turkey applied for full European Economic Community (EEC) membership in 1987 and participated in the European Union (EU) customs union in 1995 (BBC News, 2012). Turkey's EU accession process was slowed down and even stalled along the way due to debates on whether Turkey needed to take action to meet the membership criteria and whether this membership was really needed. In 2002, the Turkish Parliament finally approved reforms to secure EU membership; with this step, the death penalty and the bans on Kurdish education and broadcasting were abolished (BBC News, 2012). These reforms also protected Kurdish human rights such as the freedom to speak Kurdish and to receive education through Kurdish language. In

2003, the Turkish Parliament passed laws to ease restrictions on the freedom of speech and Kurdish language rights. After intense bargaining between the EU and Turkey, Turkey's EU membership negotiations officially launched in October 2005; however, membership negotiations were stalled in December 2006 due to Turkey's failure to open Turkish ports to Cypriot traffic. Currently, EU membership does not seem very likely for Turkey, and Turkey's meager effort to respond to the conditions of the Kurdish issue is a partial cause of these prolonged membership attempts.

With their education systems, countries aim to overcome economic and social inequalities and advance in technology and information. Mostly, the achievement gap is the result of socioeconomic differences across nations and the pupils of different socioeconomic status (SES). The Economic, Social, and Cultural Status index (ESCS) that takes the socioeconomic status of each student into account to find out what percentage of student achievement can be explained by SES has proved that Turkey's achievement gap between the low and high SES students is higher compared to other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries (Blanchy & Şaşmaz, 2009). With approximately twenty percent of student achievement difference in Turkey explained by ESCS, there is a high correlation between Turkish students' SES and achievement on the OECD's Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). Strikingly major variations in PISA 2018 scores in Turkey across socioeconomic status and regions have been reported (PISA, 2018; Turkey Preliminary Report, 2018). Most notably, the Kurdish-speaking children densely populated in eastern Anatolia had lower scores compared to their peers in the west or northwest of Turkey.

In his introduction of *The Multilingual Turn*, May (2014) aims to reposition multilingualism as a way to promote cultural and linguistic diversity and revisit its boundaries with second language acquisition (SLA), EFL, and bilingual education. Building from May's framework, this chapter presents connections to the historical, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds of Turkey for a strong grasp of the current policy decisions and reform movements in Turkey. In his report entitled "Language Policy in Globalized Contexts," Reynolds (2019) reminds us of the constructive role of education systems to embrace minoritized populations and languages. The linguistic choices of nations bear disguised messages about the value put into a language or the appreciation of certain ethnic groups and their heritage. This chapter aims to overcome some of the continuing challenges by addressing the quest of Turkey in support of multilingualism and multiculturalism and setting goals for educational policy.

2 Language Planning

According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), "[l]anguage planning is a body of ideas, laws, regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system" (p. 3). In other words, language planning is a deliberate and conscious attempt to bring changes to

the language code. This kind of human intervention to reach desired goals is based on plans and measures (Spolsky, 2004). Language policy, the intended result of language planning, gives rise to the modification of the linguistic behavior of a community by promoting or discouraging a language in action.

Language policy and planning is very important because it has a direct impact on the society, economics, education, and culture. In the USA, for instance, the debate between "English-only" (in support of exclusive use of English language) and "English plus" (supporting learners' home languages and cultures) movements established the two ends of the polarized debate on language policy which is a prevailing situation in the country. Numerous educational organizations including TESOL International Association and the American Association for Applied Linguistics support the latter policy (Wang, 2016; Wiley, 2013).

2.1 The De Jure *and De Facto Languages*

Both *de jure* and de facto language discrimination are prevalent in Turkey, especially during the last few decades when Turkey was on its way to EU membership. The official language, *de jure,* is protected by law and de facto language refers to the languages which may not be acknowledged legally by the government, yet they exist in the country (Baker, 2006). Turkish is the official *(de jure)* language of Turkey and the northern part of Cyprus. Turkish is also, in fact, the most commonly used language in Turkey. Kurdish is the second most widely spoken language following Turkish; yet, the existence of it as a language has been denied or ignored by the Turkish government until recently. Turkey's attitude toward Kurdish as a minority language has been changing with its European Union (EU) membership attempts.

Cemiloˇglu (2009) discussed two theoretical explanations on the sociopolitical shifts occurring in Turkey in the last decade and the consequences of these sociopolitical changes on Kurdish. During the early days of the Republic of Turkey, the nation-building model was adopted. Linguicide, based on Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1996) description, refers to a similar point where the favored pattern is one-state-one-language for a nation trying to establish its identity. The early policymakers supported the development of monolingualism that favored Turkish over all other existing varieties. The policymakers of these early times in the newly established state focused on the ethnic and linguistic dominance of Turks over other ethnic identities (Yavuz, 2001). This language policy caused the oppression of the Kurdish language for over seventy years (Cemiloˇglu,2009).

Although Turkish is the legal and official language and the language for the national education, the recently improving status of Kurdish is bringing intense discussions about the *de jure* and de facto language distinction. The recent movement toward EU accession has strengthened the status of the Kurdish language because the EU requires each member country to recognize the linguistic rights of the minorities. Thus, Turkey commenced national broadcasts in Kurdish. One of the channels of the national Turkish Radio Television Corporation (TRT 6* [*Shesh-meaning *six*

in Kurdish]) has been broadcasting in Kurdish 24 h a day since January 1, 2009. TRT 6 broadcasts films, documentaries, music programs, and programs targeting children and women, produced in the Kurmanji, Sorani, and Zazaki dialects of Kurdish (Hürriyet Daily News, 2009).

In addition to Turkey's attempts to acknowledge Kurdish through national broadcasting, Kurdish, based on Turkey's Higher Education Council's decision, is being offered as the language of instruction for Kurdish language and culture programs at the higher education level (Hürriyet Daily News, 2010). This can be seen as the preparatory step to establishing the basis for a long-term Kurdish-based education system in the country. The university programs offering Kurdish at higher education establish the necessary infrastructure of a new education system by educating future instructors who will teach Kurdish at primary and middle schools. The language planning for Kurdish aims to embrace the Kurdish language within the education system and to popularize literacy in Kurdish among its speakers. The long banned minority language, Kurdish, is on the verge of becoming one of the legally accepted languages in Turkey, and this is a significant step taken by the Turkish government whose constitution dictated monolingualism in Turkish.

2.1.1 The Indigenous Variety: Kurdish

Almost 15 million ethnic Kurds are reported to be living in Turkey and almost half of them claim Kurdish as their mother tongue. One of the major steps taken toward the linguistic human rights of the Kurds in Turkey was the preparation of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (1990, para. 34) which warrants countries provide minorities with adequate opportunities to have education in their mother tongue. Both Turkish as the first and English as the second-language literacy are problematic in the eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey. This is due to the linguistic differences among the native (Kurdish), societal (Turkish), and foreign (English) languages to be learned. Simultaneous child bilingualism develops where two languages are acquired at the same time from birth (Baker, 2006) and Kurdish children of Turkey display an example of this by picking up Kurdish mainly at home and Turkish mostly in school. Most of the time, Kurdish pupils have oral proficiency in Kurdish and Turkish at home, and they start to develop written proficiency in Turkish once they start school (Minority Rights Group International Report, 2007). Kurdish children attending Grade 1 and speaking Kurdish are expected to learn the curriculum enacted in Turkish as the language of education. Even when they pass this threshold of mastering the educational language, they are expected to learn a foreign language, English. Thus, the literacy of Kurdish children in both Turkish and English is quite low compared to their peers in other regions with no Kurdish language background. The already low verbal and analytic skills of Turkish students in general are relatively lower in the eastern and southeastern regions (Berberoˇglu & Kalender,2005).

The initiator behind the Kurdish policy was the EU membership conditions that stipulated the acknowledgment of minority rights for speaking the mother tongue and maintaining their ethnic identity. The situation of the Kurds has been elevated to a point where Turkey's policies were regarded as a violation of human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Buçak, 1994), and Turkey took action to change this negative image. The Kurds as an ethnic minority group in Turkey have been restricted by law to speak and receive education in their mother tongue of Kurdish. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Buçak (1994), efforts "…to kill [the] Kurdish language by Turkey represents the most blatant example of linguicide this century" (p. 362)—and not allowing people to be associated with their mother tongue is one method of killing an ethnic group. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994), in this regard, proclaimed that the problem of Turkey was not the linguistic diversity per se but the lack of acknowledgement of the existence of diversity in the country. The Kurdish language community, which is divided, dispersed, and oppressed, had not been able to develop literacy skills in Kurdish before these changes.

A majority of multiethnic countries believe that giving rights to minorities would bring chaos and threaten the unity of nations, including Turkey (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994). It may seem like the multiethnic societies, with the influence of nationalism, face the challenge of maintaining autonomy; however, recognition of diversity conserves the individual as well as collective identities in multi-ethnic societies.

2.1.2 The Syrian Refugee Situation

History of humankind is abundant in people fleeing from discrimination, oppression, war and those who got displaced seeking immigration to another country. As widely discussed in multicultural circles, receiving education should not be at the expense of losing identity associated with the native language and alienation to one's mother tongue. Turkey exemplified a nation at the assimilationist end of the dichotomy of assimilationist and pluralistic motives in the integration of refugees with no incorporation of minority students' home language and culture, evaluation of the issues causing conflict in refugee children's lives, and encouragement of integration of minority communities to refugee children education (Cummins, 2000). The speakers of languages that are not the nationally or locally accepted are at a disadvantage in education (Ünal-Gezer, 2019). Turkey portrays an extraordinary picture as the host of the highest number of Syrian refugees after the outbreak of the civil war in Syria in 2011. More than 3.5 million Syrian refugees, half of whom are school-aged children, had limited access to a basic human right: Cultural and linguistically inclusive education (Ünal-Gezer, 2019).

Turkey, the next door neighbor, welcomed millions of Syrian refugee children without taking the necessary steps in its education system with teacher education and professional development and setting a multicultural framework for the education system that is fair and welcoming (Ünal-Gezer, 2019). The use of different genres adopting multicultural literature affirms differences and shows cultural and

linguistic connections, reveals social issues, and necessitates action against injustice. Inclusive curricular choices that highlight linguistic and cultural diversity facilitate deeper understanding of other cultures, ways of living, and communities. Turkey's weak educational plan along with its curriculum, instructional materials, and teacher training to provide education in Arabic as the medium of instruction are the aspects failing the education for Syrian refugee children. It is a basic human right of every child to receive the opportunity to develop their first language to the full mastery, to feel proud of it, and to be able to use it for all purposes for every domain (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

2.1.3 English as a Foreign Language

McGrew (1992) defined globalization as a "multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between the states and societies which make the modern world system" (p. 23). The worldwide spread of English has strong associations with globalization (Chang, 2006; Tollefson, 1991); therefore, contemporary world countries often modify their curricula for inclusion of English as a lingua franca (Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2004). The more the world quickly turns into a global village, with the onset of globalization, the higher the demand becomes on English as the language of the world. Due to the increasing demand on the English language, especially in the non-English-speaking circles, education systems of those countries try their best to cater to those needs. English-medium instruction administered at so many higher education institutions in Turkey has failed to yield effective results according to the Ministry of National Education in Turkey and the Economic Policy Research Foundation's (TEPAV) survey conducted with 38 universities in 15 cities across Turkey. Due to the failure in English-medium instruction in Turkey, institutions began to look for English-speaking teachers with the necessary qualifications and training to overcome this English language-learning problem of Turkey.

The dominance of English, particularly in non-Anglophone educational contexts, paves the way to its invasion as "English-medium instruction" (EMI) (Macaro et al., 2018), which suggests the use of the target language to teach subjects. The past several decades have been the battlefield over "the potentially socially divisive nature of EMI because instruction through English may limit access from lower socioeconomic groups and/or a fear that the first language or national identity will be undermined" (Dearden & Macaro, 2016, p. 457). In a context where *E* stands for English, which is the globally acknowledged linguistic platform, the social harmony and the existence of local varieties will be endangered. In the Turkish context, English is highly appreciated as a globally accepted linguistic power causing discontent and insignificance of the local language–Turkish–thus resulting in deterioration of "Turkish language, culture, and identity – Turkishness" (Selvi, 2020, p. 2).

According to Kachru's (1992) concentric language circles classification, Turkey is an expanding circle country, with English of growing importance but not used on a daily basis by most of the population. Being the most popular of all of the foreign languages, English, was first introduced in Turkey through trading between

America and the Ottoman Empire during the 1830s. In 1903, it was introduced as a foreign language at Robert College, which was an American missionary school in Istanbul. English was not taught as a foreign language at state schools until 1908 (Doˇgançay-Aktuna,1998).

Kırkgöz (2007) divided the history of English in the Turkish context into three periods: "1. introductory period, 2. 1997 reforms to English language teaching, and 3. EU standards and English language teaching" (p. 217). The previous section explicated the initial period during which English was introduced and became the "*sine qua non*" for Turkey (Doˇgançay-Aktuna,1998). The number of EMI schools, which was 193 (103 private and 90 state-owned) in 1987–1988, increased to 650 for private schools and 415 for Anatolian High Schools (state-governed schools with intensive English-medium instruction) during the 2004–05 academic year.

Until 1997, students were able to take English as a foreign language at Grade 6 (at the age of 12–13) until the end of the penultimate year of high school. The quality of EFL education depended on the availability of English instructors as well as the importance given to foreign language teaching by the school administration. In this system, English was offered three hours per week. Vocabulary and grammar teaching based on rote memorization was the dominating methodology.

During the second phase of English in the Turkish education system (1997–2004), drastic changes in the national English language policy occurred (Kırkgöz, 2007). Innovative, developmental changes were suggested to increase the overall English language education at primary and secondary education systems. For instance, Turkish is not expected to be used in the foreign language classes such as English, French, or German; however, the form-oriented and grammar-based language teaching approaches of Turkish primary education system have been stigmatizing the role of foreign languages as the medium of instruction (Kırkgöz, 2009). After the 2013 Education Reform, EFL is offered as early as Grade 2 with two hours per week to enhance the communicative language competence of Turkish young learners of English (Kırkgöz, 2017). The objectives of English language curriculum are to establish communicative skills with an integration of all four skills in early 2000's. Two decades after this milestone in the Turkish education system, despite all the efforts put into the improvement of English language instruction in Turkey, Turkey's English language instruction is lagging behind the needs and realities of the contemporary age.

Kaplan et al. (2012) discussed the urban legends that appeared post-World War II which suggested that English proficiency is a must-have for a strong economic status. Thus, it has been included in the education programs and curricula starting at elementary level in many countries. Turkey has its share of these legends as it started introducing EFL at earlier grades and increased the hours to increase time-on-task; however, proficiency in the foreign language is not comparable to the expectations of the national curriculum (Kırkgöz, 2009). Turkey's linguistic choices and language planning actions have been summarized in Table 1.

3 The Way Forward

Diverse linguistic contexts have increasingly been welcomed in Turkey, yet as May (2014) cautions, the turn to multilingualism as a movement is often lacking historicity and suffers from ethnocentrism. He claims "mainstream SLA and TESOL

Table 1 Chronological timeline of language policies affecting the statuses of Turkish, English, Kurdish, and Arabic

Reforms to strengthen the status of Turkish	Reforms to strengthen the status of English	Reforms to strengthen the status of Kurdish	Reforms to strengthen the status of Arabic
1928—Adoption of Latin Alphabet	Early Republic of Turkey (1923) westernization movements with the influence of Europe and USA	2002—Turkey removed bans on Kurdish education and broadcasting	Arabic was adopted as language of call for prayers during 1950s (Turkish was the language since 1932)
1932—Language Reform to free Turkish from Arabic and Persian vocabulary and forms	1950s—1st phase of the spread of English (Doˇgançay-Aktuna,1998)	2003—Turkey eased restrictions on freedom of speech and Kurdish language rights	1949—Males who completed military duty were given the right to open vocational religious schools called Imam Hatip
1932—The establishment of Turkish Language and History Institute	1955—The first Anatolian High Schools were established	2004—First private teaching institution was founded to offer Kurdish	1973—Imam Hatip Schools were officially accepted as a type of vocational school under MONE
1924–1961–1982 Turkish Constitutions stating Turkish was the sole language of the Republic of Turkey	1980s—Global influence of English became more prevalent in Turkey due to technological advancement of the USA (Kırkgöz, 2007)	2007—Kurdish leaders were elected to Turkish Parliament	1974—Imam Hatip Schools were high schools
	1984—Higher Education Act of Turkey (Kırkgöz, 2009)	2009—Kurdish offered as a language of instruction at higher education (CNN Türk News, 2009)	1997—Imam Hatip schools offered religious education for four years
	1997—Primary Education Act (Kırkgöz, 2009)	2012—Turkey's Batman University opened Kurdish Language Department	2011—Imam Hatip School graduates recruited as teachers in the education system

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Reforms to strengthen the status of Turkish	Reforms to strengthen the status of English	Reforms to strengthen the status of Kurdish	Reforms to strengthen the status of Arabic
	2012—4 + 4 + 4 education plan; 4 year compulsory education with English classes offered by primary school teachers (Finkel, 2012; Vatan, 2012) and elective EFL courses during middle school	2012—Kurdish as an elective course for the primary and middle school	2012—4 + 4 + 4 education plan paved the way to religious schools which practice Arabic (Finkel, 2012)

can continue to blithely ignore this turn toward multilingualism precisely because it remains corralled within a 'critical applied linguistics' with which they seldom engage" (p. 2). The ongoing hegemony of monolingualism rather than an additive bilingual pedagogy for SLA and TESOL predominates in Western contexts, Turkey too. May (2014) continues the discussions on the "the multilingual turn" by analyzing the patterns and tendencies observed in the fields of SLA and TESOL which include textbooks that regard the native speaker as the norm and the treatment of L2 outputs deviating from the native-like as interlanguage. In TESOL, the pedagogical implications of, as Pennycook (1999) puts it, a wider" pedagogy of engagement" that addresses issues of gender, race, class, sexuality are still too often ignored. Reviewing the four-decade long service of TESOL to the field, Canagarajah (2006) asserts: "It is clear that teaching English in a manner that complements rather than competes with local languages and local interests, leading to additive bilingualism, is the new challenge" (p. 25). This is the challenge for Turkey as well.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2019, 0:13) asks "what can TESOL-80-year-old messenger—do to stop crime against humanity?" Teaching and learning English is part of formal education, education that should support children in increasingly different parts of the world to become minimally bilingual, preferably multilingual. If TESOL only supports the English part of this multilingualism, it is a participant in linguistic and cultural genocide. According to UNESCO (2019), around forty percent of the children who attend elementary school in the world are not taught in a language that they understand. This is the situation for Kurdish and Syrian refugee children in Turkey. The language that they often do not understand is English. Educational, linguistic, pedagogical, psychological, sociological, and political science argumentation tells us, however, that if indigenous, tribal, and minority (ITM) children are educated using a dominant language such as English as the main teaching language in a submersion or early exit transition program, this prevents access to education because of the linguistic, pedagogical, and psychological barriers it creates. This violates the human right to education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2019).

Adding to these problems in Turkey, although the function of native English speakers in ELT has been outstanding, their professional adequacy and readiness

has also been questioned because there has been an ideological orientation common among English-medium educational institutions to view native English-speaking teacher candidates as the most ideal regardless of their qualifications, training, and experience (Sarıgül, 2018). Often times, native speakers have been presented in Turkey like elsewhere as if they were the "cherry on top" to attract the interest of families to private schools to increase enrollment (Çelik, 2006). As long as the candidate meets certain criteria of a "foreign teacher" category with a British or American accent and fluency or a foreign look, they can secure the position over a possibly more qualified, experienced, and trained native Turkish counterpart (Tatar, 2011). Over time, the NEST vs NNEST discussions have helped many educators realize that with no necessary training and methodological repertoire, a NEST could do more harm than good to English language learners. The steps taken in Turkey thus far only are only beginning to exterminate the prestige given to NESTs and remove the disregard for the multilingual and multicultural richness of NNESTs.

Turkish language policy and planning efforts need to address these challenges. Decisions must be made whether to view language as a problem, language as a right, or language as a resource (Ruiz, 1984) with attention to time and resource limitations. Linguistic imperialism and the language planning that is monocultural and colonialist must be avoided. We must realize that through teacher education focused on dominant discourses about language-learning and linguistic incapabilities of minority students, language educators often develop the mindset that vernacular varieties are subordinate to the economically favorable counterparts (Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007). Lingua franca varieties where inter and intra-sentential choices enable the language in target to function at global and local levels, localizing English in hybrid forms with local languages, should be accepted. This glocalization can enrich literary texts, movies, and advertisements, making them culturally and linguistically rich and authentic platforms (Ünal-Gezer, 2020). Critical literacy asking critical and thought-provoking questions related to the reader and the society in order to analyze power dynamics and identity construction (Roy, 2017) should be encouraged.

Another dimension of "the way forward" involves consideration of multilayered, complex language-learning processes where the individual is situated at the micro-level with linguistic and motivational capacities. At the meso-level, their social identities such as investment, agency, and power exist in relation to surrounding communities such as families, schools, and neighborhood. Lastly, at the macrolevel, the ideological structures such as cultural values, belief systems are formed through interaction between the language learner and the surrounding communities. Learners as language users continuously interact with stakeholders across these levels. For success in multilingual education that is culturally embracing, these ties need to be considered (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016).

Finally, multicultural education has long been mistaken or intentionally portrayed as "special days/holidays to remember" or "food tasting," "having written and visual input representing different ethnicities and racial backgrounds." May (1994), who is skeptical about multicultural education, claims that "multicultural education may be, arguably more benign than its assimilationist and integrationist predecessors but, beyond its well-meaning rhetoric, it is not more effective. It simply continues to

perpetuate, in another guise, a system of education which disadvantages minority children" (pp. 35–36). Turkey has goals of indigenous teacher training for Kurdish-speaking and Arabic-speaking Syrian refugee children; while well-meaning, they may not be realistic due to the need for a more intensive language training to develop fluency in these languages for some teachers as well as the need for others to develop pedagogic knowledge and skills to teach these languages effectively. Turkey, with Turkish as the medium of instruction at national level, has attempted to meet the necessities of the globalized world by offering EFL and at the same time embracing its linguistic and cultural nature by accommodating Kurdish and Syrian refugees through language policy and planning, but it has a long way to go.

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Chapter 21
A Bourdieusian and Postcolonial Perspective on Collaboration Between NESTs and NNESTs

Qinghua Chen, Angel Mei Yi Lin, and Corey Fanglei Huang

Abstract TESOL policymakers and researchers have extensively discussed issues concerning Native Speaker English Teachers (NESTs) and Non-Native Speaker English Teachers (NNESTs). However, relatively few studies have focused on the power dynamics between these two teacher groups in educational institutions, which can play a significant role in the implementation of NESTs-NNESTs collaboration policies. Previous studies demonstrate that many NNESTs have resisted the symbolic violence of "native English" by presenting their social or cultural capital other than English proficiency (e.g., recognized credentials, classroom management skills) or avoiding being compared with NESTs by students. However, these resistive strategies fail to be very effective because they do not directly challenge the unparalleled symbolic power of "native English" which often impedes NESTs-NNESTs collaboration through hindering NNESTs' ability, willingness, or confidence to contribute. We argue for a more effective measure in reducing such symbolic violence: To raise/increase/escalate the importance of the "non-native" English and to create a multilingual community that NNESTs can draw upon in order to maximize the benefits of NEST and NNEST collaboration for students. We will conclude the study with an appeal for more critical approaches in TESOL policymaking as well as research and recommendations on how multilingualism can contribute to counteracting the symbolic violence of "native" English (García and Lin in Bilingual Multilingual Educ 1–20, 2017).

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1 Introduction

Much research has been done regarding Native Speaker English Teachers (NESTs) and Non-native Speaker English Teachers (NNESTs) in the TESOL field. Some have sought to deconstruct the ideology of this dual group distinction (e.g., Lin & Motha, 2020). Others have proposed educational policies to encourage collaboration between the two groups, based on their research around TESOL teachers' professional identity construction and students' perceptions of their teachers (Bailey, 2007; Guo, 2019; Huang, 2019). Lee and Cho (2015) listed six existing challenges in collaborative teaching in the Korean context which range from differences in pedagogical concerns to personal communication issues between the two teacher groups. In their summary of the collaboration models between these two groups of TESOL teachers, as implemented around the world, de Oliveira and Clark-Gareca (2017) outlined patience and communicative negotiation as two components for successful collaboration. However, relatively few studies have focused on the power dynamics behind the communicative and cultural issues between the two teacher groups in educational institutions, which may be playing an important role in the successful implementation of NESTs-NNESTs collaboration policies.

In addressing this research gap, the current study adopts a Bourdieusian (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996; Swartz, 2012) and postcolonial (Luk & Lin, 2006) approach to the analysis of power issues that have emerged from interview data in the collected research on NEST-NNEST collaboration in the past two years. These analyses contribute to the existing research on facilitating collaboration between the two groups of teachers by bringing the underlying power relations into critical examination and reconfiguration.

2 Theoretical Framework

Our study used a Bourdieusian (Swartz, 2012) and postcolonial perspective (Luk & Lin, 2006) to uncover the potential power dynamics in the relationship between NESTs and NNESTs, in an attempt to reconceptualize the power issues in TESOL policymaking regarding the two groups of teachers.

One major component of Bourdieu's work is the expansion of the concept of "capital" to include all forms of power: material, cultural, social, and symbolic (Swartz, 2012; Webb et al., 2010). According to Bourdieusian sociology of symbolic forms, symbolic systems are created "to divide and group items into opposing classes and hence generate meanings through the binary logic of inclusion and exclusion" (Swartz, 2013, p. 84). The symbolic binary created between NESTs and NNESTs may have the potential to serve the same function as other binary symbolic systems such as rare/common, good/bad, high/low. Thus, in understanding the interactions between NESTs and NNESTs, we should not ignore the power issues hidden in such

a binary system; otherwise, it will be difficult to come up with meaningful solutions to the problems that arise in their interactions. Bourdieusian theory can thus inform the reconceptualization of interactions between NESTs and NNESTs in the research reviewed in this chapter. Similar to other symbolic systems, the creation of NESTs/NNESTs usually generates symbolic violence, which means one group imposes "world and social meanings" upon the other using symbolic power that legitimatizes such domination as natural (Lin, 1999, p. 395). The instrumentality of symbolic power is emphasized by Bourdieu as: "Dominant symbolic systems provide integration for dominant groups, distinctions, and hierarchies for ranking groups, and legitimization of social ranking by encouraging the dominated to accept the existing hierarchies of social distinction" (Swartz, 2012, p. 83).

In educational settings when the distinction between NESTs and NNESTs is created, the related legitimization of social ranking between the two groups is also created. In the event of collaboration between these two groups of teachers, the existence of such a distinction, and the continuous, unquestioned emphasis on such a distinction often results in one group dominating the other. Carrington and Luke (1997) have summarized Bourdieu's theories of symbolic capital and their theoretical lens will be applied in this study to review the symbolic system of the NESTs/NNESTs division. Specifically, Carrington and Luke (1997) have explained how symbolic systems work: how cultural, economic, and social capitals gain symbolic power in different fields. In the NESTs/NNESTs binary, cultural capital (which includes embodied capital, objectified capital, and institutional capital) is an important domain to consider. For example, though both the NNESTs and NESTs hold some degree of cultural capital, their relative combinations are usually quite different. NESTs, with their dispositions, linguistic practice, and cultural performativity, can usually obtain more embodied cultural capital than NNESTs in many educational settings. On the other hand, through rigorous training, NNESTs' relatively richer experience and institutionally certified knowledge in English language teaching may give them symbolic power in fields that value such capital (i.e., in test preparation institutions).

To make the symbolic system of NESTs and NNESTs more complex, colonial ideologies are usually involved in the process of how various types of capitals gain symbolic power in educational settings. (Luk & Lin, 2006; Motha & Lin, 2013). Certain embodied cultural capitals (e.g., the ability to speak with a certain English accent) are symbolic only in fields where the people or society desire such ability. In the TESOL field, learners can exhibit a colonial desire for certain English speaker/writer identities, expressed as wanting a so-called native accent and authenticity (Motha & Lin, 2013). This colonial desire is also held strong by some NNESTs which could possibly reshape their behavior in front of students and influence their interactions with NESTs. For example, in an educational setting, if the students' learning and the NNESTs' teaching are driven by the colonial desire for "native" English (e.g., the use and mastery of a particular accent), the NESTs in that setting will probably gain more symbolic power due to their embodied cultural capital (i.e., having the desired accent). In this case, NESTs usually dominate the co-teaching dynamic with the NNESTs downgraded to be an assistant, a translator or even an

"examine machine" for the class (Trent, 2016, p. 314). In other settings, when there are additional learning goals besides desiring "native English" such as obtaining certain language test results, NESTs' cultural and social capital may give them a different degree of symbolic power, which leads to the formation of a different co-teaching model.

3 Methodology

This study draws upon the ample existing publications on the topic of NESTs and NNESTs (e.g., their professional identity construction and students' perception of their roles in teaching and learning) and conducts a meta-analysis of the existing interview data in those studies according to the three stages as outlined by Doyle (2003): (1) case selection, (2) data analysis, and (3) synthesis. Specifically, for this chapter, we are aiming to apply a different interpretive/theoretical framework (Bourdieu's social theories and postcolonial approach) compared to that used in the original studies. Therefore, the focus is on the interview transcripts rather than the interpretation and findings of the original studies.

Case selection started with a keyword search of three search terms "NEST," "NNEST," and "cooperation" in Google Scholar. Synonyms like "collaboration" and "co-teaching" were also included in the search. In total, 529 various types of publications were found, including academic journal articles, books and book chapters, dissertations, and conferences papers. Because of the fast, ever evolving field of TESOL due to rapidly changing social and economic conditions globally, we included only recent studies. Therefore, we limited the search results to studies that had been conducted since 2016. With this filter in place, the number of items was then reduced to 241. Further selection criteria were applied to ensure that these studies contained interview transcripts that were suitable for our meta-analysis. These criteria included: (1) the focus of the study (selected studies focused on at least one of the two groups of teachers); (2) the study contained transcripts or excerpts of semi-structured or open interviews; (3) and the study was written in English or Chinese (the researchers' working languages).

After applying the above criteria, we found 11 journal articles, 3 research books, 11 dissertations, and 2 conference papers. The focus of these studies varied as some focused on comparing the identity constructions of the two groups, while others focused on student perceptions of each group's teaching effectiveness and popularity. One dissertation (Beatty, 2019) and one journal article (Rao & Chen, 2019) focused on collaboration or co-teaching between these two groups of teachers. There were also three recent research books on the divide between NNESTs and NESTs (Copland et al., 2016; Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018; Huang, 2019). The analysis began with importing all of the collected documents into NVivo 12 and then categorizing them into journal articles, books, dissertations, and conference papers. The NVivo 12 application offers annotation functions that help to extract portions of text from the document and link the extracted texts with certain code(s). Also, index information

(i.e., book titles, page numbers) is kept which enables an easy return to the original item during analysis should the need arise.

The analysis stage started with reflecting on the interview data from the three studies that focused on NNESTs and NESTs collaboration (Copland et al., 2016; Houghton & Hashimoto, 2018; Huang, 2019), in order to develop the most relevant themes and codes across the three studies, which were then applied later to the rest of the obtained studies. The coding process adopted a hierarchical coding frame with two levels of coding. The first round of coding generated four main themes: "Research context," "NNESTs," "NESTs," and "comparisons." Under each theme, there were multiple codes. For example, several NESTs mentioned in the interview that they do not have a sense of belonging in the schools or university they work at. This was coded as "sense of belonging" under the theme of "NESTs." The subsequent coding work across all collected data expanded some extra codes under each theme. After completing the coding process, 39 codes were applied 247 times across all the documents collected.

For the stage of synthesis, the codes and themes were then viewed together through Bourdieusian and postcolonial theoretical lenses to discover signs of possible symbolic violence due to a desire for "native" English proficiency such as accents, and for possible signs of counteractions to such symbolic violence. To establish evidence for such interpretations, and avoid any misunderstanding of the interview transcripts, the coded excerpts were recontextualized in the original study and read again.

3.1 Origins of the Collected Studies

The research collected for this study represents a wide coverage from various parts of the world and levels of education.

According to the data in Table 1, issues around NNESTs and NESTs have been a very widely researched topic, especially in the Asian and Middle Eastern contexts which represent the majority of all the research studies analyzed.

4 Signs of Symbolic Violence

The synthesis process found prevalent signs of symbolic violence within the coded data. Most of the excerpts involving symbolic violence reflect experiences of the NNESTs as victims. It should also be pointed out that counteractive measures, strategies found in the data that NNESTs adopt to fight against the symbolic power hold by the NESTs, were found to be ineffective. As these counteractive strategies did not target the symbolic power of "native" English and the colonial ideology behind the desire for "native" English, they sometimes lead to an imbalance within NEST/NNEST collaboration, going as far as limiting the contributions of one group

Table 1 Research context of the dataset

Places	Numbers	Level of education
China	3	Tertiary
Croatia	1	Tertiary
Egypt	1	Tertiary
Finland	1	Primary
Hong Kong	3	Tertiary, Preuniversity
Japan	3	Primary, Secondary, Tertiary
Korea	3	Primary, Tertiary
Saudi Arabia	1	Tertiary
Sudan	1	Tertiary
Taiwan	3	Primary Secondary, Tertiary
Thailand	1	Tertiary
Turkey	5	Tertiary
USA	1	Tertiary

of teachers. Though the interviewees usually do not explicitly mention any strategies NNESTs apply to counteract the symbolic power of "native" English, it is not difficult to read between the lines. One typical quote can help explain this point in detail:

> First of all, no matter how many NESTs come, they are not comparable to us in numbers. If we teach together, I might feel a bit uneasy since the students might compare. If we don't teach the same class, I think the influence is positive. We can observe each other's class and learn from each other. I guess the NESTs, only with bachelor's degree, cannot be college teachers in their home countries. So, I don't think they will be threats to us. Besides teaching, we also do research, which they are not capable of. NESTs' advantages are teaching oral classes and cultural awareness. We excel in different areas. (Huang, 2019, p. 131)

Huang (2019) sees the above excerpts as containing signs of the NNESTs' feelings of marginalization as the teacher expressed discomfort in co-teaching with NESTs. When Bourdieusian analytical lenses are applied to scripts like the one above, different types of cultural capitals are involved in how NNESTs conceptualize their relationship with NESTs. When NESTs are considered as not qualified to be college teachers in their own country, and not able to conduct research, the NNEST in the excerpt above is emphasizing her own institutional cultural capital in establishing her credibility as an English teacher. However, NNESTs' emphasis on institutional cultural capital, when being compared with NESTs, has revealed that NNESTs, in fact, accept their inferiority to the NESTs in terms of English language ability. This strategy of counteracting marginalization caused by symbolic violence is less effective, as it does not address the root of the symbolic power—the desire for "native" English that exists uncritically in various parties in the TESOL field, including NNESTs themselves, students, parents, some researchers, and school management. The strong colonial desire for learning "authentic" English from native

speakers (i.e., speak their accents, know their culture) in the TESOL field is assigning symbolic power to the type of English generally spoken by NESTs.

This desire is so prevalent that it is found to impact negatively on other types of teaching collaboration even with no NESTs involved. For example, consider the following dialog between one teacher discussing her cooperation with another teacher from Sweden:

> Teacher: I do not learn much from my co-teacher. She is from Sweden, not really a NS (native speaker) though she did her Bachelor's degree in the US. Neither is she very good at teaching. So, I do not think I learn a lot.
>
> Researcher: Do you communicate with her after class?
>
> Teacher: Never.
>
> Researcher: Why?
>
> Teacher: (long pause) I think it is because of the language barrier. My language proficiency cannot compare to hers. (Huang, 2019, p. 132)

It seems that, according to this NNEST interviewee, co-teaching does not benefit her because the other teacher is not really a native speaker of English. Thus, the other teacher does not possess the desired embodied capital as compared to "real" NESTs who speak English as their first language. It is hard to interpret the reason for the NNEST's lack of communication with the co-teacher after class, given the "long pause" and her own attribution of a language barrier, as the original author did not provide any elaborations on this. However, it is possible that, since the desired "native authentic" English is not there, the co-teacher does seem to bear much symbolic capital in this setting. In this incidence, the symbolic power of "native" English is likely to have prevented a more successful co-teaching experience from happening.

The analysis of the data also revealed that the symbolic violence caused by the symbolic power of "native English" is usually not one way, nor static, and may extend its influence outside the NNESTs/NESTs division. To portray a more systematic overview of this kind of symbolic violence, the analysis is organized according to the popular modes of collaboration between NNESTs and NESTs identified in the coding process.

4.1 NESTs Lead Collaboration

The co-teaching setup of having NESTs lead the team usually results in the domination of NESTs and downgrading the NNESTs to become translators for students or assistants for the NESTs to help keep classroom discipline, especially when the NNESTs happen to speak the students' language. Although this mode of collaboration may seem to be useful in helping NESTs' delivery of classroom instructions, it causes various problems, as seen in the following excerpt by a NEST:

> Communication is my biggest challenge … Her (NNEST) English is an obstacle. Many times, I talked with her one on one trying to explain what I am going to try and do in a particular lesson. And when we get in, she starts translating … And there have been times

> when she did that, and the kids do something kind of contrary to what I want them to do. (Copland et al., 2016, p. 156)

This excerpt demonstrates how the NEST is laying all the blame for miscommunication solely on NNESTs and their language proficiency. Though English proficiency may be an issue, it must be pointed out that successful communication depends on the efforts of all parties involved in the communication process. When a NEST is delivering classroom instruction to English as an additional language students or NNESTs, it is important for the NEST to adapt the way of speaking, to understand more and be mindful of the local context in order to facilitate successful communication. However, by making all parties in educational communication settings prioritize the legitimacy of speaking uncompromised "native and authentic" English, thereby neglecting a much needed facilitation effort, symbolic violence hinders the negotiation and adaptation (i.e., speak slowly, using more common vocabulary) that should happen to make communication more successful. It is not surprising to discover that for NNESTs, such collaboration usually leads to loss of rapport, as NESTs are laying the responsibility of communication failures solely on the shoulders of NNESTs. One NNEST has expressed disinterest in collaboration due to a lack of mutual understanding:

> I seldom get in touch with native-English speakers and do not know much about them. When I first conducted collaborative teaching, I was puzzled by my co-teacher's classroom behavior and performance. Since we do not know each other well, we find it hard to adapt ourselves to the team-teaching approach. (Rao & Chen, 2019, p. 339)

Another NNEST expressed dissatisfaction working with NESTs:

> A bit. I believe many CETs (Chinese English Teachers) share the feeling that they cannot express themselves freely in English. I feel rather uncomfortable when NESTs push their opinions, which are based on their culture or way of thinking, on us. (Huang, 2019, p. 131)

The researchers who conducted these interviews mainly attributed these difficulties in co-teaching to cultural issues or specific local education context issues such as teaching styles, size of the classes and instructional approaches (Demir, 2018; Huang, 2019; Rao & Chen, 2019). However, these explanations do not seem to tackle the issues of symbolic power of "native" English embedded in such interactions.

4.2 Deconstruct the Symbolic Power of "Native" English

One of the key elements of "native English" in NESTs is the discourse of authenticity which views NESTs' ways of speaking, instructional styles in the classroom, or even behaviors in interpersonal communications as authentic and natural traits of a different (western) culture that is immune to negotiation. However, this decreases the possibility of genuine discussion regarding instructional decisions in collaboration between the two groups of teachers.

Besides the negative effect of deterring NNESTs from negotiating instructional decisions and communication styles with NESTs, the discourse of authenticity is found to be used by NNESTs to strengthen their countering strategies by separating authentic English with the English to be tested in standardized exams. Creating such a distinction can limit the possible contribution of or even delegitimize NESTs' participation in co-teaching. For example, in Rao and Chen's interview, an NNEST mentioned educational context as a barrier for collaboration:

> Our students' motivation of learning English is affected by TEM Band 8. The first day they enter university; they start preparing themselves for this exam. As it mainly tests students' grammatical knowledge, vocabulary and reading comprehension, students show little interest in improving their oral English. (Rao & Chen, 2019, p. 343)

In this quote, the NNEST is attempting to differentiate the type of English taught for test preparation as hugely different from the type of "authentic" English spoken by NESTs. It may be true that some standard language proficiency tests, especially high-stakes ones usually require more in-depth instructions and consciousness about language structures; however, it does not mean NESTs are unable to offer help. It is quite possible that students in these situations can benefit more from successful collaboration between both groups of teachers that is tailored to the specific needs of the students. However, reflected in the interview data, it is a common strategy adopted by NNESTs to emphasize their own credibility and expertise. It should be pointed out that this very strategy is also the result of symbolic violence of "native English," because NNESTs still show no signs of critical reflection on the desire for "native English" proficiency and believe that NESTs are more qualified to teach in that regard.

Although it may seem that NESTs usually benefit from the symbolic power of "native English" as found in many studies (Alshammari, 2020; Boonsuk, 2016), the professional and career development of NESTs are also found to be hindered by such symbolic power. As one of many NESTs has complained:

> Because they are limited in what they can do, NETs (Native English Teachers) are not really part of this school community like local teachers are. It's all very separate, and we feel they don't really add to our development as teachers. (Trent, 2016, p. 313)

As discussed before, NNESTs' views of NESTs as less of an English teacher in the local educational context, or as only a "live fossil" of western culture, have been promoted and to some extent accepted by various parties in the school. This uncritical strategy of countering symbolic violence is a common practice in another popular mode of NNEST/NEST collaboration with NNESTs taking the lead.

4.3 NNESTs Lead Collaboration

In this type of collaboration, NNESTs usually take the lead to meet various requirements of the course, such as following the curriculum, keeping track of the progress,

and taking the responsibility of the instructional results (Yim & Youn Ahn, 2018). However, this type of collaboration is also commonly crippled by unresolved power issues, which can cause NESTs to be marginalized in instructional activities and thus gradually cause them to withdraw from co-teaching. In the example below, one NEST working in Taiwan reflects upon her expectations of collaborative work and her experience of working with Taiwanese English teachers who have heavy teaching load:

> I am afraid that most of the Taiwanese teachers are too busy. I am sure we can make time, but actually we just do not make time. I don't want to bother them either. (Copland et al., 2016, p. 159)

This NEST feels that it is inappropriate to discuss co-teaching plans with local NNESTs because the NNESTs are too busy. It is obvious too from the quote that NESTs are not as busy as NNESTs in these settings. One other NEST feels he is not given the chance to make contributions because the local teachers do not know how to make use of her:

> Because I feel, partially why I felt so frustrated was because I couldn't teach. I couldn't do what I wanted to do. … Because I don't think they really know what to do with me [but] I find stuff to do. (Copland et al., 2016, p. 220)

The above two representative quotes demonstrate how NESTs participating in co-teaching lead by NNESTs are usually made to be peripheral. They then focus only on the periods of classes that they are in charge of and withdraw from participating in discussing and negotiating with NNESTs and also relinquish the same level of responsibility toward their instruction. We want to argue that this withdrawal behavior can also be traced back to the symbolic power of "native" English. Many quotes read for this study revealed that NESTs usually value their native-speakerness, which usually makes them feel that their ideas, understanding and folk theories about English-teaching deserve the attention and consideration of NNESTs (Copland et al., 2016; Yim & Youn Ahn, 2018). However, often when the responsibility and commitment of teaching are mainly demanded from the NNESTs, it is likely that NNESTs will have to do what they believe is right, without compromise, in order to achieve certain instructional (i.e., students' test scores) and career (i.e., professional evaluation) outcomes. Copland et al. (2016) present an example where a team of teachers needed to co-teach a demo class (called an "open class" here) for the school administration. The NNEST works hard to plan the details of the lesson, hoping to present a satisfactory demo class to the school administration; however, the NEST believes that the NNEST is just putting on a show for the administration by creating a special demo class that is outside of the usual classroom curriculum and feels that classroom teaching should be spontaneous and natural. After the demo class, the NNEST expressed their feelings of anger and dissatisfaction working with a NEST and not receiving adequate support and assistance:

In the professional context of the NNEST, giving an open class, especially with the presence of school administration, can be very high stakes in terms of career assessment. However, NESTs are usually immune from such accountability with the

logic that NESTs are hired for providing "authentic" English. Thus, by attesting that the language classroom should be spontaneous and natural, NESTs' unwillingness to cooperate with NNESTs has undermined the rapport in the collaborative relationship. Again, it must be pointed out that the difference in expectations for NNESTs and NESTs stems from the combined impact of both the symbolic power of "native" English and the aforementioned unsuccessful strategy of counteraction such as separating authentic English from exam English. To the NNESTs in such collaborations, they are made to steer a narrow course between incorporating NESTs' teaching ideas and their own accountability in meeting institutional expectations. Had the sharp difference in expectations been resolved, the working relationship between the two groups of teachers could have possibly been improved.

5 Multilingualism in Countering the Symbolic Power of "Native" English in NESTs and NNESTs Collaboration

The analysis so far has demonstrated how the symbolic power of "native" English has rendered the power relationships between NNESTs and NESTs in two very common collaborative settings. The symbolic power of "native" English has contributed to various types of linguistic domination that hinder successful collaboration between the two groups of teachers. This chapter proposes that policy should be developed to guide the collaboration between NESTs and NNESTs with the principles adopted from research in multilingual education (García & Lin, 2017).

Development in multilingual education and multilingualism has challenged the idea that multilingual education is implemented to enhance the learning of the dominate language in that society; instead, it is defined as "the use of diverse language practices to educate" (García & Lin, 2017, p. 2).

Viewing the NESTs/NNESTs divide with multilingualism lenses, both the language practices of NESTs and NNESTs are valuable pedagogical resources. Thus, it is essential to adopt an asset-based model toward both teacher groups while deconstructing the symbolic power of "native" English with multilingual perspectives on diverse language practices (Lin, 2020).

5.1 Deconstruction of the Symbolic Power of "Native" English

The discourse of authenticity that views NESTs' English as more authentic than that of the NNESTs is unhelpful. English as a language for cross-cultural communication happens now more often between non-native speakers than otherwise (Lin & Motha, 2020). Having students get used to different English language use practices (i.e., Indian English, Singaporean English, or Japanese English) will be more useful in

preparing students for such scenarios in their future careers. If students only get used to the type of English spoken by NESTs, it is very likely that they will encounter difficulties in the future.

5.2 Adopting an Asset-Based Model Toward Both Teacher Groups

The symbolic violence of "native" English that discredits the hard work of many NNESTs has also pushed NNESTs to establish their own teaching niche by creating the unnecessary boundary between the ability to use English and the ability to score highly on English tests. Accepting and overemphasizing such a division can limit the contributions of both groups. Instead, multilingualism serves the purpose of "conforming to the existing language practices in the community" (García & Lin, 2017). Both NNESTs and NESTs need to be aware of their assets in providing quality language education, including demonstrating their language practices and explaining how language works (Lin, 2020).

5.3 Holding Equitable Expectations

As discussed before, the very act of separating test-taking and using English for communication as an effort to counteract the symbolic power of "native" English has set up higher expectations for NNESTs to achieve instructional outcomes. However, as pointed out by Li (2011), the goal of bi/multilingual education is to empower bi/multilinguals to use their entire language repertoire in diverse situations with criticality and creativity. It is the shared responsibility of both groups of teachers in a collaboration to be able to tailor their instruction and teaching to the specific needs of all situations with criticality, no matter whether it is mainly for passing high-stakes tests or performing communicative tasks in English. The disconnect in instructional goals and unequal share of responsibility can hinder collaboration efforts.

6 Conclusion

Recent studies on the collaboration between NNESTs and NESTs have revealed that the power dynamic resulting from the symbolic power of "native" English has affected various parts of such collaborative relationships. It may not only limit the potential of both groups of teachers to collaborate effectively but can also easily cause domination of one group over the other. Both groups of teachers, the students, the school and the parents need to be aware of the colonial logic behind their desire for

"native" English and develop more reciprocal collaboration by adopting multilingual perspectives toward the language practices of both groups. TESOL policymakers need to design policies to promote critical awareness toward "native" English to facilitate equitable NESTs/NNESTs collaboration.

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Chapter 22
Dominant Language Constellations: Teaching and Learning Languages in a Multilingual World

Larissa Aronin

Abstract In a globalized world, teaching English to speakers of other languages is indivisible from multilingualism. Due to the transformation of language practices, the linguistic "unit of circulation" is neither a single language, nor the entire linguistic repertoire. Instead, sets of languages perform the essential functions of communication, cognition and identity for individuals, institutions and communities. This chapter describes the concept of Dominant Language Constellation (DLC), a group of vehicle languages, enabling individuals and institutions to meet all their needs in a multilingual environment. DLC includes only the most expedient languages for a person or a group. It is an active fraction of one's linguistic repertoire and normally (but not always) consists of three languages, e.g., Spanish/Catalan/English. The DLC perspective reflects current multilingual practices and deals with multiple language acquisition and the administrative and language policy-related issues in multilingual education. The absence of an arbitrarily inbuilt hierarchy from "big" to "small" or "better" or "worse" in a DLC makes the approach useful for multilingual countries with an especially challenging choice of languages for education. The non-hierarchical structure of a DLC, where languages are unordered from social and cultural points of view, does not mean that each language has an equal role, time of use or proficiency; rather, different languages play different roles and have various "weights." The DLC concept allows teachers and researchers to take into account the impact of multilingualism on education and organize the target language teaching accordingly. This chapter describes how to accomplish a multilingual paradigm in teaching English.

1 Introduction

Globalization has brought political, economic, and social trends that necessarily affect English language education. Multilingualism has become an inherent and central constituent of contemporary life. Concomitantly, teaching English to speakers

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of other languages became a noticeable goal on a global scale. English language instruction has been carried out worldwide and remains in high demand. With that, the emergent global and local conditions require a makeover of the approaches to teaching English (TESOL International Association Summit, 2017).

What exactly necessitates the changes in teaching English to speakers of other languages? And, consequently, which changes in language policy and teaching practices are involved? While multilingualism is not a new phenomenon, *current multilingualism* differs from its previous historical forms (Aronin, 2007, 2019a; Aronin & Singleton, 2008, 2012; Singleton et al., 2013). The global and local language practices of today largely embrace using many languages. A big share of people in the world use and study more than one additional language. They employ international, minority, and regional language varieties and may include in their repertoires several non-native languages. But it is not solely the fact of the territorial spread of languages and a significant increase in number of multilingual speakers that distinguishes current multilingualism from its previous forms. Its essence is rather in *how* the many languages of the world are mastered and used (Lo Bianco, 2020; Lo Bianco & Aronin, 2020).

Today, no matter how important a named language might be, English, German, or Russian, it alone can hardly suffice for all the functions that a human language performs. Moreover, not just many languages, but a particular *set of languages* for each geographical area, country, community, or individual, is a prerequisite for individual and communal existence in contemporary human societies. The sets of languages selected for their immediate expediency, called Dominant Language Constellations (DLC), have become the contemporary linguistic "unit of circulation."

No wonder that in the new sociolinguistic dispensation (Singleton et al., 2013), *multilingual education* and *education of multilinguals* have become prominent topics. There is a meaningful difference between the two. The term *education of multilinguals* is used when the pupils or students of an educational institution speak various home and second languages. When multilingualism is introduced in a school or university curriculum as *the aim*, we call it *multilingual education* (Cenoz & Jessner, 2009). Even schools and universities that keep to a monolingual paradigm, and are managed out of the perspective of one single language as a point of departure, cannot fully cut themselves off from the bustling multilingual world around them.

In response to the changed sociolinguistic reality and in order to meet the new challenges, TESOL professionals, policymakers, and language teachers reexamine priorities and launch apposite activities. The current emphasis is on the positive value of multilingualism in English language teaching and on seeing other languages as an asset and a key resource enhancing learning English. The policies and actions are directed toward recognizing the role of the local and indigenous languages along with promoting English as a second or foreign language (Sect. 1; Reynolds, 2019; TESOL International Association, 2018).

This chapter describes the concept of Dominant Language Constellations which can direct language-teaching policies and practices toward these currently reconsidered goals. The DLC approach aligns the realities "on the ground" with the contemporary theoretical sociolinguistic and applied linguistics perspectives. It also addresses

the concern of enhancing English language skills at the expense of local and regional languages and enables "the representation of local teaching practices, beliefs, and contexts when designing and implementing a language policy for a specific setting" (introduction). To this end, the next section of this paper is devoted to the description of the DLC as a concept and a real-life phenomenon; Sect. 3 dwells on the DLC approach for TESOL, and Sect. 4 details and exemplifies the use of the DLC perspective in classrooms, schools, and universities as well as its application in the education of language teachers.

2 Dominant Language Constellation—A Model of Current Language Practices

Dominant Language Constellation is a set of a person's most expedient languages, functioning as an entire unit and enabling an individual to meet all their needs in a multilingual environment. Countries and communities also have common set(s) of languages that enable their members to persist in a multilingual environment as a group.

The concept of DLC is associated with the well-known notion of *language repertoire*. The two correspond and are mutually complementary. Whether referring to an individual or to a group, language repertoire relates to the *totality* of an individual's or a community's language varieties and linguistic skills (see e.g., Gumperz, 1964; Pütz, 2004; Schiffmann, 1996;). Language repertoire may encompass skills and registers of five, six, seven, eight, or even 58 languages as, according to Russel's account (1863), was the case with the legendary polyglot Cardinal Giuseppe Caspar Mezzofanti (1744–1849). Therefore, language repertoire can be imagined as a storage, an accumulation of all linguistic assets at one's or a group's disposal. In the recent decades of globalization, language repertoires of multilinguals have noticeably grown. With that, de facto language repertoires are not habitually employed in their entirety, because it would be impracticable and plain unmanageable: It is impossible to use all the skills in all the languages one has ever acquired on a daily basis.

Instead, only an active part of one's language repertoire is normally used in day-to-day reality. This working unit of one's language repertoire consists of a constellation of one's dominant languages—DLC. The DLC includes only the most expedient languages for a person, the skills that are used regularly and are selected for their utility and functionality in social and personal life (Aronin, 2016; Lo Bianco & Aronin, 2020).

On average, a DLC is a unit of three (sometimes more) languages. These may include an international language or a lingua franca, a regionally important language, and a local, lesser used or another minority language. Other DLC patterns may include two international or regionally important languages, and a minority language. Examples of DLCs deployed in big and small communities are English/Polish/German in Australia; Welsh/English/Spanish in Argentina; and Arabic/Hebrew/English in

Israel. The DLC comprising two or four and more languages are also possible, e.g., Russian/Tatar in the Russian Federation; or Romansh/German/Italian/French for a small population of quadrilinguals in a Romansh Valley in Switzerland. In outstandingly multilingual countries such as African states, fluid multilingual contexts may lead to "different DLCs operating simultaneously in and across individuals/households, communities, and regions" (Banda, 2020, p. 75).

DLCs are real phenomena perceived through sounds and signs of particular languages, regular language practices by a real person or a group of people in real time and social settings. Along with that, DLC is a mental construct, enabling us to consider current multilingualism. Each concrete pattern of DLC that arises from the fluctuating combinations of languages, personal traits, and social settings is unique. At the same time, a DLC exhibits systematic relationships between its component parts; its structures are recurrent and roughly uniform. Therefore, if abstracted from details, a general DLC pattern can be treated as a model. The interrelation of DLC and multilingualism is not of exact identity, of course, but rather as between an autonomous part and the whole. Rephrasing this complexity theory statement into a metaphor, we may say that each individual DLC reflects multilingualism like a drop of water represents the ocean (Aronin, 2019b).

When teaching and learning languages within the perspective of DLC, it is important to always remember its double nature. On the one hand, a DLC is a unit. Possessing internal coherence, it operates as one language entity, although it consists of several languages. On the other hand, the proficiency of each language constituent of a DLC, the time spent on using each language and other features of languages and their use in DLC usually differs: While some of the languages may be at the native or passing-for-a-native level, others can be characterized with incipient proficiency only.

One of the most valuable features of the DLC approach for TESOL researchers and teachers is the absence of an arbitrarily inbuilt hierarchy in the order of languages in a DLC. It makes the DLC framework important for multilingual countries with an especially challenging choice of languages for education and use. The lack of any mandatory hierarchy of languages that comprise a DLC allows defining and changing the pecking order of languages in accordance with the current needs and actual situation. Not only English but also other languages of various social standing that are deemed important in the circumstances by the educators and learners can be dealt with. Other features of DLCs conducive for teaching English and also supporting and encouraging other languages will be discussed in the next section, which is specifically dedicated to how to use DLC in TESOL.

3 DLC Approach in TESOL

Normally, the growing English learner cohorts of all educational levels are multilingual. Teaching them without considering other languages does not seem realistic. The focus is to be shifted from teaching separate languages to acknowledging that

the languages work in constellations (Aronin, 2016). The *Action Agenda for the Future of the TESOL Profession* (2018, p. 3) called for "embracing contemporary ideas and theories regarding language, pedagogy, and the roles of English as a world language."

What can educators do in order to establish teaching practices more appropriate for the contemporary world? Lo Bianco (2020) points to the feature of *tractability* as the compulsory one for the theoretical concepts that we apply on the ground. A tractable problem is relatively solvable, the one that can be measured, observed, and otherwise available for the tools of policy analysis. Accordingly, Lo Bianco finds DLC "a 'tractable' concept with immediate and practical implications for language policy and planning" (Lo Bianco, 2020, p. 39).

3.1 Considering DLC in Language Policy and Planning

The longstanding problem in education and language teaching is finding the practical ways to concord the two powerful sociolinguistic trends—the one of the unprecedented spread of English and the seeming opposite—the increase in the number and diversity of languages in use worldwide. The continuous and variegated clash of these two simultaneous and mighty trends results in challenges on the ground. Resolving each particular situation of a multilingual reality is not an easy task.

Surmont et al. (2015, p. 38) describe the prevailing situation with languages in education as follows:

> It is very tempting for governments to use only the major international languages for communication as target languages in multilingual education. The importance of these international languages of communication is undeniable, but multilingualism might lose its value when everybody speaks the same combination of languages. Regional languages and lesser-known languages should also have a place in CLIL schools, preferably even ahead of these international languages for communication.

Modifying language policies in accordance with the current global situation can be enhanced by adopting a tractable DLC approach. Lo Bianco (2020) demonstrated this in the discussion of Vietnamese language policy and putting forward a new type of DLC—a "script cluster" that considers not entire languages but writing systems. From his point of view, the presence of an institutional and national DLC is "specifiable according to the specific languages involved, the social roles they perform and the orthographic conventions they deploy" (Lo Bianco, 2020, p. 37). Lo Bianco points out that conforming to the current multilingual global situation, DLC focuses on the specific configurations of languages and varieties, the "constellations," that prevail in specific settings, rather than on undifferentiated accounts of linguistic pluralism.

Such an unambiguously focused multilingual paradigm is proposed in the *whole-school language curriculum* introduced by Hufeisen (see e.g., 2018) and piloted in a number of projects. The whole-school language curriculum is intended to "eliminate separation of languages in school and university by way of combining language

learning systematically with content learning" (Hufeisen & Jessner, 2019, p. 88). Addressing the teaching practices ensuing from such a policy, Hufeisen and Jessner (2019, p. 88) deem it important that L2 instructors

> do not teach the language in question in the typically isolated fashion that is still often the case today: In Austria or Germany, teachers of English as a typical L2 usually refer neither to L1s in a given learner group, nor do they prepare the way for the later L3 learning process.

Significantly, that the *whole-school language curriculum* is organized around not just multiple languages, but is to be tailored for the particular set of languages, important in the settings (Hufeisen, 2018).

The challenges and potentials of European language education produced by the current multilingual condition are investigated by Eva Vetter (2021). Her inquiry into how urban institutions operate under the global circumstances takes place in the multilingual settings of Vienna that is unique but also archetypal in many ways. Vetter emphasizes an interplay between the individual and institutional DLCs and, therefore, argues that "[a]t urban schools, a great number of individual DLCs are in close dialogue with each other and these have to be taken into account when a school language policy shall emerge" (Vetter, 2021, p. 56).

Björklund and Björklund (2021, p. 133) identified four contextual levels for the study of DLCs—individual, institutional, regional, and national. Their study concentrated on individual and organizational DLCs of Finnish/Swedish/English in one Finnish-medium and one Swedish-medium school, respectively. Although national curricula in Finland take linguistic diversity among the pupils into consideration, Björklund and Björklund suggest that uncovering layers of DLCs in organizations can reveal possible tensions between individual DLCs and institutional DLCs. The scholars believe that having an institutional DLC or DLCs would enable school or university leaders to provide appropriate affordances for languages in this institution.

In a Canadian context, the concept of DLC was linked to family language policy and language of schooling (Slavkov, 2021). Slavkov investigates the transmission and maintenance of minority languages including French, heritage, immigrant, and indigenous languages that are spoken in families and communities in the province of Ontario where English is the majority language. His analysis of the data coming from the families of 170 school-age children growing up as bilinguals or multilinguals exposed the decisive role of the interplay of family strategies and school language choices. It is the interplay of the two that, according to Slavkov, accounts for differences in personal DLCs such as the number of languages, language dominance, passive versus active multilingualism, and changes in constellation configurations over time.

Along with language policymaking, the DLC approach informs English-teaching practices with respect to global multilingualism. These are addressed in the following section.

3.2 DLC in English-Teaching Practices

With language policies and language teaching approaches of TESOL moving toward a multilingual paradigm, the task of reconsidering the strategies in teaching English to speakers of other languages becomes more realistic. A teacher can employ various DLC-oriented practices in the classroom. Several options are described below.

3.2.1 Curricula, Lesson Plans, and Teaching Materials

Considering DLC (in broader understanding, multilingualism) in English teaching means that curricula, lessons, and teaching methods reflect the languages of students' dominant constellations. This does not imply sporadic and superficial reference to all the languages every minute and day; rather the consideration should be systematic, naturally inbuilt in the tissue of daily life and teaching. For instance, one such learning activity is modifying the lesson template, so that it would incorporate the entire DLC rather than only the native language and English (Aronin, 2019b). Such a formal reminder of languages additional to the target English together in one framework helps to address practical issues, and in that it delineates and brings out the entire set of important languages. Having all the DLC languages systematically in the teachers' attention zone aligns their professional thinking along the current sociolinguistic reality, where the languages are intermixed in social spaces and multilingual skills work in concert. Such a systemic modification of teaching arrangements makes teachers and planners always remember and focus on *interactions and interrelations* of languages implicated in teaching English.

3.2.2 Teaching and Learning Activities: Creative Tasks, Visualizations, and Modeling

One more way of addressing multilingualism while teaching English to speakers of other languages is organizing activities directed at enhancing their awareness of languages globally and in their personal life. Their understanding should not be limited to just "knowing about" other languages and eating each other's ethnic food. The English language learners are entitled to a deeper and more active realization of the profound and crucial involvement of languages in contemporary life. TESOL professionals are those who can enable learners of English to competently manage their language assets through DLC.

An inspiring example is how Sugrañes (2021) applied the DLC approach in the English language classroom in a primary school in Barcelona, where Spanish, Catalan, and English are the curricula languages. The plurilingual pedagogical strategy of the school is based on promoting translanguaging and using other languages of the pupils for metalinguistic reflection and learning. In order to bring

forth the pupil's DLCs, various activities are used, including story reading, illustrating their stories, and "reading in English, speaking in our own languages." The pupils created story books in English which were then translated into the pupils' own languages and read by them to the younger children in English and in all the languages of the class. Using translation and variously engaging multilingual pupils' own languages for learning, English did not inhibit their learning outcomes in any of the DLC languages, but proved to be beneficial for learning, motivation, and attitudes toward languages. In addition, Sugrañes' study demonstrated a positive impact of the DLC approach on the teachers' performance and their willingness and competencies to "act plurilingually."

One can also think of classroom activities beyond the English lesson such as discussions and disputes, writings and crafts that would induce students to interact, think, and compare.

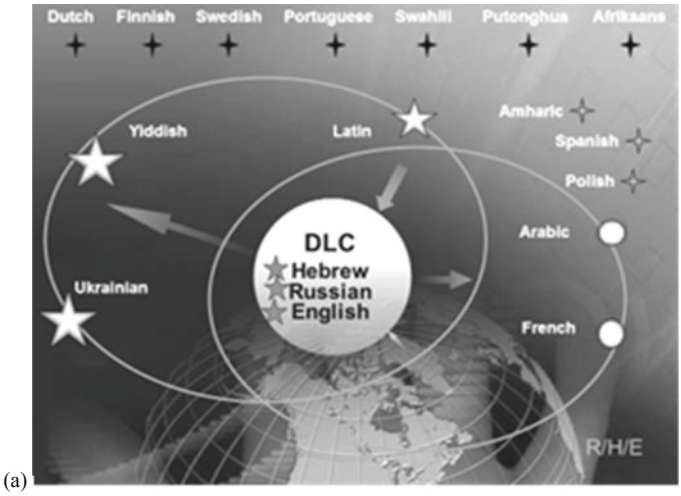
Visualizations have become widespread tools in education in pedagogy. Researchers resort to visual methods of social representations of multilingualism and DLCs as thoughts and feelings are not always easily expressed verbally. Melo-Pfeifer (2021) analysis visual linguistic autobiographies of foreign language student-teachers at Hamburg University and highlights the intricate, dynamic, and unpredictable evolution of an individual DLC. On the basis of her study, she suggested distinguishing between the *latent and actual DLC* which has implications for the educational language policy in Germany and internationally. Visualizations in teaching English to speakers of other languages are instrumental in rendering supposedly multilingual but in reality monolingual teaching into a de facto multilingual approach.

DLC maps (Fig. 1a–c) are not the only visualization options any more.

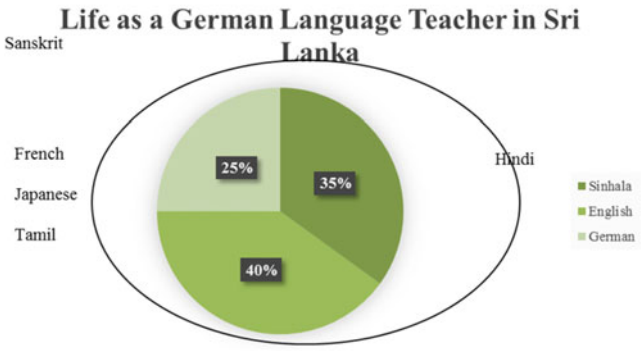
Modeling and manual craft representations of DLC are additional expressive means of bringing home the idea of multilingual reality to both learners and teachers of English. While for the learners, *DLC models* serve both as a cognitive extension and a material symbol of one's own sociolinguistic existence and the language skills that ensure this existence, for language teaching specialists models provide insight both into the profession and into their own identity (see e.g., Gísladóttir, 2021).

The simplest handmade models of personal DLCs can be easily produced by the language learners themselves, from playdough of different colors and sticks. Spheres of different colors represent languages; the bigger a sphere's size, the higher the proficiency. The linguistic distance is defined by multilinguals since educators seek to unfold the subjective feelings of a language user and learner regarding their own language unit in the activity of DLC modeling. As seen in Fig. 2a and b, the greater the linguistic distance between languages, the longer the strips connecting the spheres. Handmade models (Fig. 2a) prove especially beneficial for awareness and emotional involvement. Creating models and tangible representations of DLC involves not only mental energy but also physical activity by hands; and the impact of such complex activity is more pronounced.

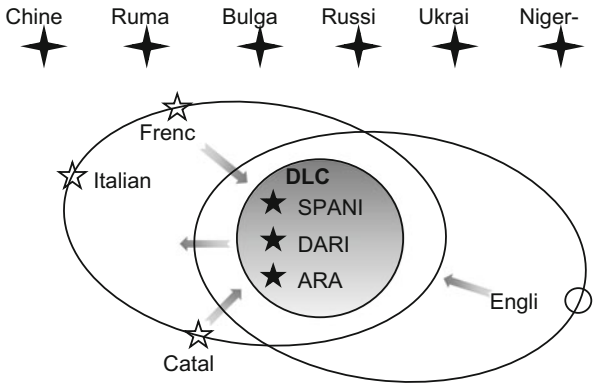
Computer-generated models (Fig. 2b) appear to be practically useful in that they can identify various configurations of languages in a DLC including their variations in vocabulary size, proficiency, emotional attachment, frequency of use, etc.,



(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig. 1 DLC maps **a** Russian/Hebrew/English in Israel; **b** Sinhala/English/German in Sri-Lanka (courtesy Sarasi Kannangara); **c** Spanish/Darija/Arabic in Catalonia (courtesy Richard Nightingale)

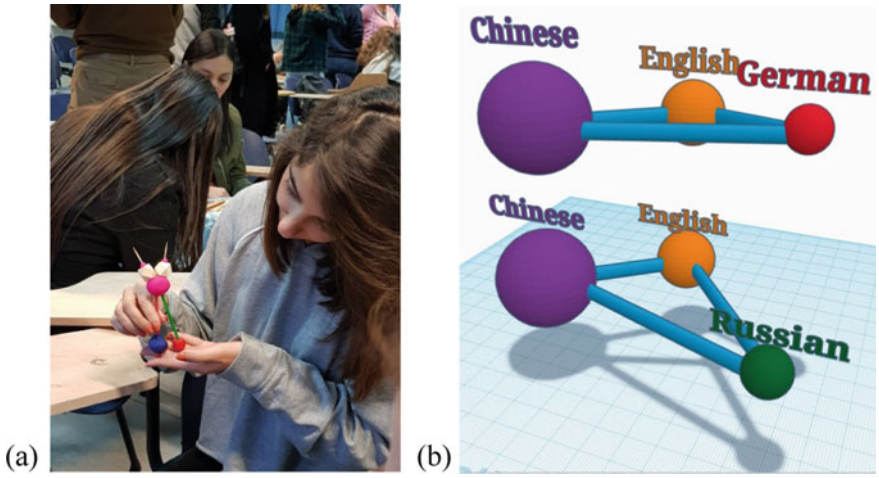


Fig. 2 DLC models **a** handmade playdough model English/Arabic/Hebrew (courtesy Judith Yoel) and **b** computer-produced model Chinese/German/English and Chinese/English/Russian (courtesy Laurent Moccozet)

between each of the languages of the unit. Computer-generated models carry an additional value in their capacity for being stored as unified data, ready for comparison, contemplation, and further research.

For teachers and student trainees, modeling is particularly expedient, since the activity itself and the resulting models reveal the linguistic assets their students possess in an accessible, quick, and engaging way. Models help teachers to figure out how other languages of their students can help them to acquire English in particular multilingual settings.

Manual craft representations of DLC can take various forms (see Fig. 3). As part of the English syllabus for preservice student-teachers at Nord University, Ibrahim (2020) introduced a session on multilingualism and plurilingual practices. At the end of the session, the students were asked to reflect on their own multilingualism through the medium of a creative visual multimodal task and create a physical artifact representing their language repertoire and DLCs. These tasks were accompanied by a written narrative explaining their choices in creating the visual multimodal representations of their languages. Ibrahim notes that student-teachers' reflections on the process of making visible their multilingual repertoires help them to visualize their own multilingualism and impact on their developing identities as multilingual primary teachers.

There is no limit to the ingenious pedagogical thought and creativity of multilingual language learners; verbal tasks in English reinforced by other languages, visualizations, modeling, and crafts activities represented here are only initial samples of what can be done for teaching English in the multilingual world. At present, the following lines of research seem to be of prime importance: Investigating DLCs with English with the focus on crosslinguistic interactions enhancing or inhibiting

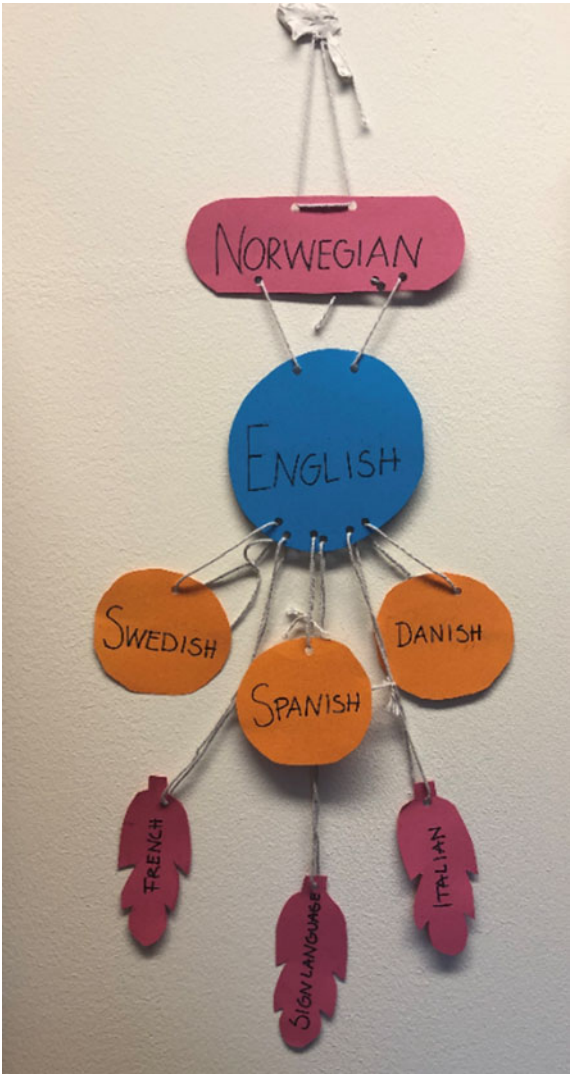


Fig. 3 Language repertoire and DLC visualized in the form of a dreamcatcher (Ibrahim, 2020)

acquisition of English; searching for new forms of education that would accommodate pertinent to the particular locality, type of education and organization of DLCs; developing teaching/learning materials, and a pool of activities which ensure a multilingually supported learning of English.

4 Conclusion

This is the time when teaching languages is bound to take into consideration the global transformations. The language practices of today are expressly multilingual, and selected sets of languages, called Dominant Language Constellations, are linguistic "units of circulation." In response to the changed sociolinguistic dispensation of the world, TESOL International Association put forth priorities and actions for meeting the needs of the growing global population of English language learners for decades to come (TESOL, 2018).

Today, teaching English to speakers of other languages and planning language policies, involves not only the English language, but also recognizing the role of other languages, especially regional and minority ones, essential for particular localities. In order to implement a de facto multilingual paradigm, instead of only paying lip-service, it is necessary to reconsider language policies and modify curricula, teaching methods, and activities in accordance with a multilingual perspective.

Adopting the DLC perspective also means developing appropriate teaching activities, techniques, and materials in order to naturally and efficiently integrate other students' languages into the acquisition of English as a second, foreign, or additional language. As opposed to longstanding perception of the interaction between English and languages other than English (LOTE) in a multilingual world as "English *against* other languages," it is becoming increasingly clear now that the more realistic and fruitful way of dealing with multilingualism is "English *and* other languages."

In addition to more traditional verbal teaching methods, procedures, and activities such as reading, writing, and translation tasks, various visualization techniques including DLC maps, DLC images, tangible manual craft DLC representations, and models are being intensively developed. These are beneficial for several reasons. Firstly, they serve as legitimate research tools for scholars of education and language teaching as well as language policy decision-makers to monitor and analyze complex situations. Furthermore, they are of prime importance for all the TESOL stakeholders, and in that pondering visual images and models enhances language awareness and language responsibility in learners and users of multiple languages. The educational effect of these DLC-related activities spills over purely linguistic concerns to the realm of social coherence, economics, intercultural communication, and the personal self-efficacy and well-being of English speakers.

For this reason, more research and professional development of methods and materials are to be carried out in the future that involve not only English but also the DLC languages in their various manifestations: symbolic, verbal, material, and digital. How exactly considering other languages in teaching English to a multilingual learner is to be carried out in each particular TESOL setting is a matter of current and also near-future research and ongoing educational creative practices and initiatives. The DLC approach for TESOL is gaining momentum, but it is only at the beginning of its exciting path of innovations.

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