Ruth Fielding *Editor*

Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Education

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Foreword

In my 2021 graduate class on Language, Discourse, and Identity, the students and I had many vibrant discussions about the paradoxes we encounter in language education. In our field, we talk about multilingualism, but have yet to reach a consensus on what we mean by *language*; we embrace identity research, but have very different perspectives on *the self*; we promote interculturalism, but struggle to define *culture*. As I read the compelling contributions to Ruth Fielding's edited book, I became increasingly convinced that striving for consensus is not necessarily the most productive goal of language education research. As the world changes, as people migrate across national boundaries, as technology connects us in new ways, it is necessary to constantly question and re-conceptualize what we understand by language, identity, and culture. While we can agree, for example, that language is both a linguistic system and a social practice, it is important to continue investigating the complex relationship between linguistic and social practices in a frequently unequal world (Norton, 2013). While we can support a conception of identity as multiple and changing, we need to strive to understand the logic and power of *strategic essentialism* for those with a particular investment in a specific identity category such as race, gender, or sexual orientation (Appleby, 2021). And while we may all question one-dimensional views of culture, we need to acknowledge that the very conception of interculturalism presupposes that "culture" remains an appealing construct for scholars interested in the relationship between specific groups of people (Clément & Norton, 2021).

Paradoxes invite us to investigate apparent contradictions in our field and to make visible the ways in which language practices are indexical of changing social relationships across time and place. Rather than seeking consensus, what is most intriguing is precisely the diverse perspectives that scholars bring to our understanding of multilingualism, identity, and interculturality in education. To this end, Fielding has invited conversations on these topics from a range of scholars worldwide. The overarching question of the book is exciting: To what extent can the development of a multilingual identity foster more meaningful intercultural understanding? This important question is addressed with reference to schools, teacher education, and wider educational contexts such as refugee education, examined by Uptin in Australia, and private language schools, addressed by Barakos in Austria. As such, the volume

contributes to contemporary scholarship on multilingualism and identity, as examined by scholars such as Ayers-Bennett and Fisher (2022), with particular reference to intercultural education (Dervin & Gross, 2016).

In addressing school contexts, readers are invited into classrooms and corridors in Australia, Norway, and Mexico and are reminded that the development of multilingual identities is fostered through teacher investment, curriculum development, and political will. Teachers serve as the interface between policy and practice, and their reflections, experiences, and insights need to be understood and validated if a curriculum promoting intercultural understanding is to achieve its objectives. Fielding's research on the curriculum in New South Wales makes the case that the promotion of intercultural understanding needs to be supported by policymakers beyond the school, while Tiurikova and Haukås in Norway stress the need to understand the way language teachers themselves interpret the concepts of multilingualism and intercultural competence. However, the promotion of teacher investment in multilingualism cannot be achieved without adequate intercultural resources, which is the focus of van 't Hooft's research on the revitalization of the Mayan language in the Mexican context.

While innovations in curriculum and materials development can help promote multilingual identities in the interests of intercultural understanding, conversations on pre-service teacher education are equally important if teachers are to invest in multilingualism and interculturality in schools. Kanno and Stuart's (2011) compelling research in the USA has found that "*the central project in which novice L2 teachers are involved in their teacher learning is not so much the acquisition of the knowledge of language teaching as it is the development of a teacher identity.*" As discussed in Fielding's book, language teacher education research in Canada, Colombia, and Australia supports Kanno and Stuart's findings, but also provides new insights into the connection between multilingualism, identity, and interculturality. The research of Galante, dela Cruz and Chiras, for example, found that the conceptual framework of plurilingualism, as promoted by the Council of Europe (2020), was particularly helpful in the exploration of the plurilingual identities of pre-service ESL teachers in the multilingual city of Montréal, Canada. From a different perspective, de Mejía and Tejada-Sánchez in Colombia make the case that teachers need to develop greater awareness of their own assumptions about interculturality, in order to promote productive multilingual identities in their classrooms. The focus on teacher reflection is also central to the research of Bonar, Wang, and Fielding in Australia, who draw on Fielding (2021) to better understand how the professional development of pre-service teachers develops in relation to their own multilingualism and their investment in teaching interculturally.

I look forward to the publication of *Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Education*, so that I can share it with my next graduate class on Language, Discourse, and Identity. I will not be surprised if my students ask me why a book on multilingualism is written in English. But that is the subject of another compelling book.

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Chapter 1
Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Education

Ruth Fielding

Abstract This book brings together perspectives from a range of different countries and contexts to explore the intersection of three key ideas in education: multilingualism, identity and intercultural understanding. All three terms can be defined in a wide array of ways and the conceptualisation of how these ideas intersect also varies; yet in our increasingly connected and multilingual world, it is ever more important to understand the ways in which incorporation of multilingual identities in classrooms has an impact upon intercultural understanding. This gathering together of voices has also highlighted how we see a very limited set of views represented within academic work on these topics, and we hope this volume might be a starting point of an ongoing conversation from a growing range of academic voices.

This book brings together perspectives from a range of different countries and contexts to explore the intersection of three key ideas in education: multilingualism, identity and intercultural understanding. All three terms can be defined in a wide array of ways and the conceptualisation of how these ideas intersect also varies; yet in our increasingly connected and multilingual world, it is ever more important to understand the ways in which incorporation of multilingual identities in classrooms has an impact upon intercultural understanding. This gathering together of voices has also highlighted how we see a very limited set of views represented within academic work on these topics, and we hope this volume might be a starting point of an ongoing conversation from a growing range of academic voices.

Intercultural understanding has increasingly been cited in educational policies and directives as a global outcome of education, particularly language education; yet it is still a term which attracts debate and variety in its interpretation. Intertwined with this is the increasing multilingualism that students bring into classrooms, universities and interactions in all settings. In contrast, however, we see that policy in many contexts does not reflect the multiplicities experienced by students and citizens in those settings. A number of chapters in this volume highlight how education systems

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replicate inequities and continue to enact injustices in relation to language, identity and interculturality. This is particularly noticeable in relation to Indigenous languages and other minoritised communities. We therefore explore in this volume how consideration of the multilingual identities in classrooms and other contexts inter-relates to the notions of intercultural understanding being explored in those same settings, in an attempt to reconfigure the ways we think about these notions and how we may use the terms differently to disrupt the status quo and empower communities in their use of language, their enactment of identities and their contribution to the considerations of intercultural understanding.

This book arose out of a personal engagement and grappling with each of the key notions in the title of this volume. Having been a language teacher and teacher educator in Australia for 15 years, I had been involved in the initial forays into how to "teach" language teachers to take an intercultural stance in their language classrooms within the Australian language teaching context (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009). With intercultural understanding embedded as a one of three key strands in the language curriculum in parts of Australia since 2003 (Board of Studies, 2003), it was a key consideration within language teacher education and one which we encouraged our pre-service teachers to consider in their education and professional experiences. In collaboration with colleagues from two other higher education institutions, we undertook some research using transcripts of classroom interaction from language teachers who were attempting to teach interculturally. We shared these transcripts with preservice teachers and asked them to critique and label where the interaction encouraged intercultural reflection and where they saw potential for deeper intercultural dialogue. Through this research, we encountered and problematised the tendency of attempted intercultural practice to reinforce stereotypes and overemphasise points of difference and the notions of "self and other" (Moloney et al., 2016). Prior to and alongside this work, I was undertaking research exploring student development of bilingual and multilingual identity within schools. As each of the strands of research developed, it appeared that there was crossover in the theoretical and pedagogical approaches to both ideas of multilingual identity and of intercultural understanding. I began to explore this interrelationship and to present my ideas at conferences and was approached to write a book on the topic. As the topic is so complex and involves a variety of interpretations, so it became clear to me that a book bringing together a range of these interpretations, rather than just my own, would be more valuable for the language education field. This is the culmination of that project to bring together varied perspectives on multilingualism, identity and interculturality and to explore the intersection of these key ideas in education.

My personal multilingual, identity and interculturality journey:

In writing and researching about identity, multilingualism and interculturality, I have reflected further upon my own journey. I have considered my three languages: English, French and German, which I have learned and engaged with as a result of growing up in the UK, continuing to study those languages at University in Australia, and then working as a language teacher of French and German in Australian schools. I am aware of the linguistic biases and assumptions I have been part of through

that journey, and the colonial impact of all three languages (Phipps, 2019). In my own journey exploring intercultural understanding and multilingual identity, there is tension and discomfort that arises from increasing my own awareness of privilege and the inequality that speaking and using languages of power illustrates. I experienced a relatively easy transition to living and working in another country, due to having an accepted accent, and speaking the language of power in the new country. I have experienced misunderstandings and encountered people making incorrect assumptions about my background on the basis of accent, appearance and language. This makes me even more painfully aware of how difficult the experiences of other people must be when their languages, identities, and accents are not readily accepted in society, or are actively oppressed. I have observed how my positioning by others in terms of language and identity has meant a relatively smooth transition to a new location and highlights privilege where even the inaccurate assumptions made about me may have facilitated educational access, and acceptance in a new environment when compared to the experiences of many other people whose languages and identities are de-valued, ignored or actively denied. As a white, English-speaking immigrant in Australia, the assumptions made about me were vastly different to those that other people experience. I am the first generation in my family to attend University with previous generations of my family not completing their schooling in order to start work early. I met some challenges in navigating the academic environment particularly when it came to pursuing a career in academia without much prior awareness of the academic culture in the early years of my career. Nevertheless, the privileged positioning I held in relation to language, and being perceived by others as "fitting in" has no doubt made the journey smoother in other ways in that educational and professional journey, ultimately leading to me now holding a privileged position in a well-regarded university. I hope to use the positioning I find myself with, to disrupt existing biases, prejudices, and raise awareness of the less visible aspects of language, identity and interculturality that impact upon education and in our societies more broadly if we are seeking more socially just and representative education for all. It is essential in a book like this to acknowledge the privilege there is in my own positioning and to acknowledge that this has enabled me to find myself able to obtain an academic position in a University and to write a book on this topic.

The more I engage with each of the topics central to this book, the more I believe that the intercultural journey of any individual can never be complete. The more I learn, critique and question, the more I realise we can never completely understand another person's experiences or internal struggle. Yet we can open ourselves to getting to know a range of experiences as interested, non-judgemental and trustworthy interactants. I increasingly believe it is unhelpful, perhaps even dangerous, to see ourselves as "interculturally competent" or "culturally competent" in relation to other people. The danger is we may then become less able to see and notice and value the other person as we believe we already understand them and then resume making assumptions about others. Instead, intercultural understanding or awareness may simply show us how we are shaped ourselves by our experiences and our languages, identity and cultural connections. It allows us to view others in an equally complex way and to therefore see people as more than the groups that they may or may

not represent. To say we are "competent" in understanding all other people is a concerning assertion to make. I make the case that the term *interculturality* may be more helpful than *intercultural understanding*, in highlighting an ongoing learning journey.

The Australian Context:

In the Australian context Indigenous languages, identities and experiences are the ones which have been most damaged, oppressed and ignored in Australian history and education. As Vaughan (2021) shows us, there is a multilingual norm within some Indigenous communities such as at Maningrida where the use of up to twelve local Indigenous languages is commonplace (Vaughan, 2021). Yet such normality is ignored, or wilfully unacknowledged in the wider discourse about multilingualism, identity and interculturality. I believe, raising awareness and seeking to instigate change of viewpoint within education and society as a whole to be a key role of a volume such as this. Within the volume, I draw together a range of approaches to each of the key ideas. In doing so, the chapter authors draw on existing theories and literature, but also question which voices and ideas tend to get amplified in the academic discussion of identity, multilingualism and interculturality. The powerful and privileged voices tend to get heard above and beyond other voices. This is something I hope to highlight through this volume and raise a call to share and amplify the theorisations from sources and work undertaken in a wider range of languages, locations and in ways which may not fit the academic "norm". As Bonny Norton has indicated in the Foreword, it would be even better if we were to publish a volume such as this through a range of languages. I am hopeful this may be a conversation we can have with publishers for future volumes.

This volume invites the reader to consider, question and raise new ideas in relation to the central issues involved; the book is guided nevertheless by a few central understandings of multilingualism, interculturality and identity. The chapters also highlight the areas of ongoing question and critique and show how such complex terms can be interpreted in multiple and evolving ways. I outline here some of the key underpinnings of this volume. Within each chapter, readers will encounter approaches which view multilingualism, identity and interculturality as socially constructed, negotiated and dynamic/fluid in their enactment. Each chapter also considers that core elements across the three ideas are those of reciprocal relationships between the elements and of multiplicity or plurality within and across the three core ideas. Some chapters focus more explicitly on two out of the three ideas, but we see that in those cases the third element is so closely entwined with the other ideas it is difficult to treat as separate. This is particularly the case with multilingualism and identity, which in some cases are considered together as multilingual identity.

The scope of this book:

I wish to acknowledge that although I have sought to include a wide range of perspectives in the book and made a particular effort to incorporate Indigenous voices; it has not been possible to include all perspectives, and some essential voices were lost through the process of writing and publishing the book. Unfortunately, the chapter

about Indigenous languages in Australia was withdrawn by the author in the light of the challenges faced through the COVID-19 pandemic, and this is a notable missing voice in the volume.

We draw on the programme of work by Bonny Norton in this field (2000, 2013) and the post-structural stance taken towards identity as multiple, dynamic, complex and negotiated through interaction. There is a need to unpack how three very complex terms which are used widely in many different fields, are interpreted and seen as inter-related in a range of global contexts. We focus specifically upon educational contexts and in many chapters more specifically upon language education.

1.1 Multilingualism

Multilingualism has been considered and theorised in relation to many aspects of social life, and increasingly interlinked with identity. Historically, the term used was bilingualism, but this has evolved to either multilingualism or plurilingualism depending on the context of use and to acknowledge that for many speakers there are more than two languages in their repertoire (Romaine, 1995, 2006). This evolution of terms has also aimed to be more inclusive of the range of skills speakers may have and to move away from notions of "balance" traditionally associated with bilingualism. Within Europe and Canada, the term plurilingual has developed (originating from the French *plurilinguisme*) and is used more extensively in those contexts to distinguish between individual language use and societal language use. In the European and Canadian contexts, plurilingualism can be used to refer to the human use of multiple languages, whereas multilingualism might refer to the societal existence of more than one language (Council of Europe, 2001). In other contexts, the terms plurilingual and multilingual tend to be used interchangeably and, in line with this and to accommodate the authors in the volume equally, the terms are used synonymously within this book.

Many aspects of language education have experienced a "multilingual turn" in recent years (Conteh & Meier, 2014; Helot & De Mejia, 2008; May, 2014) with increasing recognition that many people have linguistic repertoires that have not historically been recognised in the classroom (or language classroom). Growing interest has developed in considering the student experience of learning in relation to the student's languages and their bi/multi/plurilingual identities with a number of researchers exploring understandings of multilingual identity within language learning (see, for example, Block, 2006, 2015; Fielding, 2015, 2021; Fisher et al, 2020; Henry, 2017; Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2015).

In whichever way that multilingualism is defined across prior work, there are common elements to the understanding of multilingualism/plurlingualism and how this inter-relates to notions of identity. Common elements of understanding include the move from multilingualism being viewed in a deficit manner towards being viewed as a skill to be drawn on in the classroom and to build on full linguistic repertoires in order to empower learners in their education (Cummins, 2003; Garcia,

2009; Turner, 2019). This move includes viewing language skill as a set of linguistic resources which can be used in all classrooms but particularly language classrooms to build deeper metalinguistic understanding. Other common elements see multilingualism being increasingly explored as a key aspect of identity for learners (Block, 2006, 2015; Fielding, 2015, 2021; Fisher et al, 2020; Henry, 2017; Kramsch & Huffmaster, 2015). There has also been a strong move for multilingualism to be seen as the human "norm" rather than monolingualism which has been increasingly demonstrated as a societal construct related to colonisation, assimilation and monoglossic ideology (Garcia, 2009; Hajek & Slaughter, 2016; Paris, 2011; Rosa & Flores, 2017).

Within multilingualism research, there is an important strand of pedagogical research which argues for increasing use of students' linguistic repertoires within all classrooms (Garcia, 2009; Turner, 2019) and a large body of work calling for translanguaging pedagogies (Camilleri, 1996; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garcia, 2009; Kovacs, 2001; Martin-Jones, 1995; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1996; Muller & Beardsmore, 2004) which challenge monolingual practices and re-position multilingual interaction as the norm. It is particularly important to challenge the enduring monolingual mindset in contexts where the majority language is also a powerful lingua franca as the power disparity with other languages in the community is glaringly uneven (Conteh & Meier, 2014; Hajek & Slaughter, 2015; Helot & de Mejia, 2008; May, 2014; Paris, 2011).

1.2   Identity

Identity research has become a central theme in Second Language Acquisition and language teaching and learning research. This field has brought together research which previously was situated in either a psychological domain or a sociological domain. Through the language-based theorisation, a post-structural approach has challenged some prior understandings and grown into a respected field of research in its own right.

Norton (2006) has extensively developed sociocultural understandings about language and identity, moving the field beyond a Vygotskian framework, which had previously been the dominant approach. Norton's approach has shaped and informed much of the ensuing research into identity in language learning. Norton (2006) argued that a broader understanding of the sociocultural nature of identity was needed which blurs the boundary between *social identity* and *cultural identity* and leads to identity comprising five characteristics. Norton identified identity as:

- dynamic and constantly changing
- complex, contradictory and multifaceted
- something that constructs, and is constructed by, language
- influenced by larger social processes of power
- linked to classroom practice (Norton, 2006, p. 25).

Her theorisation indicated that the direction of identity work has shifted and now involves more complex understandings of identity construction, the influence of broader societal issues on identity and allows for links between theory and pedagogy (Norton, 2006).

In her 2013 work, Norton reflects on the path that identity research in SLA and language teaching research has taken. She continues to suggest a post-structuralist approach to identity which allows for the de-essentialising and de-constructing of categories of identity (Norton, 2013). She also, however, acknowledges how a post-structural approach still does not account for how agency may fit into the mix, and inter-related with notions of agency there is a challenge in seeing identity as multiple for this cannot account for contexts in which individuals choose to position themselves in a more unitary way (Norton, 2013). Nevertheless, the strength of a post-structuralist approach to identity is in its ability to highlight how a person sees their own relationship with the world, and the potential for this relationship to change, develop and evolve over time and in different spaces within existing power structures in society (Norton, 2013). This also provides further tension and complexity when we acknowledge that people sometimes strategically choose to affiliate with a group identity as part of their agency to position themselves in different circumstances (Clément & Norton, 2021). We therefore treat identity in too simplistic a manner if we do not acknowledge the agentic role of positioning associated with identity choice, strategic group affiliation and the processes of power which make such choices and agency necessary.

The majority of writing from social science fields concurs to view identity as something that is constructed through interaction and in negotiation with others (Block, 2006; Cummins, 1996, 2000, 2003; Fought, 2006; Lave & Wenger, 1991; McNamara 1987, 1997; Norton, 2000, 2013; Sapir 1912, 1932). This approach acknowledges that both the individual and the society around them have an impact upon identity construction and that there are inherent power relationships within the interactions and negotiations that shape identity. This becomes even more apparent when considering multilingual identity and the multiple negotiations involved within and across languages.

Sapir (1912) proposed that both the influence of the social environment upon an individual and the agency of the individual to identify themselves as a member of a group were equally important within identity development. Sapir (1932) also acknowledged the individuality involved in the process of self-identifying as a member of a group, finding that each individual differs in the extent to which they identify with other members of a group and the "nature of that identification".

This individuality and enactment of agency is a point which needs further emphasis in current considerations of multilingual identity as a counterbalance to ideas of group membership particularly when this intersects with interculturality and an individualised concept of "culture" is also needed.

1.3 Intercultural Understanding/Interculturality

Intercultural understanding (ICU) is defined here as the ability to empathise, to recognise our own values and biases, to recognise what shapes our opinions, to avoid labelling others and making assumptions about their views and to value a variety of opinions (Dervin & Gross, 2016; Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009). This is a skill being embedded as a key educational outcome globally (see, for example, ACARA 2011, 2018; Asia Education Foundation, 2005, 2015, 2020). Education departments intend that development of ICU will improve social cohesion while also equipping students with a key global employment skill; yet different fields theorise the term in different ways. As this volume highlights, in some contexts, particularly where a colonial impact upon Indigenous languages has been endured, the very notion of interculturality when introduced by education departments and policies can be used to reinforce prejudice, re-emphasise neoliberal approaches to education and further oppress and exclude Indigenous communities (see Chaps. 4, 5 and 6).

Within this volume, we draw more specifically upon how ICU is theorised within language education and advocate for a critical approach to interculturality. Within language education, ICU has been conceptualised as dynamic and individual rather than static and divided along national or religious affiliation (Byram et al. 2001; Corbett, 2003; Dervin & Gross, 2016). This means ICU requires consideration of invisible aspects culture such as values and opinions and the variety of those aspects within groups. It requires consideration of values and opinions as individual rather than tied to a presumed homogenous group or nation. Past attempts to foster tolerance through multicultural approaches have inadvertently, or overtly, reinforced fixed notions of group and national culture. Such static interpretations may lead to over-emphasis of difference and to overuse of "us" versus "them" in tasks of comparison (Dervin & Gross, 2016; Harbon & Moloney, 2015; Moloney et al., 2016). Such interpretations may not incorporate empathy or intracultural critique—that is a critique of one's own views and biases—as a reciprocal process of understanding (Scarino, 2014a, 2014b).

Within language education a body of work has developed the term "intercultural stance" which is a pedagogical stance towards interculturalism within the language classroom. I have drawn on ideas from this body of work to emphasise the importance of identity change within development of ICU and the need for individualised reflection, critique and the search for reciprocal dialogue between interactants in the process of developing ICU. I draw on the recent critique of this work, which now calls—within language learning settings—for learners to be challenged to see themselves as multilingual within their consideration of intercultural understanding (Fielding, 2021). This progression from consideration of their identity, to consideration of their multilingual identity is essential if learners are to develop nuance in their consideration of other people. They must first see themselves as more complex in order to perceive the complexity of other peoples' identities. In this way, we may see deeper understanding of other people rather than the human tendency to view people as representatives of particular groups with a fixed idea of inherent characteristics.

This approach to intercultural understanding assumes that one can never achieve full competence in interculturality. Rather the development of interculturality/intercultural understanding is an ongoing lifelong process. I acknowledge here that there are many diverging interpretations of the term "intercultural" with varying approaches to the idea of understanding, competence and communication. While contributing authors in this volume may use a range of terms relevant to their geographic context, all converge on the understanding that interculturality or intercultural understanding can never be considered complete or fully achieved. Even working within frameworks that talk of intercultural competence, this competence is viewed as ongoing, developing and constantly in negotiation. Throughout the book, we use various terms as appropriate to the context of the chapter such as intercultural understanding and move towards using the term interculturality.

1.4 The Intersection of Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality

Prior work has explored multilingual identity in a range of ways, all of which show that linguistic identity and multilingual identity are complex, varied and developed through communication.

Multilingual identity involves multiple languages and the associated sociocultural connections in relation to those languages. Multilingual identity also *"transcends those [identities] that are language-specific…characterized by diversity, hybridity and integration or discomfort, fragmentation and loss"* (Henry, 2017, p. 549). Henry (2017) argues that a multilingual identity is more than the sum of discrete individual linguistic identities. I would similarly argue that being interculturally understanding is more than the sum of understanding two traditionally defined "cultures". Kramsch and Huffmaster (2015) agree, arguing that while multilinguals find themselves at an intersection between their languages they also have a multilingual self that cannot be distilled down to a number of distinct identity characteristics. Block (2015) argues that people are simultaneously being and becoming multilingual while using and continuing to learn language. Pavlenko's (2014) critique of the monolingual bias in psychology further questions the long-held assumptions that multilinguals move between existing and discrete social groups, arguing that a multilingual identity involves a discursively constructed self which challenges much prior research into various aspects of language learning and acquisition in which languages have historically been positioned as discrete entities.

One notable prior piece of work seeking to draw together language, intercultural encounters and identity is the work of Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) who developed the term metrolingualism to try to encapsulate the way everyday multilingualism occurred in some urban contexts. They said metrolingualism: *"describes the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and*

negotiate identities through language" (p. 244). Rather than assuming connections between language, culture and identity they sought to explore the ways in which relations between these constructs were resisted, challenged and reproduced through interaction. In this way, they sought to explore the interrelationship of these terms, and this volume seeks to further explore such an intersection, with a stronger emphasis on how developing ideas of intercultural understanding replicate and draw upon understandings found within multilingual identity work. We move beyond the more commonly recognised urban multilingualism and seek to highlight the ignored/unseen multilingualism in all spaces.

The intersection of multilingual identity with intercultural understanding is a relatively new development (Fielding, 2021); although drawing together ideas that have developed over the past 20+ years which have considered how identity change is essential within intercultural learning (Byram et al., 2001; Corbett, 2003; Dervin & Gross, 2016), this development positions the need to consider multilingual identity as a component of developing intercultural understanding. That is, I argue that learners must critique, question and reflect upon their own experiences of language, culture and identity in order to see themselves as more complex in their relationships with language (and potentially as multilingual), before they might be able to view others as complex individuals rather than stereotypical representations of particular groups or nations. Within language learning, it has been discussed that students must reflect, consider similarities and differences and engage in reciprocal consideration of language and culture (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009), but this recent development calls for a deeper and more structured consideration of the self as multilingual within language education (Fielding, 2021; Fisher et al., 2020). Relatively new learners of a language might consider themselves as emerging multilinguals. Existing multilinguals would reflect deeply on their own linguistic understandings as part of the process of thinking about how other people view the world. In this way, students are encouraged to see their own language, culture and identity as more complicated/sophisticated and with a wealth of influences rather than simply representative of one group or national idea of culture. In this way, there is more potential for students to see others as complex and individual and perhaps affiliating themselves with some group and national characteristics, but also resisting some of those characteristics. Therefore, learners may see that all people living in one location are not the same. They are complex amalgamations of their own experiences, languages and other life events (for a full discussion of prior literature and how these ideas may intersect within language learning, see Fielding, 2021).

In this book, contributors were asked to consider how the ideas of multilingualism, identity and interculturality intersect in their contexts and through their research. What follows illustrates how different notions develop in unique ways in different contexts.

The book is divided into three sections according to the context. The first section of the book focuses in particular on language education, curriculum developments and school-age contexts. The second section explores the intersection within teacher education, and the third section looks at broader contexts such as adult language

learning and the experiences of multilingual students in the wider school experience (beyond language learning). Across the book, the contexts of learning involve language within the whole school, beyond the school, and language as experienced by adult learners and former refugee students. The chapters provide supporting data which spans school-age learning through to adult learning environments to examine a broad range of settings in which these ideas resonate.

Lessons learned from within languages education and from across multilingual settings can offer suggestions to many curriculum area specialists and to many contexts who seek deeper consideration of the self within meaningful intercultural approaches. The chapters in this volume use a range of different research methods to explore the central themes.

Part 1: Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in the School Curriculum and Innovation

In Chap. 2, Fielding explores how multilingualism, intercultural understanding and identity are positioned within the language curriculum of New South Wales, Australia. Using the multilingual identity approach to intercultural understanding (Fielding, 2021) as an analysis tool, this chapter explores the ways in which the terms are used within the language syllabuses used in this one State of Australia. The syllabus has been developed around an intercultural frame, and therefore refers to the terms; yet a critical analysis indicates that there are aspects which may remain relatively "surface" level in implementation without further elaboration, and there are aspects of the curriculum based upon monolingual assumptions.

In Chap. 3, Tiurikova and Haukås problematise the positioning of multilingualism and intercultural competence in the Norwegian language learning context. Drawing on the secondary curriculum introduced in Norway in 2020, the chapter explores how language teachers in Norway understand and interpret the concepts of multilingualism and intercultural competence as they are portrayed within the curriculum. They find that a focus in teaching upon student reflection on identity can strengthen the implementation of the new curriculum.

Chapter 4 takes us to Mexico where van 't Hooft examines the connections between old and new surrounding identities, Indigenous literacies and the creation of digital learning materials. Drawing on university learner experiences, she examines the revitalisation of Mayan language learning through the co-creation of new digital learning materials in the Maya language. She highlights the sensitivity that is needed to ensure no further damage to Mayan identity in embracing new technologies which may serve to further oppress communities and their languages. The chapter shows how, under the guise of interculturality, Indigenous forms of knowledge are not valued or included in the development of language materials. In such a way, the Indigenous languages are further positioned as of lesser value.

Part 2: Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Teacher Education

In Chap. 5, Galante, dela Cruz, Chiras and Zeaiter explore plurilingual identity and pluricultural competence in the adult English language learning environment of Canada. They propose an approach and materials to foster the development of pluricultural identity and pluricultural competence in the language classroom. They highlight the continued hierarchy of languages in the Canadian context with English and French still treated in more prestigious ways that other languages.

In Chap. 6, de Mejía and Tejada-Sánchez problematise language teachers' understandings of identity, multilingualism and interculturality in Colombia. Drawing on data from pre-service teachers, they problematise the ways in which nationality, interculturalism and multilingualism have been positioned in Colombia where Indigenous languages and immigrant languages coexist. They highlight in this chapter how interculturality has developed in Colombia in a manner which focuses upon speakers of Indigenous languages learning Spanish and English and with Indigenous languages and knowledges being positioned as lesser in this endeavour.

In Chap. 7, Bonar, Wang and Fielding explore how pre-service teachers find their professional identities develop in relation to their own multilingualism and how this reflects in their self-efficacy at teaching interculturally. They highlight the need for teachers to develop their own self-awareness and consideration of language, identity and interculturality before feeling comfortable to guide their students in this.

Part 3: Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Broader Learning Contexts

In Chap. 8, Barakos explores adult learning within a private language company which teaches a range of languages and teaches "intercultural competence". Barakos discusses how the languages are positioned in such a business and how the concept of intercultural competence is shaped in this setting. She highlights the troubling nature of the commoditisation of intercultural competence and the positioning this leads to. She shows us how a powerful business model can shape the way intercultural understanding is viewed, going against theoretical understandings of the notion.

In Chap. 9, Uptin considers the experiences of refugee school students and their construction of new identities in the Australian schooling context. She indicates the troubling experiences of former refugees in Australia, who find themselves positioned as refugee victims, unable to exert their own agency within the school system.

Part 4: Conclusion

In Chap. 10, the final chapter concludes the volume by identifying the need for ongoing exploration of the theoretical and pedagogical intersection between multilingual practices and intercultural understanding. The chapter argues for future research in a range of contexts to understand more deeply how a change of mindset from monolingual to multilingual can facilitate more meaningful intercultural understanding, and how we may draw on wider experiences in academic discussion to re-frame the

discussion. This chapter also calls for an ongoing conversation with a wider variety of participants to further unpack how interculturality might benefit from a multilingual approach and a wider conception of identity.

These chapters show us that there are tensions involved in navigating identity, multilingualism and interculturality. Participants across the chapters highlight contradictions, exhibit anger and show how they experience injustices in relation to their languages, identities and interculturality. Chapter 8 indicates that there is an ideological clash within a language education business that seeks to teach intercultural understanding. In this particular context, we can see that the neoliberal market approach to commoditising intercultural understanding as a marketable skill, means that interculturality in this context is at odds with the literature. It is set up as a resource that can be sold. Specifically, the business model positions interculturality as a set of achievable skills which the business can sell to its clients. In direct contrast, the literature on interculturality shows how intercultural understanding is an ongoing process which can never be fully achieved as a set of components or knowledge (Ferri, 2018; Hoff, 2014, 2020). Rather it involves a change of identity in which an open-mindedness to a range of views and ideas is developed (Fielding, 2021). We see in this chapter that a business seeks to sell an achievable outcome to its clients, therefore resisting the idea that interculturality is ongoing. Business clients seek a quick answer to their needs for developing business relationships. It is not desirable to have undertaken a course that will not guarantee competence in every situation. We can therefore assume that a static set of understandings is taught within such a course on ICU about how people behave in certain countries and settings. Yet the current literature indicates that in every case of encountering ideas which challenge their own, the learner must engage in a continual ongoing critique and internal reflection to reconcile newly encountered ideas with their existing beliefs to develop meaningful understanding of complex individual people (Ferri, 2018; Fielding, 2021; Hoff, 2020; Scarino, 2014a, 2014b). This chapter provokes us to consider how languages, identities and intercultural understanding are positioned as commodities in other contexts and bought or sold to replicate existing power structures.

In Chap. 2, an examination of curriculum documents indicates how we can highlight areas of language learning where the emphasis upon identity and interculturality might be deepened. It is important to now consider how to support teachers to critique and deepen their intercultural work, as such ideas are open to a wide range of interpretation by the very nature of being intercultural, and therefore, there may be a widely differing depth of implementation when linked to curriculum.

In the context of Norway (Chap. 3), we observe how multilingualism is positioned differently depending upon *which* languages are involved. The chapter highlights how in some contexts, such as in Spain for one teacher participant in this study, being multilingual is viewed as an elite skill when the language involved is a powerful language. This valuing is dependent upon the language in question and its broader perceived value in that society. It is shown in this chapter that immigrant languages were viewed in a less positive manner. This highlights the varying power differentials between languages and links to the work which has shown that languages are treated with different value based upon whether they are seen as economically

useful or whether they are seen as only of social use and this will have an impact on whether the linguistic repertoire involved is seen in a positive or deficit manner (Scrimgeour et al., 2018). Tiurikova and Haukås further illustrate that even when teachers are working with more progressive curriculum documents that incorporate more current conceptualisation of interculturality, individual teachers may still hold essentialist views about culture and intercultural understanding. There may therefore be a mismatch between curriculum intent and its enactment. There is still much work needed to assist teachers to challenge their pre-existing ideas when implementing intercultural approaches in their curricula. This chapter also challenges us to consider the power and inequality represented and replicated by school curricula and their approaches to language and interculturality.

De Mejía and Tejada-Sánchez (Chap. 6) provide a moving exploration of identity and interculturality drawing on local scholarship in the Colombian context to broaden the focus from Western scholarship and highlight existing work in their local contexts. We must all work to break down the limited range of citations in academic work. Breaking down these barriers is particularly important when considering ideas of multilingualism, identity and intercultural understanding, where citing only a narrow group of scholars serves to perpetuate the power structures and a limited monolingual view of interculturality. The opportunity to read more widely to explore more perceptions within this work can enrich our understandings and ensure we incorporate views which not only align with but also challenge us to extend our prior conceptualisations: the very essence of what we seek in developing interculturality is to expand the range of legitimised views and to make those views more visible. This chapter challenges us all to consider research and theorisation from other contexts. As De Mejía and Tejada-Sánchez indicate, it is "*important to share local research globally as this can lead to better theory, and in turn result in action for more social justice and equality through education*". Indeed this is a theme essential to highlight within this volume as we question what research and theorisation is validated globally and what is overlooked. Chaps. 4 and 6 show us how interculturality can be used by systems to further oppress marginalised identities and languages. We see similar replication of power through some intercultural approaches in Quebec as highlighted in Chap. 5.

In Chap. 4, van 't Hooft, focusing on the context of Mexico, highlights the challenges of connecting old and new approaches and beliefs in the revitalisation process for the Maya language. As digital learning materials are developed, so previously unnecessary terms and therefore terms which do not exist and are not easily translatable must be created. The challenge of translation highlights how closely tied identities and languages are. The identity embedded within the language must be respected and the translators encountered disagreement about how to represent new ideas meaningfully, thus showing how individual identity interpretation is vital to our conceptualisation of how language exists for different people. This chapter challenges us to consider how we can learn from Indigenous experiences and change current approaches which do not acknowledge the rich histories present within many communities. We are challenged in considering how to address the suppression of

Indigenous languages in respectful ways, but drawing on the powerful to act alongside Indigenous communities.

In Chap. 9, Uptin shows how for former refugee students in Australia there are a further set of considerations in relation to multilingual identity. Her chapter challenges us to look at and acknowledge the deep inequities within our educational systems which constrain and control the identities that can be enacted within schooling. The chapter illustrates how positioning of these students by the system, society and then schools as a microcosm of society can inhibit students' agency and limit the possibilities available to them to move forward as citizens of their current location. As Norton (2013) indicates, we need to continually revisit the ways that learners are positioned and the point made by Luke (2002) that we must continue to challenge the way that minority identities are treated with condescension and pity. Students, rather, need teachers to create spaces in which they can enact their own agency, express their own identities and be equal and validated participants in the education system. Uptin challenges us to recognise and disrupt the supposed Anglo norm perpetuated in Australian education.

Galante et al. (Chap. 5) indicate how online teaching materials might be used to deepen the identity experience for pre-service teachers. They suggest that the reflective practice encouraged by these tools might deepen the identity and intercultural aspects of teacher preparation. They also show the challenging nature of engaging with interculturality when that is used as a means to maintain the status quo of French power in Québec.

Bonar et al. (Chap. 7) also consider the pre-service teacher and discuss the ways that pre-service language teacher identities are interwoven with their beliefs about their ability to teach interculturally. They highlight how language teachers view their personal identity as interconnected with the subject matter that they teach, as the language itself is part of their identity. The ways in which teachers connect to their language through their identities, thus has an impact on how well-equipped they feel to take an intercultural stance in the language classroom and what they perceive their role as an intercultural language teacher to be.

Throughout this volume, we are challenged as individuals, as teachers, and as researchers to consider the ways we are positioned and to consider our own roles in replicating and reinforcing cultural "norms" which serve to perpetuate inequality and embedded cultural and linguistic power dynamics. We can challenge and disrupt these "norms" and seek to establish recognition of a wider range of identities, cultures and languages as legitimate in our classrooms and our research. How can we act to maintain an openness and build our self-knowledge in ways that will enable us to empower others? A question for us as we seek to improve education systems to recognise all identities, to assist all learners to see others as valid, complex human beings and to value the experiences of all participants in our societies. Through such genuine reflection on identity and multilingualism, we might be able to foster more meaningful intercultural understanding in our classrooms and encourage ongoing openness to learning about others, without further replicating inequities.

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Part I
Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in the School Curriculum and Innovation

Chapter 2
Developing a Multilingual Identity Approach to Intercultural Understanding in Languages Education—A Document Analysis of Languages Curriculum in Australia

Ruth Fielding

Abstract This chapter explores how multilingual identity is a core component of meaningful intercultural understanding within language education. Using a document analysis of language curriculum documents from New South Wales (NSW), Australia, the chapter applies the newly developed *Multilingual Identity Approach to Intercultural Understanding* (Fielding, 2021) within a document analysis to examine the ways in which these curriculum documents refer to identity and multilingual identity as part of the curriculum references to intercultural understanding. This new theorisation has argued for multilingual identity to play a more central role in intercultural language education. In exploring the curriculum documents, the chapter highlights where further focus on multilingual identity is needed in curriculum implementation, and where monolingual bias may still be present in curriculum documents. Recommendations are made suggesting that increasing the emphasis upon multilingual identity—rather than a broader conceptualisation of identity—and emerging multilingualism for all language learners could deepen the intercultural experience for students and teachers within the language classroom.

2.1 Introduction

Intercultural understanding is increasingly sought as an outcome of education in a range of settings. Language education has been seen to be a key site for the development of intercultural understanding over the past twenty to thirty years, with an understanding that learning a new language offers the learner the opportunity to reflect on their values, beliefs and attitudes and then better understand how others may view the world. As we see many classrooms and school settings increasingly acknowledge the multilingualism present within classrooms, so we might begin to see the links between multilingual identity and intercultural understanding emerge. This

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chapter explores how the language curriculum in one setting may help and hinder this potential link and offers suggestions for how this may be further capitalised upon to enhance the intercultural outcomes in language classrooms for students with existing multilingual repertoires and for those whose emerging multilingual repertoires develop as a result of the language learning experience in the classroom. The chapter shows where monolingual biases remain and where limitations exist in the use of the term intercultural within curriculum documents.

2.2   Background Context

Within many educational contexts, the development of intercultural understanding (ICU) or a global perspective is becoming an essential learning outcome for students (ACARA, 2011, 2018; QAA Scotland, 2019). School jurisdictions have cross-curricular capabilities, and tertiary institutions have graduate attributes which require development of intercultural understanding as an outcome (Oliver & de St Jorre, 2018). In language education in Australia ICU has been embedded as part of the language curriculum since 2003. Yet many teachers still grapple with how to develop such skills and seek clarification about how to embed intercultural understanding within learning in meaningful ways. Arguments have arisen that in an attempt to foster intercultural understanding in recent times many contexts unwittingly reinforce ideas of difference and generalisation (Dervin & Gross, 2016; Harbon & Moloney, 2013; Moloney et al., 2016). Activities and tasks can ultimately deviate from their intended purpose and may result in exacerbating stereotypes, generalisations and ideas about groups as "other" or "foreign" to the student.

Intercultural understanding is flawed and limited if viewed as consideration of self-versus-other, what is needed is a multilingual identity approach, to (re)state the importance of exploring our own personal identity as central to being able to understand other people but also to position the learner as an emerging multilingual (see Fielding, 2021 for a full theoretical exploration of this positioning). In this chapter, I argue that effective ICU can be achieved best if the learning process incorporates a multilingual identity element, where an individual critically considers their own values, opinions, and ideas at an early stage and as an ongoing reflective process of engagement with multiple languages. Australia has a strong intercultural underpinning to its language curriculum, having embedded core notions of language and culture and their intersection since 2003 (Board of Studies, 2003), yet there remain monolingual assumptions within many educational documents. In implementation ICU sometimes becomes limited in spite of the best intentions of the teachers (Moloney et al., 2016). The curriculum analysed in this chapter is the French curriculum in NSW. In Australia, while there are national guidelines for the curriculum, each State and Territory applies those curricula in individual ways. In NSW, there are language curriculum documents for a range of languages. Every language follows a similar template for its curriculum, and so the French document was selected for this analysis because the author is a speaker of and former teacher of French language. There are

also curriculum documents, similar in format to the French curriculum for: Aboriginal Languages (one document for all languages), Arabic, Chinese, Classical Greek, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latin, Macedonian, Modern Greek, Persian, Punjabi, Russian, Spanish, Tamil, Turkish and Vietnamese. The common framework used for this wide range of languages indicates some replication of monolingual bias, in that the documents may not translate well across all languages. The grouping of all Aboriginal languages together in one document is also problematic in that the diversity between Aboriginal languages is not visible in such a document. We see that in seeking consistency across languages, Indigenous languages are positioned according to Western approaches, and this may not account for the educational traditions and beliefs appropriate to those languages. In addition, some languages only appear within community languages programs, thus positioning some languages outside of the core school curriculum. In this way, in spite of funding programs for a wide range of languages, there is further marginalisation of some languages in comparison with others which are seen as more of the core business in schools.

2.3 Theoretical Framing: Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality

2.3.1 History of the Term Intercultural in Australian Languages Education

The term intercultural developed after the term multicultural, and much discussion has ensued around the positive and negative impact of both terms. While multiculturalism has been discussed and explored for over five decades, Dervin et al. (2015, p. 2) argue that many challenges still exist. They say: "*Race, ethnicity, gender, social status, culture, language, amongst others… contribute to turn the gap between people into a chasm*".

Some argue that multiculturalism has existed for a long time in the Australian context and that intercultural approaches offer nothing new (Meer & Modood, 2012, 2013). Others argue that multiculturalism, specifically in the Australian context, has been about anti-racism and English language learning for the immigrant but has not embraced social justice issues or been considered as essential for all learners to consider (Cantle, 2014; Harbon & Moloney, 2015; Taylor, 2012). Titley (2014) has indicated that multiculturalism has attacked people for being an "enemy" within a society thus demonising certain groups and damaging social cohesion. The conceptual difference between multicultural and intercultural approaches in education can be explained as entailing a limitation within the multicultural approach which focuses upon *tolerance* as an aim rather than mutual understanding (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009; Moloney, 2015). This is further clarified by Harbon & Moloney (2015) using Gadamer's (2004) model:

> At Gadamer's first level, other cultures are simply seen as 'objects' to be 'known'. The second level acknowledges the 'other' as an entity or person, but the 'I' still feels superior. These first and second levels typify much of the Australian 'multicultural'. It is the third level of relationship, which includes reciprocal, open-ended dialogue, with neither party dominating the other, which typifies the 'intercultural'. (Harbon & Moloney, 2015, p. 19)

As Harbon and Moloney (2015) indicate, many approaches to multiculturalism retain a feeling of superiority and inferiority between groups. This has been problematised by theorists developing intercultural approaches which aim to redress these imbalances and position all views as of equal value.

Intercultural stance has been embraced in Australian language teaching as a step forward from multiculturalism, yet over-use of comparison of difference and a static interpretation of "culture" has potentially undermined some approaches to intercultural stance and reiterated a monolingual approach to culture (Dervin & Gross, 2016; Moloney et al., 2016. See Fielding 2021 for a fuller discussion). Borghetti (2019) has suggested replacing the term culture with the term identity within languages education to address some of these issues. This is an important consideration as it acknowledges the current approaches are still not sufficient; however, there is already valuable crossover between concepts of culture and concepts of identity. Therefore, identity needs to be situated as a central construct *within* intercultural understanding, emphasising the links between both fields rather than replacing one term with the other. Furthermore, the identity aspect must become a *multilingual* identity focus in order to engage the language learner in consideration of their own multilingualism, whether emerging or existing (Fielding, 2021) in order to position learners to consider culture and identity more deeply in the language classroom. This is further explained in the conceptual frame.

2.3.2   The Australian Curriculum Context

In the Australian context, languages curriculum development and teacher professional networks have embraced an intercultural approach for nearly twenty years (AFMLTA, 2005; BOSTES, 2003). An intercultural stance is less common in other curriculum areas but features as a general capability across the curriculum and as a focus within primary social studies (ACARA, 2013). Small-scale exploration of intercultural notions in NSW syllabus documents has shown problems in the primary Human Society and Its Environment (social studies) syllabus which, although intending to promote tolerance, was found to further position groups as outsiders through an "implied Anglo norm" (Harbon & Moloney, 2015, p. 25). It is therefore still evident that monolingual notions of language and culture permeate the educational context and may negatively impact on the potential of intercultural approaches. Moloney et al. (2016) found that implementation of intercultural approaches to language teaching led to the unintended over-emphasis of differences and stereotypical understandings. Experts have called for more exploration of ICU in the Australian Curriculum documents as the term receives growing emphasis

(Harbon & Moloney, 2015, p. 27). As indicated in the introduction, there is curriculum for 22 languages, although Aboriginal languages are put together within the one document rather than having specific curriculum for each language. We can see in this prioritising of some languages over others, the potential replication of biases and monolingual norms.

2.4 Conceptual Framework: Multilingual Identity Approach to Intercultural Stance in Language Teaching

The *multilingual identity approach* (Fielding, 2021) brings together theoretical approaches to multilingual identity (Fielding, 2013, 2015; Fisher et al., 2020) and intercultural stance in second language education (Dervin & Gross, 2016; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Moloney et al., 2016; Moran, 2001). It highlights some key interrelated concepts between the two fields and shows how multilingual identity can be emphasised more within intercultural stance in language classrooms.

Intersections can be seen in the following aspects of identity and intercultural understanding:

- The interrelationship of language and culture
- Imagined connections to language (imagined identities)
- Self-concept/self-awareness
- Feelings of belonging
- Consideration of self and others/reflexivity.

As developed in Fielding (2021), these intersections show the multilingual identity elements that are central to the developing of intercultural understanding within an intercultural stance in the language classroom. The key aspects are shown in the following Fig. 2.1 and explained in the following section.

2.4.1 The Interrelationship of Language and Culture

When students engage with a new language in the language classroom, they also consider how language and culture are interrelated. Within intercultural stance language and culture are considered inseparable and interrelated (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Scarino, 2014a, 2014b). In a similar way, multilingual identity work positions feelings of cultural connection and connection to language as related, but potentially conflicting aspects of identity (see Fielding & Harbon (2013) for a fuller discussion of the relationship between feeling bilingual and feeling bicultural). It has been shown that children can potentially view themselves as bicultural without seeing themselves as bilingual (Fielding & Harbon, 2013). An enduring idea of balanced bilingualism remains in society, within which individuals find it hard to reconcile

Key elements of an Intercultural stance

Multilingual Identity Negotiation
(Fielding, 2015)

Multilingual Intercultural Identity Approach
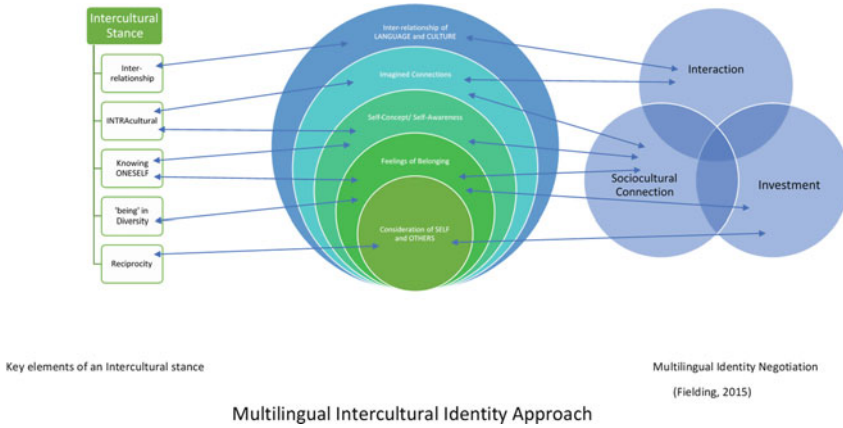
Fig. 2.1 Multilingual identity approach to intercultural stance (Fielding, 2021)

themselves (Fielding & Harbon, 2013). By building a multilingual identity approach
into intercultural language teaching, students might be able to consider how language
and culture exist within their own identities in more depth and explore how their own
ideas of language and culture change and develop through the process of learning an
additional language.

 If we consider this learning journey as a process of "culturing" (Ferri, 2018) rather
than "culture learning" (Scarino, 2014a, 2014b), we can position the relationship
between language and culture as ongoing and evolving within the student's emerging
multilingual identity. In this process, cultural identity is embedded within all aspects
of the emerging multilingual identity (Norton, 2000, 2013, 2014).

2.4.2   Imagined Connections to Language (Imagined Identities)

When learners encounter a new language, there is potential for them to explore imag-
ined and real connections to this language. The learning experiences also encourage
them to consider their existing linguistic repertoires and how those fit into their
existing identities. Norton (2013, 2014) emphasises how important our own self-
perception is when building imagined and real connections to language communities,
in her work which draws on Anderson (1991). The notion of imagined connection to
the language is in some ways more important for learners of an additional language
in Australia (and similar contexts) than actual or physical connection to language
speakers. Unlike with community languages some language learners do not have
access to a community of speakers outside of the classroom environment. If learners
develop feelings of connection to the new language, it is this which will translate
into their investment in learning and developing real connections. In terms of the

identity literature, it is more important that students feel a connection whether real or imagined. This has become even more apparent as learners connect virtually with speakers of other languages and when geographical distance presents a potential barrier to language learning. If students can develop an emerging identity associated with the new language, this will legitimise their potential feelings of connection and deepen the learning experience. Indeed as Kramsch (2009) has emphasised a learner can never "become" a native speaker (and indeed current sociolinguistic discussion discourages this as an aim) but the learner can develop feelings of connection to the new language and a related identity. Multilingual identities might be seen as the hybrid "spaces" in which languages co-exist.

2.4.3 Self-concept/Self-awareness

In addition to considering imagined connections to newly encountered languages, learners also need assistance to consider their self-concept and self-awareness as they begin to consider themselves as speakers and users of the new language. Both self-concept and self-awareness are integral to the negotiation of a multilingual identity and can be seen in the three spheres comprising multilingual identity negotiation process (Fielding, 2015). Within socio-cultural connection the development of connection to the language and community are essential. Within investment, self-awareness and self-concept drive the process of investment to develop and maintain a multilingual identity. Also within the interaction sphere, the self-concept that is present within interaction determines the power relationships that emerge from the interaction.

Self-concept is also a central notion within intercultural stance and can be seen within the idea of the learner viewing the world through different lenses (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009). The notion of the learner knowing themselves developed from Moran (2001) and has endured through the idea of reciprocity in which the learner participates in a reciprocal exchange of ideas and understanding in the learning process (Scarino, 2014a, 2014b). In intercultural stance, the notion of self is inextricably linked to developing meaningful understanding of multiple perspectives (Harbon & Moloney, 2015).

2.4.4 Feelings of Belonging

Feelings of belonging are an essential part of development of multilingual identity. Without such a feeling of belonging multilingual identity will not develop. Language learners need to consider their existing feelings of belonging in relation to language communities attached to their existing linguistic repertoires and might then extend

this to the emerging links to a new language and an additional aspect of their linguistic repertoire.

In existing literature, there is an acknowledged difference between identifying oneself as belonging to a community and the community's acceptance of the individual as a new member. Communities of practice consider that both self-consideration and group acceptance are needed for new members of a language community (Kramsch, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991). The notion of belonging and being an insider or outsider can differ between the self and the group. As understandings of multilingual identity have developed, it has been shown that individuals need to explicitly consider (with the guidance of their teacher) their identities as multilingual in order to recognise and develop this affiliation to another language (Fisher et al., 2020). When students are recognised as "emerging" multilinguals and recognise themselves as such (Garcia, 2009), they are likely to require explicit teacher support to develop feelings of belonging in relation to the language groups in their repertoire. If they are supported to develop this belonging, they may progress to develop a multilingual identity and associated intercultural understanding through which they recognise the complexity of others' linguistic belonging.

2.4.5   Consideration of Self and Others/Reflexivity

In order to consider others as individuals rather than representatives of particular groups, it is essential that language learners first think about their own relationships to the languages in their repertoires and how those might be viewed by others. As they consider and question their own relationships with languages and the individual variability or alignment with ideas of group membership, they will begin to develop the nuanced understanding needed to then consider other people. Rather than then making simple statements about other nationalities and groups as having particular attributes, students may be better equipped to consider individuality and shared attributes and to have the potential to see other people as complex individuals.

Intercultural stance broadly encourages deeper understanding of one's own cultural influences as an outcome of language learning (Scarino, 2014a, 2014b). The participative approach to multilingual identity proposes the need for students to deeply consider their multilingual identities within language learning and the need for guidance from teachers in order to do so (Fisher et al., 2020).

Fostering the idea emerging multilingualism offers the potential to encourage students to view themselves as emerging multilinguals as soon as they begin learning a new language. This then fosters the potential of students to consider themselves and others as more complex beings with a range of connections to different aspects of languages and their associated communities. Building on the five intersections in the multilingual identity approach to intercultural stance (Fielding, 2021) may offer the potential to guide teachers in their work as facilitators with their own students.

2.5 Methodology

In order to explore how one curriculum context positions multilingual identity in relation to intercultural understanding, the Australian Curriculum: Languages as implemented in New South Wales in 2018 was examined for its reference to identity and to intercultural notions. Each State/Territory follows a national set of statements, but they are implemented in individualised ways in each of the eight States and Territories. A content analysis was undertaken to explore how key words featured in the documents and the ways in which the terms were related within the document and/or used interchangeably. In the Australian context languages curriculum documents are developed around a central framework with different versions developed for each language following core commonalities. For the purposes of this chapter, the French Syllabus in NSW was used as the source to explore the language content, as it was the language with (at the time of writing) the highest annual student enrolment in the course compared to other languages. The wording in the syllabus in relation to notions of identity and intercultural understanding is the same as for other languages in this context.

Data were coded thematically using a colour coding system. A simple count was undertaken of terminology within the text. Alongside this a grounded thematic analysis of the narrative was undertaken (Anderson, 1997; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This involved firstly the identification and selection of all sections that included the words intercultural and identity, then examination of references that included both terms, and then consideration of all references to either term in relation to the framework sub-headings. It then involved searching for terms related to intercultural and identity as guided by the conceptual frame. This enabled an iterative process of analysis to understand the ways the terms were used throughout the document. A third layer of analysis examined how each textual reference related to the conceptual frame and explored where interpretations were consistent, and where they differed.

2.6 Findings

The NSW Syllabus for the Australian Curriculum: French K–10 (2018) is a 143-page document. It is structured with a 7-page Introduction and Rationale; this is followed by aims, outcomes and objectives and stage statements (a stage generally comprises two academic school years); then, content follows for each of the stages: Content for Early Stage 1 (6 pages); Content for Stage 1 (10 pages); Content for Stage 2 (11 pages); Content for Stage 3 (11 pages); Content for Stage 4 (18 pages) and Content for Stage 5 (17 pages); Years 7–10 Life Skills Outcomes and Content (for students with additional learning needs) (7 pages); Assessment suggestions (3 pages); Glossary (10 pages).

Within the document, there are 33 instances of the word intercultural and 62 instances of the word identity. Multilingual identity is not referred to. The word intercultural can be seen across Stages 3–5 (years 5–10) in the K–10 syllabus, and reference to identity can be seen across Stages 2–5 (years 3–10). Both terms appear within general statements in the rationale.

The terms "intercultural" and "identity" appear together in a number of ways. In the rationale for the syllabus document student development of "intercultural capability" is raised. In delving into what this is deemed to mean a number of definitions emerge. There is a stated aim of developing "*understanding of the role of language and culture in communication*". This shows an intention that students will develop an appreciation that language and culture are interrelated. The definition of intercultural capability also includes: "*become more accepting of difference and diversity*", "*develop understanding of global citizenship*" and "*reflect on own heritage, values, culture and identity*". There is therefore an underlying assumption embedded within the document that there is a need for intrapersonal consideration, and thinking about one's own identity. However, this is juxtaposed with a positioning of linguistic identity as something historic, and an implication that difference and diversity are something related to "others" rather than the imagined students using this syllabus.

In relation to identity associated with learning a new language, there is reference to the "other" in a manner which may emphasise difference and position it as not related to the student themselves. There is reference to linguistic identity as "heritage" or in the past, which could limit student intrapersonal engagement with this idea if it is interpreted as not something relevant to a student's current and future identity. There is, however, an aim to foster internal change and consideration of self with mention of "*opportunities to understand the reciprocal relationship between language, culture and identity*". Yet what this means and how teachers might implement such opportunities is not elaborated or clarified. There is acknowledgement of identity as something that continuously evolves with the statement "*opportunities to learn how…Australia's linguistic and cultural identity is continuously evolving*". However, the link made in this statement to a nation's identity rather than individual identity is more bounded and potentially reveals monolingual and monocultural assumptions. It indicates that the country's identity is evolving, but does not acknowledge that every individual's identity may be evolving or that individuals may be different from each other even if they identify as Australian. There is a potential disconnect that might lead students and teachers to interpret this as a set of facts they can learn about, rather than a process they are themselves a part of.

Within the Stage 4 syllabus (Years 7 and 8/age 13/14), there is reference to student "prior experience" with the language and culture. Language and culture are presented in relatively monolingual ways, with an associated national culture attached to the language. In this section, there is acknowledgement that students might have prior connection to the culture(s) associated with their language learning. However, the positioning of this acknowledgement is somewhat static as it mentions students might

have prior understanding that "*French like all languages is constantly expanding to include new words and expressions in response to…intercultural experiences e.g. skyper, le courriel*". This statement possibly intends to allow for students to show how they already interact with the language and culture they are learning about in class. However, in this extract there are some assumptions that intercultural experiences mean interaction between two separate national languages and lexical borrowing or acquisition from one national language to another. This could potentially be interpreted by teachers and students as a set of borrowed or acquired words that can be learned and memorised. It is possible that such a topic might not be explored to its full potential, when it could be a means for consideration of how national linguistic borders are increasingly blurred as languages and cultures which might once have been seen as bounded and separate are now considered more fluid in many contexts (Pennycook, 2012).

Within the Stage 5 (Years 9 and 10, age 15/16) syllabus, the content for students with prior experience attempts to explore the element of reciprocity in intercultural understanding. It says that students will explore "*the reciprocal element of intercultural communication, considering how own cultural ways of thinking and behaving affect attitudes and interactions and influence other people's responses or interpretations*". The intent here appears to be to encourage students to think about how language and culture affect their own behaviours and interactions and then to consider how that might also be the case for other people. The elaboration for how this might take place remains relatively static in nature with a suggestion that students consider "*how their own assumptions about France have changed as a result of intercultural language learning*". There is scope for learning occurring within this frame to be deep and considered with a range of viewpoints being explored, challenged and validated. There is also potential for it to be more limited in nature, with reporting of stereotypical anecdotes perhaps being seen as sufficient consideration of assumptions being challenged or changed.

Within the glossary section of the syllabus, there are some useful definitions involving the terms intercultural and identity with the two terms being used together to explain a number of the key glossary terms. For example:

Biography: "In the context of intercultural language learning, the concept of biography can be considered in relation to identity, to the formation of identity over time, and to the understanding that language is involved in the shaping and expressing of identity".

Culture: "Language, culture and identity are understood to be closely interrelated and involved in the shaping and expression of each other."

Intercultural Capability: "An ability to…engage in the relationship between language, culture and people from diverse backgrounds and experience….understanding that interacting in different languages involves interacting with values, beliefs and experiences….being open to different perspectives, being flexible and curious, responsive and reflective; being able to de-centre, to look objectively at one's own cultural ways of thinking and behaving and at how these affect attitudes to others, shade assumptions and shape behaviours".

The key elements in this definition of intercultural capability clearly link to elements of an intercultural stance, with reference to ideas such as decentring, being responsive, critiquing one's own assumptions and thinking about our own impact on others. Given that the definition of culture immediately prior indicates that there is an assumption that language culture and identity are closely interrelated, it is notable that the subsequent definition of intercultural capability does not mention the word identity specifically. Nevertheless, a number of the interrelated factors are mentioned, namely the elements of self-concept/self-awareness, consideration of self and others and the inter-relation of language and culture which feature in both intercultural theory and identity theory. The key elements which are not mentioned are consideration of real versus imagined connections and feelings of belonging.

The intercultural capability definition also indicates that this should include the *"ability to act in ways that are inclusive and ethical in relation to difference and diversity"*. This is a sound aim, but clarification of the words *inclusive* and *ethical* would be beneficial to assist teachers to be able to implement this in their classrooms. The reference to "people from diverse backgrounds" presupposes a monolingual/monocultural norm, with other people positioned as different or "diverse" from that norm.

In some places within the syllabus, the reference to identity has some elements of historic interpretation rather than current. For instance, in some places it is referred to as linked with "heritage" language and identity, in itself contested as positioning the language and identity as no longer relevant to the student. In Stage 4, the outcomes indicate that students *"reflect on how their own biography, including family origins, traditions and beliefs, has an impact on their sense of identity"*. This has the potential to be a valuable and transformative learning experience, but it could also be interpreted in a more static way with reference to "origins" and "traditions" as being part of young learners' pasts rather than their current daily lives.

There are a number of references to how identity impacts upon beliefs and communication. For example:

> "recognising how cultural identity influences ways of communicating, thinking and behaving (stage 5).

> "reflect on how their own identity both influences and is shaped by ways of communicating, thinking and behaving (stage 5 students with prior learning).

> "exploring and reflecting on the interrelationship between language, culture and identity…understand that the ways in which people use language reflect the values and beliefs of their respective communities" (links to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures).

This final example has the potential for transformative identity experiences if it is extended and implemented in a way which encourages individual learners to consider how their own individual ideas are reflected in their language use. It could also be implemented in a way that considers only how other people use language but does not incorporate deep introspection.

The syllabus further indicates how identity is explored in these ways:

Students are provided with opportunities to understand:

- The reciprocal relationship between language, culture and identity
- How cultural identity influences ways of communicating, thinking and behaving
- That people view and experience the world in different ways, and reflect on their own heritage, values, culture and identity.

These examples involve the potential for deep introspective consideration. The challenge for teachers is that they need to come up with the ways in which to encourage and provide these opportunities and there is therefore need for extensive professional learning and collaborative planning with other teachers to assist teachers to explore how they might implement such opportunities in meaningful ways.

In several places within the syllabus *identity* is treated as a national entity, e.g. "*appreciation of ways in which diversity contributes to a deeper sense of community and national identity*" and "*identifying ways in which their French identity is reflected in their daily life*" (stage 2 students with prior experience). However, in other places there is a more complex interpretation of identity: "*recognise their own and others' ways of expressing identity*" (stage 4) and "*comparing aspects of identity that may be important across cultures such as state, country, ethnic group, language, age and position in family*" (stage 4). While this lists some national and "macro" ideas of identity, it also attempts to foster consideration of ideas that transcend national boundaries and impact identity across groups and traditional boundaries (Pennycook, 2012). This consideration of "*aspects of identity*" shows a more plural interpretation of identity than seen elsewhere in the document and the potential for stronger intercultural consideration. This is seen further in the stage 5 content for "*students with a background in French*" which indicates that students will reflect on how "*their language choices are indications of their sense of identity within a particular context*". This outcome has the potential to delve into the "micro" individual elements of identity which are context-driven and changing (Norton, 2013, 2014; Pennycook, 2012).

In the glossary identity is defined as:

A person's conception and expression of individuality or group affiliation, self-concept and self-representation. Identity is closely connected to both culture and language. Thinking and talking about the self is influenced by the cultural frames, which are offered by different languages and cultural systems. Identity is not fixed. Non-background language learners' experiences with different linguistic and cultural systems introduce them to alternative ways of considering the nature and the possibilities associated with identity.

This definition shows a deeper consideration of what identity might entail than some of the outcome statements. It acknowledges a level of individuality and mentions not being "fixed". However, the "them" in the final sentence referring back to non-background language learners perhaps presupposes an imagined "norm" for non-background speakers of French as the primary target audience in these classrooms.

2.7 Discussion: How Can the Multilingual Identity Approach to Intercultural Stance Be Seen Within the Australian Curriculum: Languages?

2.7.1 The Interrelationship of Language and Culture

The relationship between language and culture is mentioned numerous times and embedded within the language and rationale for this syllabus. The two elements are mentioned as being in a reciprocal relationship which is related to identity. However, identity is never referred to as multilingual and students are positioned in ways that are potentially monolingually focussed and with a monocultural lens.

2.7.2 Imagined Connections to Language and Culture (Imagined Identities)

This element is not as immediately apparent within the syllabus. This aspect would require students to consider deeply the ways in which they see themselves and their relationship to the world and how that aligns and/or differs with how others might perceive them. The ways in which the syllabus has the potential to address this element is through the suggested activities which are mentioned in the syllabus. For example: there is the suggestion that students might: create identity maps, reflect on their own biographies and reflect on their sense of identity.

There is potential, therefore, for consideration of imagined identities and differences between self-perception and perception by others, but this would depend greatly upon how particular elements of the syllabus are interpreted and the extent to which they are implemented.

2.7.3 Self-concept/Self-awareness

This element is broached in the syllabus in a number of ways. Students are asked to reflect upon their "cultural identity" and to consider their identity in relation to "significant life influences". One caveat to this section is the use throughout the syllabus of the term "cultural heritage" and a lack of clarity around how this is interpreted. If language and culture are presented as historical artefacts which had an impact upon self-concept, but may not have a current or future impact, this will have an influence upon the type of consideration of self that can take place. Nevertheless there is some evidence of this element in the document.

2.7.4 Feelings of Belonging

There are some links to the idea of belonging within the syllabus. The Stage 5 (year 9 and 10) syllabus indicates students should consider "their sense of identity within a particular context". The life skills syllabus (special educational needs) for French indicates students should consider "how interaction shapes communication and identity". These two examples relate to the broader notion of feelings of belonging and the impact of linguistic and cultural elements upon that. There is less specific reference to particular tasks or implementation suggestions.

2.7.5 Consideration of Self and Others

Throughout the syllabus document there are several keywords used which indicate some expectation that there will be consideration of self and others.

There are several references to "reciprocal" consideration ($n = 4$); there are a high number of references to the process of "reflection" ($n = 40$ reflect*), and there is mention of consideration of "others" ($n = 5$) a few times.

The syllabus indicates that students should learn to "*value their own language(s), culture(s) and beliefs and those of others*"; to "*reflect on their own and other cultures in ways that reflect similarities and differences*" to "*create connections with others*". There is therefore some consideration of the self and "others", but there is some tendency towards a binary interpretation of self vs other and no reference to the complexity of individual identity or challenge to traditional interpretations of "group", "culture" and "nation". By asking students to compare themselves with "others" and to look at similarities and differences, there is the possibility that this could polarise or exoticize the other rather than view individuals as complex people with multiple influences.

2.8 The Need for More Emphasis on Multilingual Identity in the Language Classroom

As shown above, there is clear overlap between development of multilingual identity and development of intercultural understanding. While this can be clearly seen within theoretical discussions of identity and intercultural stance (Fielding, 2021; Fisher et al., 2020), there is less of a focus on how teachers might foster this development within their language classrooms. The writing on intercultural stance has explored many aspects of how language teachers could foster intercultural work in their classrooms (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Scarino, 2014a, 2014b) and this work has indicated that individual identity is part of this process. Nevertheless, the field has not yet looked at how multilingual identity—as it develops in the language

classroom—can be harnessed as a key tool that is interrelated with student development of their intercultural understanding through empathy, understanding of multiple viewpoints and the dispelling of former notions of monolingual norms.

Fisher et al. (2020, https://www.wamcam.org/) have developed a range of materials to help language teachers begin the process of multilingual identity development with their students in the language classroom. These materials offer a starting point for multilingual intercultural discussion in the classroom and the opportunity for students to begin the process of reflecting more deeply on their own identities. What is needed now is for students, and their teachers, to alter their perception that a person must be fluent in all aspects of a language to call themselves multilingual (Fielding & Harbon, 2013). If students can consider themselves as emerging multilinguals once they begin the process of learning a new language, this assists a shift in mindset which then enables a more nuanced consideration of other people and their links to culture(s) and the complexity of their identities. If students see themselves as more complex individuals, they may then view others as more complex and more individual. Teachers in the Australian context need support to discover how to delve into multilingual identity and intercultural understanding more deeply with their students. As this is an outcome of the curriculum, it is essential that teachers are supported to develop more meaningful interactions in their classrooms. The materials developed by Fisher et al. (2020) offer a solid starting point for such interaction in certain languages. In the Australian context, similar ideas need to be explored in language classrooms for a wide range of languages and enabling students to make their own multilingual identity links.

Further research currently underway with language teachers in Victoria is exploring what teachers already do to implement the general capability of intercultural understanding in the language classroom. This research will explore how teachers need/would like further support in developing this aspect of their teaching.

2.9 Implications for Education

Three of the five elements from the multilingual identity approach to intercultural language learning are already present, to some extent, within the syllabus documents used in NSW for languages learners. The other two are not readily apparent. The key aspect which requires development is a focus upon the complexity of individual identity—specifically focussing on ideas of belonging and of imagined identities. These aspects could be better supported through an explicit exploration of multilingual identity in the language classroom.

There is currently a lack of acknowledgement in this document (and the others based on the same proforma) about the multiple complex influences upon identity, and there is a traditional approach to "cultural identity" "group identity" and "nation state/native speaker/foreigner" within the document and wider educational discourse (Pennycook, 2012). The document has a tendency to replicate some notions of monolingualism and monoculturalism and assumptions about the target students in this

context. The references to language within the documentation are bounded to nations and do not fully acknowledge the range of locations in which French is spoken. Broader interpretation of the language being learned is needed, alongside consideration of (in this particular analysis) French-speaking identities other than monolingual French speakers in France. All learners in the language classroom, within an intercultural approach, need to consider their full linguistic repertoires (Turner, 2019). Given that there are similar curriculum documents for twenty languages in this context (see https://educationstandards.nsw.edu.au/wps/portal/nesa/k-10/learning-areas/languages for a full list and the associated documents) and further languages are taught using similar outcomes in other States and Territories, a more nuanced understanding of languages and multilingual identities is needed within the implementation of these curricula. Other contexts may not have such explicit statements within their language learning curricula in relation to intercultural outcomes. Nevertheless, there is a growing recognition that language classrooms are a key site for the development of intercultural understanding. Much intercultural work already takes place in these classrooms, and it is important to tap into this and ensure that language classrooms become the optimal locations for students to develop meaningful consideration of other people and to better understand themselves as complex individuals.

There is a need to understand how teachers are interpreting the documents that they work with and to explore the potential for framing classroom interaction using the five elements of the multilingual identity approach. Further research with teachers (currently in progress) will assist our understanding of teachers' interpretations and the scope for the MIA to help teachers' decision-making about how to deepen intercultural learning.

By highlighting the sub-elements of the *Multilingual Identity Approach,* we can explore how existing syllabus documents can be interpreted in a deep manner using such a frame. Students can be encouraged to reflect in a more individualised way about language and culture, and teachers can facilitate broader consideration of "others" as complex individuals. There is great potential in a syllabus which embeds intercultural understanding at its core. We need to take care in the implementation of such a syllabus to ensure multilingual identity is central to that implementation. Through a *Multilingual Identity Approach to intercultural understanding*, students can consider not only the interrelationship of language and culture more generally, but also explore the imagined connections to language and culture, self-concept and awareness, feelings of belonging (and outsider issues), and deeper consideration of self and others as individuals rather than representatives of broad groups.

2.10 Conclusion

Intercultural understanding continues to require further re-examining to see how multilingual identity can be centrally embedded within intercultural approaches and be emphasised even further in the pedagogical choices of teachers in language classrooms. The key core component of an intercultural approach—the incorporation of

intracultural change where every student undergoes a change of identity simply by being a learner in the language classroom—takes ICU forward from overt or unintended static interpretations. Encouraging students and teachers to see themselves as emerging multilinguals or to acknowledge their existing multilingualism is key in maximising the intercultural potential in the language classroom (Fielding, 2021). Syllabus documents in the NSW (and other Australian State and Territory) context(s) provide the opportunity for deep consideration of identity as a core component of intercultural understanding, yet also replicate some monolingual and monocultural norms. As Uptin shows (this volume), there remains a supposed Anglo norm in much educational policy and practice in Australia, which further marginalises many groups of learners. The multilingual identity approach to intercultural stance offers a means of deconstructing what is involved in developing intercultural understanding in the language classroom and the potential to broaden our inclusive practices in interculturality. The next steps in this ongoing project examine how teachers might use the multilingual identity approach as a means to deepen intercultural understanding within language classrooms and individualise each student's learning experience. By seeking to include learning experiences that relate to each strand of the frame, teachers might guide students to approach others in a more individualistic and personalised way, to resist replication of monolingual biases and explore their own identities more deeply as emerging multilinguals.

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Chapter 3
Multilingualism, Intercultural Competence, Identity and Their Intersection: Foreign Language Teachers' Perspectives

Irina Tiurikova and Åsta Haukås

Abstract The Norwegian school curriculum for foreign languages recognises multilingualism and intercultural competence as core elements of language learning (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training (NSED), 2019). However, the implementation of these elements highly depends on teachers who play the main role in putting any education strategy or initiative into action. Interested in exploring teachers' views on multilingualism, intercultural competence and the interconnection between these two elements, this study aims to answer the following research questions: (1) How do foreign language teachers in Norwegian secondary schools conceptualise multilingualism and intercultural competence in relation to foreign language teaching?, (2) To what extent and how do they see these two core elements as interrelated? and (3) To what extent do teachers suggest identity as a connecting factor between multilingualism and intercultural competence? The study draws on data from semi-structured interviews conducted with six teachers of foreign languages (Spanish, German, French) from different secondary schools in Western Norway. The findings suggest that all teachers consider multilingualism and intercultural competence as interconnected to a certain extent. However, the degree and the character of this interconnection highly depend on their understanding of these elements as separate phenomena and their perceptions of the link between these two elements and the concept of identity.

3.1 Introduction

In August 2020, Norway started implementing a new national curriculum, LK20. It comprises a core curriculum (NDET, 2017), which provides main principles and objectives of school education and new subject curricula for all years of schooling.

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Both the core curriculum (NDET, 2017) and the new foreign language subject curriculum (NDET, 2019) suggest that multilingualism should be seen as a valuable resource for the individual and for society and that the development of students' multilingualism and intercultural competence (IC) are interconnected. However, a new curriculum does not guarantee that students are given the opportunity to explore these aspects in or across their school subjects, as school innovation is dependent upon, among other factors, teachers' understanding of their subjects and professional roles, as well as their willingness to implement change (Borg, 2006).

Given the importance of the teachers' role for innovation in education (Borg, 2006; De Lano et al., 1994), the objective of this study is to explore Norwegian-based, secondary school teachers' perceptions of multilingualism, IC and identity and to what extent they see these as interrelated. Only very few studies have focused on teachers' beliefs about the intersection of multilingualism and IC (e.g. Pinho & Moreira, 2012). However, to the best of our knowledge, researching teachers' beliefs about the link of these with identity remains unexplored. Knowledge of what teachers think, believe and do in their language classrooms related to these three topics, may provide important new insights that can inform pre-service and in-service language teacher education programmes both nationally and internationally. To investigate this possible interconnection from the teacher's perspective, six teachers of foreign languages (Spanish ($n = 3$), French ($n = 2$) and German ($n =1$)) in Norway were recruited to share their beliefs, practices and ideas in individual semi-structured interviews.

3.2 Multilingualism, Identity, IC and Their Intersection

This section provides a short overview of the main theoretical concepts: multilingualism, IC and identity. Furthermore, it discusses how these concepts are represented in the Norwegian core curriculum (NDET, 2017) and in the foreign language subject curriculum (NDET, 2019). The foreign language subject curriculum is valid for the grades 8–13 and is a general curriculum for all foreign languages learned after English (L2). The most frequently learned foreign languages are, in order of popularity, Spanish, German and French. They are the third language (L3) for most learners; although for students with other home languages than Norwegian, they could be their L4 or L5. The final part of the theoretical section considers research on teachers' beliefs about multilingualism and IC and presents findings from previous studies in the Norwegian context.

3.2.1 Clarifying the Terms

The increasing diversity of contemporary societies calls for a shift in language learning and teaching to approaches where students' multilingual and intercultural

identities are fostered and valued. However, what is understood by terms such as "multilingualism", "intercultural", "identity" and related terms varies greatly in the research field and between contexts.

The term "multilingualism" is defined in a variety of ways based on criteria such as the number of languages in one's repertoire, proficiency, frequency of use and what is considered a valued language (Cenoz, 2013; Haukås, 2022). Also, which people are referred to as multilingual, may vary across contexts. In political and academic discourses in Norway, for example, Haukås (2022) argues that the term "flerspråklig" (meaning "multilingual") mainly refers to people with immigrant backgrounds, thus excluding Norwegians with majority language backgrounds and with knowledge of multiple languages from identifying as multilingual. By linking multilingualism in the classroom exclusively to immigrants and minorities, there is a "risk of otherising multilingualism as something uniquely foreign that teachers and schools must learn to cope with" (Calafato, 2020: 605). The authors of this study, however, view *all* people living and going to school in Norway as multilingual, defining being multilingual as the knowledge, use and learning of more than one language. In Norwegian schools, all students typically speak their local dialects and learn one of the written standards of Norwegian (Bokmål or Nynorsk) or Sami from school year one. From the first grade, they also start learning English. In school year 8, around 75–80% decides to study a second language, typically Spanish, German or French (Norwegian National Centre for Foreign Languages in Education, 2020). From this school year, they also learn both written standards of Norwegian simultaneously. Furthermore, given the close contact and linguistic proximity with our Scandinavian neighbours, most students can understand and communicate with Swedes and Danes. In addition, an increasing number of students have even richer linguistic backgrounds given their knowledge of further languages spoken in the home or elsewhere. According to Statistics Norway (2020), immigrants or persons born in Norway to immigrant parents make up 18.2% of the population. Nevertheless, although *all* students in Norwegian schools may be referred to as multilingual, they may not identify as such themselves. In the context of this study, having a multilingual identity refers to one's explicit self-identification as multilingual "precisely because of an awareness of the linguistic repertoire one has" (Fisher et al., 2018: 2).

Despite the importance of promoting intercultural understanding in contemporary approaches to foreign language education, the use and interpretation of the various concepts remain problematic. While the term "competence" is used in The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe (CoE), 2001, 2020) and also in the Norwegian Foreign[1] language subject curriculum (NDET, 2019), others have rejected (Fielding, 2021) or criticised (Hoff, 2014) it because of a strong association with a fixed end-state denoted by the term competence instead of a life-long dynamic development. Scholars (e.g. Holliday, 2009; Kramsch, 2009) suggest that there are two main approaches to IC in the context of language education.

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[1] In the Norwegian context the term "foreign" is used in the title of the curriculum. Therefore, while this book tends to use the term language or languages, the term foreign appears here as used within the curriculum documents.

The first approach derives from essentialist views on culture as related to a nation, e.g. *the Norwegian culture,* a so-called large culture (Holliday, 1999), thus equating culture with nationality. This approach has been criticised for seeing culture and cultural knowledge as a static entity. When applied in education, it implies a strong emphasis on learning facts and identifying differences between people from different countries to teach learners how to behave appropriately in communication.

More recent approaches to IC, however, suggest that IC is an ongoing, dynamic, life-long process, rather than static knowledge of facts about a particular nation or a set of knowledge that can be achieved and assessed (Dervin, 2010; Hoff, 2019). Furthermore, recent approaches, particularly with reference to teachers, link IC to the concept of identity (Harbon, 2017; Fielding, 2021). All people, whether they belong to ethnic/national majorities or minorities, are diverse in many ways, for example regarding their gender, class, language repertoire, interests and experiences. Thus, IC refers to the capacity of acknowledging this complexity and multidimensionality of a person's identity, whether this is the identity of the self or the other. In addition, IC is seen as the capacity to appreciate "diverse diversities" (Dervin, 2010) and to navigate conflict, contradiction and ambiguity (Hoff, 2019). In the context of this study, we also link IC to the term "intercultural identity," which Kim (2009) refers to as "a *continuum* of adaptive change from a monocultural to an increasingly complex and inclusive character" (p. 56) that enables a person to see the complexity of their own identity and the identity of others. Following from this, the second approach to IC, which reflects the stance of the authors, may be seen as compatible with other approaches to intercultural learning in this volume (see, e.g. Fielding, this volume).

Several scholars and policy papers suggest that multilingualism and IC should be considered as interlinked phenomena. For instance, the CEFR (CoE 2001, 2020) connects individual multilingualism and IC as part of one competence, that is plurilingual and pluricultural competence. The connection derives from the idea that the knowledge of several languages is likely to lead learners to going beyond their ethnocentric position in relation to their native language(s) and culture(s) (Coste et al., 2009). The intersection between multilingualism and IC in the CEFR has been further emphasised by Galante (2018). She argued that plurilingual and plurilingual competence concerns not only students' awareness of linguistic diversity in societies, but also sensitivity to other cultural orientations and otherness as well as the ability to use social and cultural strategies for effective communication. Guides for promoting plurilingual and pluricultural competence were further suggested by Beacco et al. (2016) and Cavalli et al. (2009). Furthermore, according to Candelier et al. (2012), several didactic approaches to language teaching have combined multilingualism and IC, for example, the Intercultural Approach and Awakening to Languages. Pinho and Moreira (2012) contributed to these theoretical and methodological studies by exploring how primary school English teachers in Portugal understand plurilingual and intercultural education and which constraints they face when promoting it. Moreover, several researchers (Fielding, 2021; Clark & Dervin, 2014; Clark & Stratilaki, 2013) working in Australian, Canadian and European contexts have suggested linking multilingualism and IC with reflections on identity, thus emphasising the intersection between all three elements. This view has also been reflected in specific practices

in language education, such as Barrett et al.'s (2013) Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters through Visual Media, Byram et al.'s (2009) Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters and Cummins' and Early's (2011) Identity Texts.

3.2.2 The Intersection of Multilingualism, Identity and IC in the Norwegian Curriculum LK20

In the recently introduced curriculum LK20, the value of multilingualism and its intersection with identity and the development of IC are emphasised. The section Identity and Cultural Diversity of the core curriculum states that schools shall help students develop their identity through appreciation of cultural and linguistic diversity. It suggests that "the students must be given insight into how we live together with different perspectives, attitudes and views of life" (NDET, 2017: 5). It also recognises that "[k]nowledge about the linguistic diversity in society provides all students with valuable insight into different forms of expression, ideas and traditions." This leads to the appreciation of multilingualism and multicultural identity, and the idea that "[a]ll students shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and society at large" (NDET, 2017: 5).

In the introduction to the foreign language subject curriculum of LK20, the interconnection of multilingualism, IC and identity is emphasised by stating that knowledge of a society's linguistic and cultural diversity provides valuable insights into one's own and others' backgrounds:

> The subject shall help the pupils learn about different identities, values and ways of thinking, forms of expression, traditions and social conditions in areas where the language is spoken. This means that students develop tolerance and an understanding that our views of the world are culture-dependent. Learning a new language, being able to communicate with others and gaining experience from cultural encounters make it possible to interpret the world in several ways. (NDET, 2019: 2)

Although the main focus in the passage above is on getting to know and understand linguistic and cultural diversity in the target language regions, links are made to the students' own experiences and perspectives and that these may be changed and enriched by these encounters.

The foreign language subject curriculum has four core elements, which are "Communication", "Intercultural competence", "Language learning and multilingualism" and "Language and technology". The core element "Language learning and multilingualism" postulates that all students in Norway are already multilingual when they start learning the L3 and that students' multilingualism must be used as a resource in the language learning process. Furthermore, the document states that students "have extensive language-learning experiences from various contexts" (NDET, 2019: 3). No definition of what it means to be multilingual is given, however, nor what is implied by having extensive language learning experience from different contexts, although all students' knowledge of Norwegian and English may be implied. This

identification of *all* students as multilingual in the curriculum does not reflect common views of who is referred to as multilingual in the Norwegian context, as discussed earlier in Haukås (2022). However, this perspective seems to mirror students' positive views on their multilingualism to a large extent. Recent research by Haukås et al. (2021) and Haukås (2022) shows that approximately 67% of students in lower secondary schools in Norway have a *multilingual identity,* meaning they identify themselves as multilingual when asked the question "Are you multilingual?". Among them, 79% of students with migration background and 65% of students without migration background identify as having a multilingual identity.

As for the concept of IC, the foreign language subject curriculum suggests that "*Intercultural competence means developing curiosity, insight into and understanding of cultural and linguistic diversity, both locally and globally, to interact with others*" (NDET, 2019: 2). It also connects IC to the "*[k]nowledge about and an explorative approach to other languages, cultures, ways of life and ways of thinking*" that "*open for new perspectives on the world and ourselves*" (NDET, 2019: 2). Even though this description also indicates a strong connection of IC to students' identity development, the document does not clarify if IC should be interpreted within an essentialist or non-essentialist framework. Furthermore, it does not provide guidelines on how IC can be taught in the classroom.

Summing up, the recently implemented Norwegian curriculum LK20 highlights the value of multilingualism and the importance of developing IC. It also reflects both notions as interconnected with identity. However, given the variety of approaches to multilingualism and IC and the lack of clarity regarding both concepts in the document, it is likely that teachers will understand them differently and implement them in different ways depending on their beliefs and backgrounds.

3.2.3 Teachers' Perspectives on Multilingualism, Identity, IC and Their Intersection in the Norwegian Context

The recognition of students' multilingualism in the curriculum LK20 and students' own views of themselves as multilingual do not automatically imply that teachers identify their students as multilingual or know how they can foster a multilingual and intercultural identity in their students (Haukås, 2016, 2022). Since teachers are the principal actors to implement the curriculum contents, it is vital to understand their conceptualisations of multilingualism and IC and whether and how they see these elements as interconnected.

Previous research in the Norwegian context with teachers of various subjects has documented that most teachers have positive, resource-oriented views on multilingualism. However, they report limited knowledge of how they can implement a multilingual pedagogical approach in their classrooms (e.g. Calafato, 2020; Dahl & Krulatz, 2016; Haukås, 2016; Hegna & Speitz, 2020; Myklevold, 2021; Vikøy & Haukås, 2021). Given teachers' reported lack of suitable and available materials and

practical examples, existing attempts remain scarce and sporadic (Haukås, 2016, Vikøy & Haukås, 2021).

To our knowledge, research on L3 foreign language teachers' beliefs about and approaches to enhancing students' IC is still lacking in the Norwegian context (but see Mork's (2017) MA thesis on L2 English teachers' perspectives). However, several scholars in Norway have suggested pedagogical approaches that may enhance learners' IC, mainly in the English classroom and mainly through the use of literary texts, picture books, films and an EPortfolio (Dypedahl & Lund, 2020; Heggernes, 2019; Hoff, 2016, 2019; Khanukaeva, 2020; Olsbu, 2014). Ibrahim (2020) is one of few Norwegian-based scholars and teacher educators who discusses the use of bilingual picture books to explore learners' linguistic and cultural identity in combination and how a multilingual approach may enhance the development of students' IC. Nevertheless, the potential of such approaches and teachers' views on them remain to be explored empirically.

In his questionnaire study of language teachers' beliefs about multilingualism in Norway and Russia, Calafato (2020) reported that most language teachers agree with the statement *The more languages teachers know, the better they can develop learners' intercultural competence,* indicating that teachers knowing multiple languages are better able to support students' development exactly because of their multilingualism. Nevertheless, Calafato's (2020) quantitative study does not explore these teachers' positive beliefs further, nor does it examine what teachers understand by the term IC and how it can be fostered. To the best of our knowledge, only Krulatz et al. (2018) have explored the intersection of multilingualism and IC in the Norwegian context. In their study, Krulatz et al. evaluated the potential of identity texts (Cummins & Early, 2011) to strengthen students' awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity in the English classroom from the researchers' as well as from the teachers' perspectives. Although they viewed such initiatives as promising, no clear conclusions can be drawn from the study given the exploratory nature of it. Furthermore, their main focus in the study was to explore the strengthening of the multilingual and intercultural identity of students with immigrant backgrounds, and not that of all students as multilinguals. Nevertheless, their discussion of possible positive effects and the critical reflection of observed challenges are important to consider when designing future studies.

3.3 Research Questions

The previous section began by discussing the notions of multilingualism, IC and identity, arguing that *all* students in Norwegian schools should be regarded as multilingual, that IC is an ongoing, dynamic process which, however, may have different interpretations and that the concept of identity can be a connecting factor between multilingualism and IC in language education.

It went on to discuss the presence of these three concepts in the Norwegian core curriculum and in the curriculum for foreign languages concluding that the curricula

hold resource-oriented views of these phenomena and regard them as interconnected. However, the lack of definitions and examples may provide difficulties for teachers who are expected to implement the curricula in the classroom. The final part of the theoretical section suggested that most teachers in Norway have positive views on multilingualism but need more knowledge and that research on foreign language teachers' beliefs about IC and the interconnection between multilingualism and IC is lacking.

In line with this study's purpose, our three research questions were formulated as follows:

1. How do foreign language teachers in Norwegian secondary schools understand multilingualism and intercultural competence (IC) in relation to foreign language teaching?
2. To what extent and how do teachers see these two phenomena as interrelated?
3. To what extent do teachers suggest identity as a connecting factor between multilingualism and intercultural competence (IC)?

3.4 Methodology

3.4.1 Methods of Data Collection

In order to answer our research questions, we conducted semi-structured interviews with foreign language (FL) teachers. Semi-structured interviews were chosen to guarantee that all teachers were given the chance to reflect on the same questions, but at the same time allowing them to discuss their own topics of interest related to FL teaching. The interview guide (see Appendix 1) included questions on respondents' experience of teaching a FL, their understanding of IC and multilingualism as key aspects of FL education and their thoughts regarding the descriptions of these two elements in the curriculum LK20. The final part of the interview concerned teachers' views on the interconnection between IC and multilingualism in the FL subject.

The participants were recruited from five lower secondary schools in Western Norway. The teachers were either contacted directly or through the school administration. In the second case, we asked schools' representatives to forward an invitation letter to their FL teachers. Six teachers showed interest in participating in the study and filled out a socio-biographical online questionnaire before the interviews were conducted. The questionnaire included questions related to working experience, language repertoire and personal information such as name, age and gender. Both the interview guideline and the socio-biographical questionnaire were developed in English, and interviews were further conducted in English, although the teachers were encouraged to switch to Norwegian or French if they wanted to. The project and its research tools were approved by The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) before the data collection took place. The questionnaire included a consent

form, and by signing it, the participants agreed on taking part in the study that the interviews were digitally recorded and further transcribed by the researchers.

Both research tools were piloted once, in October 2020, before the main data collection started. After the pilot, no significant changes were made to the questionnaire, nor the interview guidelines, except changing the wording of a question in which we asked teachers to define intercultural competence. Since the teacher participating in the pilot hesitated to give an exact definition, we followed the respondent's recommendation and changed the question to "*How do you understand intercultural competence? What is it about?*" Furthermore, to facilitate discussion and promote confidence in the respondents, the teachers in the main interviews were given the opportunity to choose whether they wanted to start with questions about IC or multilingualism.

3.4.2 Participants

Interviews were conducted with teachers of Spanish ($n = 3$), German ($n = 1$) and French ($n = 2$) by the first author. Table 3.1 provides an overview of their teaching experience, language repertoire, age and educational background. All teachers were given pseudonyms to guarantee their anonymity. Due to the spread of the Coronavirus in 2020 and subsequent restrictions introduced by the Norwegian government, participants were given an option to participate digitally. For this purpose, we used Zoom, a software programme provided by the University of Bergen. One teacher was interviewed in the school, whereas the others chose the online alternative.

3.4.3 Method of Analysis

Before the data analysis started, the digitally recorded interviews were fully transcribed. For the sake of accuracy, the transcription was made by the first author, who also conducted the interviews. Intelligent verbatim transcription was chosen as the transcription method, which implies a main focus on the content, rather than on the respondents' way of speaking. However, certain elements of the speech indicating participants' emotions were also noted, for example longer pauses, laughter and hesitations. The transcribed material from six interviews with an approximate duration of 45 min each consisted of 27,500 words.

To analyse the data, we used qualitative content analysis, which can be defined as a method used for "the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns' (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005: 1278). In the whole process of the analysis, the data were analysed by both researchers working sequentially. At the first stage, the data were thoroughly read by both researchers. All parts of the interviews that could

Table 3.1 Information on respondents

Name	FL subject	Age	Experience of working in school	Experience of teaching FLs	Language repertoire
Anne	Spanish	27	2	2	Norwegian (L1), Spanish, English, Finnish
Jan	Spanish	31	5	10	Spanish (L1), English (L1), French, Polish, Italian, Norwegian
Ingrid	Spanish	56	18	17	Norwegian (L1), English, Spanish, French, German
Kari	French	51	21	21	Norwegian (L1), English, French
Marit	French	56	22	22	Norwegian (L1), English, French, German
Helene	German	34	3	3	Norwegian (L1), English, German

have ambiguous interpretations were discussed and clarified. During the reading, preliminary categories were drafted, shared and discussed.

At the second stage, one interview was manually analysed following the guidelines suggested by Erlingsson and Brysiewicz (2017). First, in accordance with the guidelines for interviews, the text was divided into semantic segments, each reflecting a specific topic: multilingualism, IC and the intersection between the elements. In each segment, we distinguished meaning units that consisted of phrases, several sentences or a paragraph. To facilitate the analysis, each unit was further condensed, if necessary. The condensation, in this case, refers to creating "a shortened version of the same text that still conveys the essential message of the meaning unit" (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017: 96). Based on the analysis of the condensed meaning units, we distinguished preliminary categories, which further were systematised into possible themes. Some categories occurring in other interviews were also taken into account. Preliminary categories and themes were discussed by both researchers and were taken as a basis for the following analysis (see Appendix 2 for details and examples of an interview analysis).

At the third stage, all interviews were analysed in the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 12 Pro, which helped make the process of analysis more systematic and provided a better overview of the data set. For the meaning units that did not fit to the initial list of categories, new categories were created. Some categories were merged, renamed or defined as sub-categories. One segment of an interview, finally, could reflect one or more themes. At the final stage of the analysis, all categories and themes were discussed by both researchers. After another round of work with categories, which included merging and renaming some categories, as well as allocating some meaning units, the final list of themes and categories emerged.

The final list of themes and categories included the following *major themes*[2]:

- teachers' understanding of multilingualism
- teachers' understanding of IC
- teachers' understanding of the intersection between IC, multilingualism and identity.

3.5 Findings

3.5.1 Teachers' Understanding of Multilingualism

When asked about their understanding of multilingualism, the teachers did not need much time to provide their own definitions. All teachers, except Jan, defined being multilingual as knowing and/or speaking more than one language, whereas Jan argued that knowing three languages makes you multilingual. Several teachers (Anne, Jan, Marit, Helene) also included the knowledge of both Norwegian standards Bokmål and Nynorsk and dialects as part of one's multilingual repertoire, thus showing attitudes to languages which is not bounded by traditional views of language as a national entity. Interestingly, Anne emphasised that being multilingual includes both linguistic and cultural knowledge: "*It's a person who speaks two languages fluently, but also knows the country's or the language's history and culture, I think*".

All teachers seemed confident about the multilingual dimension of the subject and provided several examples of how they approached the topic in their teaching. To all of them, it was important to point out to the students that they could and should make use of their previous linguistic knowledge to make sense of and learn the L3, as students are not necessarily aware of being multilingual themselves: "*If they're aware […], they will see that it will benefit them in learning a new language*" (Ingrid).

Typical examples of supporting their students in becoming aware of how to use their multilingualism in the learning process were to compare words and look for similarities and differences between Norwegian, English and the L3, but also students' other home languages were mentioned. Furthermore, some teachers emphasised that previously learned language strategies could also be used when learning the L3, indicating that not only linguistic knowledge, but also language learning knowledge can be transferred. Kari, for example, said:

> So I tell them: Do you remember when you started learning English? Yeah. How did you do it? Yeah, we sang songs. We practiced the new words. We talked in groups? And did it work? Yeah, that's the same way that we have to do it now. It is exactly the same.

Given the chance to read the description of multilingualism in the curriculum later in the interview, they expressed agreement with the postulation that all students in their classrooms are multilingual when they start learning the L3. Marit said:

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[2] For a full overview of all themes and their subcategories, please contact the authors.

> I think Norwegian students, they are multilingual. They have so many languages. We have 248 dialects, Nynorsk, Bokmål, English. And maybe they know a bit more or less those other languages before they start learning French, German or Spanish, Chinese, whatever.

In fact, reading about multilingualism in the curriculum seemed to empower them and give them a feeling that they were doing well in their teaching. One teacher was of particular interest, however. Jan had teaching experience from several countries and originates from a Spanish-speaking country. He had discovered that being multilingual may have quite different meanings in different contexts. In his home country, people referred to as multilingual would belong to the upper class, those who had the time and money to invest in learning a FL, whereas in Norway, being multilingual would usually mean to be an immigrant regardless of one's multilingual repertoire. Nevertheless, Jan defined all his students in the Norwegian school as multilingual and suggested that their very high linguistic proficiency and experience contrasts with their own lack of confidence and a clear multilingual identity.

3.5.2   Teachers' Understanding of IC

In contrast to the question about multilingualism, some teachers hesitated to formulate their thoughts regarding the concept of IC. Nevertheless, all of them connected IC to cultural knowledge, conceived as knowledge about history, traditions and social norms in L3-speaking countries. The main difference in their opinions, however, was in how they connected this cultural knowledge to other aspects, thus reproducing, or challenging essentialist views.

When explaining their understanding of IC, some teachers immediately referred to the essentialist framework. They reproduced the idea that there are essential *differences* between language learners and L3-speakers, of which students should be aware. For example, Kari and Anne suggested that IC, whether being promoted in the classroom or through intercultural encounters, relates to raising students' awareness about cultural differences between *them* and *us*:

> You can tell that a French person is like this, a Norwegian person is like that, an American is like that. And I think it is important, if you are going to meet someone who is a stranger for you, it is important to know his background, what kind of language he has, what he was taught in school… How is the politics in this country? If you don't know these things, you will not understand the way the persons are. (Kari)

> My first thought, it [IC] is something that you can't learn from the books and it's easier to learn when you're in the culture, when you are observing and thinking… 'Ha! That was different. We don't do that'. (Anne)

Unlike Kari and Anne, other teachers suggested that other aspects are more important for conceptualising IC. They all mentioned *understanding*—however, conceived in different ways—as an important aspect. For example, Ingrid suggested that IC

refers to "*understanding different people*", while cultural knowledge "*helps you in communication with them*". Jan immediately referred to the ability to understand others and to be understood in communication: "*It's not only that you have to do this… [when] you are in this country, it's also that you can actually share your opinions of where you come from and where you are*". Relating IC to "*getting to know a different culture*", Marit added that "*in that way, you will also learn more about yourself […] [y]ou are getting to know who you are*". Therefore, she suggested that through reflection on their own and others' ways of living, students can get a better understanding of themselves and their identity:

> You are getting to know who you are. Because you learn something from, let's say, France, and then you would start considering, 'Okay, what am I doing really? How is our life here? What is that? Why do we do this in school, elsewhere?' etc. So then we... they [students] will get to know each other better, and themselves as well.

Helene also mentioned understanding of others as the most important aspect of IC. However, she made the most explicit reference to a non-essentialist framework in her answer. Helene mentioned that in understanding others and their background, it is important to look beyond the categories of nationality or ethnicity: "*It doesn't have to do anything with… if they are Swedish or Polish, or English. It has to do with what kind of person you are and what has sculptured you into this person*". Moreover, she made a reference to her recent studies in social sciences and argued that national or ethnic cultures should be considered as only one of many dimensions that form identity:

> It is important to also highlight […] that we have different cultures. […] like the school, it has one culture, and a family has one culture… [culture] is not… it hasn't, it mustn't be exotic. Everything that we think as culture, it doesn't have to be on other parts of the continent or the world or like things we don't understand at all. It could also be very near to us, and our attitudes and different ways of growing up - they form us as human beings….

The above views also determined how teachers interpreted the definition of IC in the new curriculum, and especially its key terms. Teachers that related IC to the knowledge about differences between cultures, mainly emphasised "curiosity" in the definition and perceived it as students' interest in learning about cultural facts, history, traditions. They also tended to see the teachers' main task as giving explanations to the students of "*how it has been and how it is [now], how it is to live in France*" (Kari), rather than allowing students to explore cultural diversity by themselves. Teachers who referred IC to developing students' understanding, tended to emphasise an exploratory approach and new perspectives as the key elements of IC. For example, Jan argued that due to the use of technologies, his students are already aware of many things. Therefore, his role as a teacher is to incite students' reflection and critical thinking. Interestingly, none of the teachers suggested the use of literary texts, picture books or any tools not included in the textbook for promoting students' IC.

3.5.3 Teachers' Understanding of the Interconnection Between Multilingualism and IC

The analysis showed that all teachers see multilingualism and IC as interconnected to a certain extent. However, the way they interpreted this interconnection depended highly on their understanding of multilingualism and IC as separate phenomena. Accordingly, the teachers' reflections on the interconnection of multilingualism and IC could be divided into three different representations. In what follows, we present these views, moving from a mainly essentialist view towards a view that reflects the notion of identity as the connecting element.

3.5.3.1 Kari and Anne: Linguistic and Cultural Differences Between National Contexts

The first way of interpreting the connection between IC and multilingualism was based on the idea that both elements imply raising students' awareness of cultural and linguistic *differences* between the two national contexts: the national context of language learners and the national context of the target L3-speaking country. We found this position among teachers who referred to IC exclusively as the knowledge about cultural differences between the students and the L3-speakers. For example, Kari considered the French and Norwegian languages and cultures as having essentially different characteristics, of which language learners should be aware. She suggested that "*it is culture that defines how [you] express yourself*", *thus*, "*[…] when we talk to a French person, we have to be very polite. Because in France, they talk like this*". Anne, who unlike Kari considered all her students as multilingual, also had similar views on the intersection between IC and multilingualism. Even though Anne emphasised that it is important to make students aware of linguistic and cultural differences *between* L3-speaking countries, she interpreted the intersection in the way that both elements concern differences between national contexts:

> It's OK if they [students] want to learn how to act in Spain. But it's not the same way... It is like Spanish. You speak it in so many countries. So this competence will be different in almost every country. It will differ.

3.5.3.2 Ingrid and Jan: To Understand Others and to Be Understood

The second way of interpreting the intersection between IC and multilingualism was found in Ingrid's and Jan's reflections. They suggested that both elements are connected because of their emphasis on *understanding others and finding appropriate ways to communicate*. For example, when asked about the relevance of IC to language learning, Ingrid replied: "*The more you know about people and their way of living, the better it is to find a good way to communicate with them. Culture and language go hand in hand*". Trying to explain the intersection between the elements, Jan immediately referred to the assumption that both cultural knowledge and language are

needed for understanding in communication and for getting access to the meanings which are shared in an L3-speaking community:

> If you don't know the culture, but you know how to structure [a sentence], then you are missing a big part of being a member of a language speaking [community]. Because if you're missing the culture of the language, then it is a lot of things you're not going to understand. [...] I doubt you can just go to the street and understand what people are saying, maybe a joke. Maybe a joke about politics, maybe a joke about the weather, you don't know.

He also emphasised that understanding is a bilateral process, which besides the understanding of others includes the ability *to make oneself understood*. Therefore, both Ingrid and Jan considered mutual understanding as the interconnection between multilingualism and IC.

3.5.3.3   Marit and Helene: Reflection on Identity of the Self and the Other

The third way of connecting IC and multilingualism were expressed by Marit and Helene. These teachers emphasised *reflection on identity* as the main aspect that both elements promote in language learners. In response to our question, Marit suggested: "*You have to have this meta-focus in both areas* [*IC and multilingualism*]". On the one hand, she underlined that focus on students' multilingualism promotes a better understanding of themselves as learners: "*You get to know yourself much better: how you are working, what kind of strategies you are using*". On the other hand, Marit suggested that students' better understanding of themselves can be promoted through reflection on their own and others' ways of living.

The most interesting answer to the question on how IC and multilingualism can intersect was given by Helene. Unlike others, she immediately connected both to identity: "*They* [*IC and multilingualism*] *are definitely connected, I believe, because language has so much to do with identity.* [...] *Identity is built on language and culture. I think it has the same platform in a way*". Helene was the only teacher who explicitly mentioned identity when discussing the intersection between IC and multilingualism. To clarify what she meant by identity, she added: "*Identity is a way to see yourself and others*". Helene's answer suggested that she understands IC and multilingualism as interconnected due to the assumption that both are linked to the reflection on the identities of yourself and others. To illustrate her views, Helene gave an example of an activity called "To be an immigrant", which she implements in her FL classes. When discussing the topic of migration, she asks her students to think of how it could be "to be an immigrant". By asking students to reflect on the feelings that immigrants and refugees may have because of not knowing the language of a society that they are in, Helene promotes students' self-reflection, as well as reflection on the identity of the other.

3.6   Discussion

Given the importance of teachers' beliefs for the outcomes of language learning, the objective of this study was to explore how teachers of foreign languages in Norwegian lower secondary schools understand the concepts of multilingualism and IC and to what extent they see these as interconnected. Furthermore, we aimed to find out if the teachers link multilingualism and IC to the concept of identity as suggested by the new national curriculum LK20. Six L3 teachers of foreign languages (Spanish, German and French) working in Western Norway shared their opinions on these issues in interviews conducted in the autumn 2020. This section discusses the main research findings derived from a qualitative content analysis of the interviews.

Concerning teachers' understanding of multilingualism, it was found that to a large extent their beliefs reflect the notions of multilingualism as expressed in the curriculum for foreign languages (NDET, 2019). In general, the teachers view all of their students as multilingual and also give abundant examples of how they work on enhancing students' multilingualism in the classroom. Compared with Haukås' focus study from 2016 with a similar group of teachers, the teachers in the present study seem to have developed a more elaborate understanding of the concept of multilingualism and how a multilingual approach may be taught. In particular, this is evident in the teachers' appreciation of the students' full linguistic repertoire including dialects and both varieties of Norwegian as part of being multilingual and also in their views on the possibilities for transferring language learning strategies across contexts.

Regarding teachers' understanding of IC, it was found that all teachers consider cultural knowledge as an important part of IC. The association of IC only with cultural knowledge and with the emphasis on differences between countries and people living in these countries reflects essentialist views that can reinforce negative stereotypes and prejudices among language learners. However, most of the respondents emphasised additional aspects corresponding to a non-essentialist framework of IC as more important. Among these aspects, teachers named mutual understanding based on dialogue, reflection on differences and similarities between and *within* cultural contexts and reflection on the complexity of identities of the self and others. These findings suggest that while essentialist views on IC persist among some teachers, most also tend to hold non-essentialist perspectives. Moreover, they strive to integrate non-essentialist perspectives into their teaching practice. This outcome is contrary to the findings of Castro et al. (2004) and Tian (2013) who investigated teachers' conceptualisation of IC in Spain and China. They found that teachers perceived IC mainly as related to cultural knowledge and positive attitudes towards cultural differences. The researchers also indicated that the development of students' better understanding of their own identity, if mentioned, was ranked as unimportant. However, our findings parallel the results of Jokikokko's (2005) and Mork's (2017) studies on teachers' perception of IC in Finland and Norway. The former study showed that Finnish newly qualified teachers perceive IC as less related to specific skills and knowledge, but rather to an awareness of one's own values, appreciation of diversity, critical

thinking and dialogical relationship, among other aspects. Mork also indicated that most of her respondents consider students' critical thinking and reflection on their own personal values and identity as important elements of IC. Although existing research is admittedly scant, one may speculate that teachers in the Nordic countries have developed their views in a more non-essentialist direction than what is the case in other contexts. This remains to be explored further.

With respect to the second research question, we found that teachers' perspectives highly depend on their understanding of IC and multilingualism as separate phenomena. The first group of teachers suggested that both elements are connected due to the focus on linguistic and cultural differences between national contexts. This position reflects essentialist views and can lead to fostering the idea that there are essential differences between language learners and L3-speakers. The second group suggested that both elements are interconnected due to their emphasis on the ability to gain mutual understanding in communication. In comparison to the first perspective, this indicates a shift from essentialist views, which may fossilise stereotypes about target language speakers, to a more complex and reflective approach to intercultural communication. However, this vision only hints at how mutual understanding can be achieved. The focus on the bilaterality of understanding may also imply that students should reflect on their own identity and the identities of others. Nevertheless, this idea got an explicit articulation only in the views of the third group of teachers. They considered multilingualism and IC as interconnected exactly due to the emphasis on students' reflection on their own identity and the identity of others. The teachers suggested that reflection on social and linguistic diversity, as well as reflection on people's linguistic repertoires and social–cultural belongings can help students get a better understanding of themselves and others.

Consequently, the intersection between multilingualism, IC and identity occurs when teachers consider students' reflection on their own identity and the identity of others as the main aspect of a multilingual approach and the development of students' IC (Fielding, 2021; Fielding, this volume). However, the analysis indicated that this intersection does not necessarily occur in the teachers' practice, as only Helene could provide an example of a classroom activity that encompasses all three elements. This resonates with research stating that teachers' enacted practices do not always correspond with their theoretical views (Basturkmen, 2012; Buehl et al., 2015).

The lack of teachers' suggestions for how multilingualism, IC and identity can be connected in practice may have several reasons. First, as pointed out by Haukås (2016) in relation to teachers' beliefs about multilingualism, teachers need access to suitable teaching materials for a given pedagogical approach to take place. Although several tools exist that could support teachers' in developing their students' multilingual and intercultural identity development (e.g. Byram et al., 2009; Cummins & Early, 2011; Barret et al. 2013), teachers typically rely on the contents of the textbook. Consequently, foreign language textbook authors need to include texts and tasks that reflect approaches cited above and/or the use of literary texts or picture books as promoted by other scholars (e.g. Heggernes, 2019; Hoff, 2016; Ibrahim, 2020). Existing analyses on foreign language textbooks in Norway suggest, however, that

neither multilingualism (Haukås, 2017) nor IC (Eide, 2013; Maul, 2020) is adequately represented. To our knowledge, no textbook study has examined the interconnection of these phenomena, neither in the Norwegian context nor elsewhere.

A second reason for teachers' lack of suggestions on how multilingualism and IC can be connected in practice may be found in an insufficient attention to these phenomena in teacher education. Teachers in Haukås (2016) reported that they had never discussed aspects related to students' multilingualism in their education. Although this seems to be slightly improved recently (Haukås, 2019; Hegna & Speitz, 2020), teachers need more support in reflecting on the meaning of the concepts of multilingualism, IC and identity in the curriculum and also examples of how they can be approached in the classroom.

3.7 Implications for Education in a Global Sense

To our knowledge, this small-scale, qualitative study is the first investigation of L3 foreign language teachers' perspectives on the intersection between multilingualism, IC and identity, and consequently, no generalizations about teachers in general can be made. The findings nevertheless point to a pattern similar to what has been found in previous research: Teachers in the Norwegian context appreciate the notions of multilingualism, IC and identity, but they need more knowledge and training in how these phenomena can be taught, separately and in combination. Consequently, both nationally and internationally, there is a strong need for empirical classroom studies to examine how an interconnected approach is or can be implemented (but see, e.g. Fielding, this volume; Krulatz et al., 2018, for examples from the teaching of other subjects). Furthermore, there is a clear need for controlled intervention studies that can examine the value of such approaches for learners' multilingual and intercultural development.

By suggesting that reflection on identity can be an interconnecting factor promoting both students' multilingual and intercultural development, the study strengthens the overall approach suggested in this book. A stronger focus on identity can have significant implications for the understanding of how multilingual and intercultural pedagogies can improve language learning in schools and develop reflective, global citizens. Nevertheless, teachers' beliefs should always be studied in context and from an ecological perspective, as factors at the national, regional, political, educational and/or school levels likely influence teachers' perceptions and experiences in a variety of ways (Borg, 2006; Hofstadler et al., 2020). Consequently, the findings of this study need to be followed up with studies with a similar design but from other contexts.

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Opening questions

1. How long have you been working in this school?
2. How many hours of language teaching do you have per week?
3. Please, describe briefly your typical foreign language class.
4. What aspects of language learning do you consider the most important in your teaching practice?

Intercultural competence

5. What do you understand by intercultural competence?
6. How is intercultural competence relevant to foreign language education?
7. How can intercultural competence be developed in the classroom?
8. In a typical week, how much time to you think you spend on fostering the students' intercultural competence in your FL class?
9. How confident do you feel when teaching intercultural competence?
10. Please comment on the excerpt about intercultural competence in the new curriculum for foreign languages:

    - Which aspects in this description do you find important for defining?
    - Which ones reflect your own understanding of intercultural competence?
    - Are there any aspects in this description that seem to be unclear? How would you interpret them?
    - Are there any aspects on which you disagree or which you consider problematic?

Multilingualism

11. What do you understand by multilingualism?
12. How is multilingualism relevant to foreign language education?
13. Who do you consider multilingual?
14. To what extent are your foreign language students multilingual?
15. How can students' multilingualism affect their learning of foreign languages?
16. Please comment on the excerpt about language learning and multilingualism in the new curriculum for foreign languages:

    - Are there any aspects in this description that seem to be unclear? How would you interpret them?
    - Are there any aspects on which you disagree or which you consider problematic?

The intersection between intercultural competence and multilingualism

17. To what extent do you see intercultural competence and multilingualism as interrelated in language education? How can these two elements be interrelated?
18. What ideas do you have regarding the connection between intercultural competence and multilingualism in your own teaching?

19. Do you have any examples from your own teaching practice?

Closing

20. Are there other topics you want to discuss or reflect on that you find important or relevant for learning and teaching Spanish/German/French and that have not been mentioned earlier today?

Appendix 2: An Example of Qualitative Content Analysis Procedures

Segment of an interview: Definition of Intercultural Competence.

Excerpt

IT 05:21: Let's start with intercultural competence. What do you think about this aspect of language learning? How do you understand it?

R4 05:32: How do you understand inter… intercultural competence? I think it has to do with… [pause]. How to understand different people. Mm… Culture is an important part of learning languages. Because when you know something about people, otherwise than only about the language they speak, it helps you in communication with them. To know something about the way of living, religion, place they live… [pause]. Am I on the correct track? Do you think I am… [laughing].

IT 06:40: Yeah, yeah, sure. There are no right or wrong answers. I would like to hear what you think about it.

R4 06:51: Because the more you know about people and their way of living, the better is to find a good way to communicate with them, I guess. Culture and language go hand in hand.

Meaning Units (Condensations)

- How do you understand inter… intercultural competence? I think it has to do with… [pause]. (*Hesitation, uncertainty about the definition.*)
- How to understand different people. Mm… (*IC refers to the understanding of different people.*)
- Culture is an important part of learning languages. (*Culture is part of language learning.*)
- Because when you know something about people, otherwise than only about the language they speak, it helps you in communication with them. (*Knowledge about people helps to communicate with them.*)

- To know something about the way of living, religion, place they live… [pause]. (*IC refers to the knowledge of ways of living, religion, place of living.*)
- Am I on the correct track? Do you think I am… [laughing]. (*Hesitation, uncertainty about the definition.*)
- Because the more you know about people and their way of living, the better is to find a good way to communicate with them. (*The more you know about people, the easier it is to find a good way to communicate with them.*)
- …I guess. (*Hesitation, uncertainty about the definition.*)
- Culture and language go hand in hand. (*Culture and language are interconnected.*)

Suggestions for Coding of Condensed Meaning Units

Condensed meaning units	Codes
"*How do you understand inter… intercultural competence? I think it has to do with… [pause]*"	Hesitations in defining IC
IC refers to the understanding of different people	IC as understanding
Culture is an important part of learning languages	Culture as part of language learning
Knowledge about people helps to communicate with them	Knowledge and communication
IC refers to the knowledge of ways of living, religion, place of living	IC as knowledge
"*Am I on the correct track? Do you think I am… [laughing]*"	Hesitations in defining IC
The more you know about people, the easier it is to find a good way to communicate with them	IC as knowledge and communication
"*…I guess*"	Hesitations in defining IC
Culture and language are interconnected	The interconnection of language and culture

Suggestions for Categories and a Preliminary Theme Based on the Analysis of Several Segments

Condensation	Codes (reformulated)	Category	Theme
"*How do you understand inter… intercultural competence? I think it has to do with… [pause]*"	IC/hesitation	Hesitation and uncertainty in defining IC	Teachers' conceptualization of IC as related to knowledge and understanding of other people
"*Am I on the correct track? Do you think I am… [laughing]*"	IC/hesitation		
"*…I guess*"	IC/hesitation		
"*Am I making myself clear? [laughing]*"	IC/hesitation		
IC refers to the understanding of different people	IC/understanding	IC as related to understanding people through the knowledge about them	
Knowledge about people helps to communicate with them	IC/knowledge		
IC refers to the knowledge of ways of living, religion, place of living	IC/knowledge		
The more you know about people, the easier it is to find a good way to communicate with them	IC/knowledge for better communication		
"*To be curious*", "*to try to understand*", "*to be able to cooperate with other people*", to want to know about other cultures and ways of living	IC/knowledge and communication		

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Chapter 4
Connecting the Old and the New. Identities, Indigenous Literacies, and the Creation of Digital Learning Materials in Mexico

Anuschka van 't Hooft

Abstract This chapter explores the complexities of how Indigenous language speakers construct and negotiate identities while creating digital learning materials to promote Indigenous literacies in Mexico's multilingual context, where Indigenous languages hold different positions and their vitality situations vary widely. These identity processes involve ideas about how to contribute to interculturality in the language community when dealing with new contexts and modes of reading, writing, and communication in online spaces. The findings are based on a project called Storybooks Mexico, which aims to harness the power of multimodal digital storytelling to promote Indigenous literacies. In particular, we discuss the experiences in the translation of stories into Maayat'aan (Yucatec Maya). With it, we reflect on the intersections between digital technologies, Indigenous literacies development, and the role of young Indigenous language speakers in language reclamation projects.

4.1 Introduction

This study presents an ongoing project to create digital learning materials that contribute to digital literacy learning parting from the diverse linguistic situations of children and their Indigenous literacy experiences in Mexico. These open educational resources provide opportunities for education in the students' local language, addressing the lack of materials and enriching literacy experiences for children through digital storytelling. In this project, called Storybooks Mexico, we collaborated with teachers and students at intercultural universities to create and translate multimodal stories in several Indigenous languages. Throughout the project, we observed how their personal positions, language experiences, heterogeneous language practices, and attitudes toward the Indigenous language and its written expression shaped the development of these learning materials.

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In this chapter, we want to use the experience of the translators for Yucatec Maya to illustrate the interconnection between multilingualism, identity, and interculturality when developing digital learning materials to promote Indigenous literacies. Yucatec Maya (autonym Maayat'aan), often simply referred to as Maya, is mainly spoken in Mexico's Yucatan peninsula, where it is a majority language that consists of one linguistic variety. Maya has approximately 853,000 speakers in this region (INALI-INPI, 2020), and 1,647,000 people self-identify as Mayan (INEGI, 2015).[1] According to Ethnologue et al. (2020), the Maya language is developing (stage 5) and is still the dominant language in the local villages. However, the national index measuring language shift shows a dramatic decline in the intergenerational transmission of this language, enlisting Maya in the phase of rapid extinction (CDI, 2015). Socialization in Maya is diminishing, especially in and around the tourist centers along the Riviera Maya (Chi Pech, 2016). At present, only one out of three Maya children acquires the language from their parents, and the direct input they receive in Spanish is increasing (Padilla-Iglesias et al., 2020).

Indigenous language education is often part of a strategy to support and revitalize Indigenous languages (Hornberger, 2008; McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). In the process of countering language loss, literacy can be a vital tool (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Shah & Brenzinger, 2021), creating a stronger positioning against the hegemonic language as well as new domains of language use. Examination of the practices to develop learning materials offers a means to understand how their creators produce and negotiate identities and envision the written expression of their Indigenous language in their multilingual speech community. The research question that guides this chapter is *How do Maya translators acknowledge identities through their translation practice and contribute to interculturality when dealing with new contexts and modes of reading, writing, and communication in online spaces?*

We start with a sketch of how interculturality is viewed in the Mexican context. Then, we outline our understanding of the intersections between multilingualism, identity, and interculturality, which draws on Norton's insights of identity within language learning and teaching (Darvin & Norton, 2019; Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995), extending these to address the practices and resources of the creators of Indigenous language learning materials. The subsequent description of the Storybooks Mexico project comprises an outline of the research methodology and a presentation of our findings which discusses how the translators for Maya position themselves and shift these positions to negotiate their identities in the translation practice. The performance of these identities enables them to imagine other positions for their language and actively contribute to changing hegemonic perspectives on the

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[1] The numbers may vary from one official source to another. The available information on Maya speakers reflects self-reporting of speakers ages five and up, not actual assessment. It does not regard the varying degrees of abilities and uses of the language. In Mexico, where people are repressed for their ethnicity, the numbers of Indigenous language speakers are usually underrepresented.

development of Indigenous literacies. In the final section, we reflect on the inter-sections between digital technologies, Indigenous literacies development, and the role of young Indigenous language speakers in the context of language reclamation projects.

4.2 Interculturality in the Mexican Context

In the 1980s, the Mexican government adopted interculturality as a new paradigm intended to lead to coexistence in diversity for all Mexicans (de León, 2017). In 1992, an amendment of the constitution acknowledged this diversity, though without establishing any rights for the Indigenous population. The 1990s put the "Indigenous issue" on the political map, especially with the discussions around the 1992 cele-bration marking the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival to the Americas, and the 1994 outbreak of the Zapatista Army's (EZLN) upsurge demanding political and economic autonomy. As a result of these pressures, a new amendment passed to grant rights for Indigenous peoples to regulate their internal social, political, economic, and cultural life (Hamel, 2008). In 2003, the General Law on the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples (LGDLPI, 2003) guaranteed the use and safeguarding of the Indigenous languages in public and private spaces, stressing, once again, the impor-tance of education in the Indigenous languages in the compliance of these rights. In the same year, the National Indigenous Languages Institute (INALI for its acronym in Spanish) was created, which aimed to promote the strengthening, preservation, and development of the Indigenous languages (LGDLPI, 2003).

Criticism of these developments is mixed. While recognizing the constitutional amendments as a step ahead, the guarantees do not include the political and economic autonomy sought after (Hernández et al., 2013). About the safeguarding of the Indige-nous languages, current government policies still fail to create the conditions and institutions to exert these rights. The former is especially true for legal assistance, health service, and social media channels in the Indigenous languages (e.g., Cruz Cruz, 2020; Flores Farfán, 2010; Moctezuma Zamarrón, 2008; Pellicer et al., 2006). Another key area to secure Indigenous language rights is education.

Mexico's politico-cultural orientations have included Indigenous education since the 1970s. These orientations have shifted gradually from a monocultural to a multi-cultural approach, with a recent aspiration to attain a more pluricultural perspective that accepts diversity as an asset that enriches society (Hamel, 2013). The educa-tional model that accompany current views is Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE), which operates in preschool and elementary schools in "Indigenous regions" and some bigger cities with Indigenous presence. In this model, linguistic objectives have equally shifted from linguistic and cultural assimilation (only L2 acquisition) to Indigenous language preservation and revitalization, with the aspiration that learners develop additive bilingualism.

IBE establishes the right to mother-tongue literacy and access to Indigenous content. However, the model reveals structural tensions between the national curriculum and local needs (Hamel, 2013). It targets Indigenous students and does not include non-Indigenous students to address interculturality as an issue of the wider society. Interculturality is, therefore, viewed as something that concerns the Indigenous population exclusively, and not as a valuable educational aim to understand diversity in the current plurilingual and multicultural environment. Coverage is not ensured in the rural home communities, and most Indigenous migrants do not have access to these institutes either. Not all Indigenous languages and their varieties are integrated, and the ones who are represent additive curricular content, which is taught as a subject and not as a medium of teaching through monolingual immersion (Hamel, 2013). Bilingualism is, therefore, conceptualized from a Western monoglossic point of view (García & Torres-Guevara, 2021), and does not draw on teachers' and students' heterogeneous language practices as an important educational tool. Regardless of the students' languages proficiencies and multilingual practices, the Indigenous language is taught as L1, and instruction heavily relies on the learning of writing with its stress on standardized forms. This way, language learning is reduced to the learning of a skill, without considering the dynamic interaction of cognitive phenomena, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics in which the child's active involvement is essential. Multiple studies point at these and other tensions of Mexico's top-down governmental designs that show how underlying linguistic ideologies have not changed and impede the integration of the Indigenous language according to the diverse sociolinguistic situations (see, e.g., Barriga Villanueva, 2018; de León, 2017; Despagne, 2013; Hamel, 2013; Schmelkes, 2021).

As a part of the curriculum design and the pedagogical dimension of the IBE model, the lack of critical awareness of the culture-bound nature of concepts such as reading and writing hinders the development of learning materials in the Indigenous languages that bring in culturally relevant contents and respect Indigenous ways of learning. Even when these materials are currently designed and developed by teams of specialists in pedagogy, didactics, and linguistics, IBE has not advanced in the design, development, application, and evaluation of the didactic resources of its bilingual approach (de León, 2017). The materials are framed by Spanish, the dominant language, and have less visual appeal than learning materials in Spanish (Meek & Messing, 2007). Often, they are mere translations of the textbooks used in the monolingual system (Despagne, 2013). The general assessment is that the materials are created through the lens of the dominant culture and fail to be culturally relevant (Flores Farfán, 2014; Schmelkes, 2021). All of this sends a message of lower prestige and less social value of the Indigenous languages and cultures.

The current development of learning materials for Indigenous children in Mexico does not connect with the heterogeneous traditions of Indigenous literacy or local forms of knowledge and knowledge transfer. It fails to acknowledge and actively discourages local oral traditions (Pellicer et al., 2006) or out-of-school learning (Despagne, 2013), which represent primary ways of knowledge transfer in Indigenous societies. The bridging of these discrepancies is critical to improving children's educational outcomes and future success and well-being (Hare, 2011). In this process,

the creation of authentic learning materials, based on solid local involvement, can help restore the minority language speakers' sense of ownership of these varieties and languages (Stroud, 2001 in Léglise, 2017).

Neither do the existing learning materials introduce children to digital literacies, i.e., the "myriad of social practices and conceptions of engaging in meaning making mediated by texts that are produced, received, distributed exchanged, etc., via digital codification" (Lankshear & Knobel, 2008: 5). Indigenous children lack access to and training in the use of digital technologies (Soto-Hernández et al., 2020) at a moment in which the development of digital literacies in the Indigenous languages is creating new linguistic repertoires and genres and new aims, values, policies, and discourses, as well as new roles and relationships among users (Llanes Ortiz, 2021).

IBE schools in the Maya region face similar problems and lack of progress like those sketched above. They lack basic infrastructure (INEE, 2015) as well as computers and Internet connection. Instruction and textbooks are provided only in Spanish (de León, 2017). It is clear that they do not contribute to Maya language maintenance (Pfeiler & Zámišová, 2006).

4.3 Theoretical Framing: Multilingualism, Identity, and Interculturality

4.3.1 Multilingualism

One of the major linguistic features of the Global South is the region's societal multilingualism, understood as "the coexistence in a given context or area of languages, practices, and varieties, with varied economic and symbolic status" (Léglise, 2017). Multilingualism is not neutral but is embedded in social processes of what counts as a legitimate speaker, language, or practice and constitutes a central site for the production of social differences (Duchêne, 2020). Multilingualism manifests in uneven access to and distribution of knowledge, resources, and status among the population (Duchêne, 2020; Léglise, 2017). These inequalities are often multicausal and overlap with other socially constructed differences, such as race, gender, class, minority status, and others (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2015). Therefore, multilingualism must be studied in its larger macro-political, sociolinguistic, and anthropological setting. Rather than the multilingualism of immigrants speaking minority languages or the phenomenon of elite multilingualism (in which a privileged part of the population manages other languages that are of advantage in the current mobile and global society), multilingualism in the Global South involves the speakers of Indigenous languages and their broader sociopolitical environment.

In Mexico, multilingualism concerns the broader sociopolitical environment in which its living Indigenous language varieties are positioned. These varieties belong to eleven linguistic families and are spoken by Indigenous peoples who live in a wide range of environments dispersed throughout the country (INALI, 2008). As

occurs elsewhere, Indigenous languages in Mexico are under threat.[2] Even when some of these languages show vitality, the general tendency is that of an increased subtractive bilingualism and language shift (de León, 2017). The existing structural conditions of discrimination and exclusion of Indigenous peoples are exacerbated by the neoliberal economic model that has led to increased poverty and growing migration of Indigenous peoples. In the 2015 national population survey, almost 25.7 million people (21.5% of the total population) reported an Indigenous identity, of which 7.4 million are Indigenous language speakers (INEGI, 2015). In 2010, 27% of these speakers lived in urban areas, where they usually are a small minority (CDI, 2014). As such, the Indigenous population constitutes the plurilingual segment of a Spanish-speaking society, and individual multilingualism is a feature of being Indigenous and belonging to a minority ethnic group.

In this multilingual setting, the discussion about Indigenous bilingual education deals with "the relation between language use, pedagogy, and academic achievement in education" (Hamel, 2016), which is set in a context of language inequalities. Spanish literacy- and Spanish-based literacy practices dominate in Indigenous contexts. The results of Mexico's lacking educational system are evident. When the average national illiteracy rate in Mexico is 4.2%, this rate rises to 23% for Indigenous language speakers above the age of fifteen in both Spanish and the mother tongue (INEE, 2017). The National Program for Learning Assessment (PLANEA for its acronym in Spanish) reports the lowest language and communication scores for Indigenous primary schools, with six times more poorly achieving students than in the private institutions. Eight in ten Indigenous students (80%) show fundamental deficiencies and 16% barely passes the minimum level (INEE, 2015). These outcomes do not only contravene the linguistic rights of the Indigenous population; they seriously hinder the development of Indigenous children.

4.3.2   Identity

Indigenous languages serve a social purpose of indicating identity (Cruz Cruz, 2020). To people from mainstream Spanish-speaking society, speakers of an Indigenous language are identified as being Indigenous. Within the ethnic group, language is one of the ways through which people construct their identities, and the role of language as a marker for group identity relates to local language ideologies, which vary among and within groups. In Mexico, where Indigenous languages and their varieties are minoritized and have different degrees of vitality and endangerment, they can become a key emblem in community identity. At the same time, Indigenous language use is a stigmatized practice in a society that discriminates against Indigenous peoples, who, therefore, often refrain from using their language in public. This tension has

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[2] Of the 364 language varieties, 64 are moribund (i.e., coping with extreme risk), 43 are seriously endangered (high risk), 72 are endangered (medium risk), and 185 are potentially endangered (no immediate risk) (INALI, 2014a).

turned Indigenous languages into a prominent issue while negotiating identities, and language conservation and revitalization efforts have become important tools and strategies to stress ethnicity and Indigenous identities.

In everyday practice, identity is constituted in and through language (Norton, 2013). In return, identities produce and reproduce innovative forms of language. Speaking, reading, and writing are not just about exchanging information; it is a process of identity construction and negotiation in which a person is organizing and reorganizing a sense of who he or she is and how they relate to the social world. Norton defines identity as "the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how this relationship is constructed across time and space and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2013: 4). Identities are not fixed but dynamic, fluid and changing, not homogeneous but multiple and sometimes even contradictory. Identities are situated, depending on how persons position themselves and are positioned by others.

In our study, it is not the language as an abstract identity marker which we aim to study. Rather, it is the role of the written language that is examined. In this, it is important to stress that written language marks social, historical, and linguistic identities (Lüpke, 2011). It deals with the ways people want to write their language, the repertoires they want to use, and other issues about the role they see for the written expression of their language against other written languages in the multilingual setting. These questions have become more complex with the advance of new technologies, as they open up new media and new opportunities for writing.

4.3.3 Interculturality

Like identity, interculturality is socially constructed, negotiated, and dynamic in its enactment. It deals with the complex articulation of the type and quality of relations between culturally diverse groups within society (Dietz, 2018).

Unlike Western approaches, definitions of interculturality from the Global South are usually proposed from a postcolonial discourse perspective. They emphasize links with social movements that aim to decolonize asymmetric knowledge systems between diverse minority and majority constellations defined in terms of culture, ethnicity, language, religious denominations, and/or nationality (Dietz, 2018). Also, they propose a more radical interculturality as a way to rethink relations between globalization, modernity, and development (Escobar, 2012). According to Walsh (2010), who studies Indigenous education in the Latin American context, interculturality as a political strategy is still conceptualized as one-way-street in which institutions attend minority groups who have "other" philosophies and "other" knowledges. In education, the concept is normally used to refer to the need for Indigenous children to function in the wider society. This "functional" view of interculturality does not question the causes of asymmetry or social and cultural inequalities. It obeys the logic of the neoliberal model in which recognition and respect for cultural diversity has become part of a strategy to control ethnic conflicts and maintain social stability.

Instead, Walsh (2010) makes the case for a critical interculturality, which initiates with a profound questioning of this system and becomes a tool, a process, and a project from within society, in which people seek to transform institutions and social relationships, and construct conditions to be, think, know, learn, feel, and live differently. Parting from the problem of existing power relations, with its patterns of racialization and difference, it is a decolonial project aimed to visualize and confront the colonial matrix of power (Quijano, 2000). Accordingly, interculturality becomes a political, social, ethical, and epistemic project needed to change structures, conditions, and mechanisms of power that maintain inequalities, inferiorization, racialization, and discrimination (Walsh, 2010).

4.3.4 Multilingualism, Identity, and Interculturality in Indigenous Literacies

Multilingualism raises issues of equity in society. In the framework of the Storybooks project, it concerns the promotion of Indigenous literacies that enhance human agency and help Indigenous learners develop a sense of their own identity. It involves the need to develop digital literacies in the Indigenous languages based on the students' languages proficiencies and heterogeneous multilingual practices, with content that is culturally relevant.

Digital technologies have enabled new means of representing and performing identities (Darvin, 2016). Since these technologies expand what is socially imaginable in the future, students and teachers are able to invest in new literacy practices (Darvin & Norton, 2019) and establish new roles for the written language as part of their social practices.[3] The foregrounding of identity in literacy education enhances our understanding of learners and teachers in the multilingual settings in which they learn and teach, but also of the creators of learning materials. These creators are bilingual in the Indigenous language and Spanish, but are not always language teachers. We examine why and how they are invested because there is something they desire for themselves. Paraphrasing Darvin and Norton (2019), in the situation of our study, this desire involves the imagination of new identities and communities, and symbolic ties that are associated with the development and integration of Indigenous literacy in their language community.

Identity and interculturality are interconnected. For Indigenous language speakers, the situation and position of their language influences the development and adoption of a position toward interculturality. This position, in turn, shapes their engagement to change existing power relations, both for themselves, their communities, and their language.

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[3] Darvin and Norton (2019) study the relationship of language learners to the target language through the sociological construct of *investment*, which takes up the commitment of people to learn a language while navigating conditions of power in the process. It calls attention to the inequalities of the lived experiences of diverse language learners. See also (Norton Peirce, 1995).

4.4 Methodology

Storybooks Mexico is based on the Storybooks Canada project,[4] which, in turn, derived from the African Storybook initiative[5] that supports children's literacy and encourages reading for pleasure. African Storybook creates, digitizes, and makes hundreds of beautifully illustrated children's stories available through open licensing in more than 200 African languages, as well as English, French, and Portuguese (Stranger-Johannessen et al., 2018). For the Storybooks Canada project, a collection of 40 stories from the African Storybook was selected to promote vernacular, bilingual, and multilingual literacy in Canada, especially for students who are heritage language speaking, immigrants, and refugee children. Audio versions were added so children could both read and listen to a story. The materials, together with their user-friendly access and variety of print formats, enable multiple ways of using the materials in schools and at home (Norton et al., 2020). For Storybooks Mexico, we used the collection of 40 stories from the Storybooks Canada platform. Our goal was to contribute with translations of the existing stories into ten Indigenous languages. For this, we prepared a local website called *Cuentos para México* (lit. Stories for Mexico)[6] and hosted it on the Global Storybooks portal.

Building on previous experiences and contacts with collaborators and with the available technological support from the Canadian Storybooks team, we sent out invitations to Mexican intercultural universities. At these universities, the teachers who specialize in Indigenous languages have a clear view on the needs and wishes of the local population, usually conduct collaborative studies in the localities, and seek to include Indigenous values, perspectives, and practices in the educational space (Mateos Cortés & Dietz, 2014). We hoped they would not only translate the stories but also mobilize them as language resources through their social networks for usage in nonschool settings. In our study, both the teacher and student participants are called translators.

The team members developed most of their activities online, and we organized virtual meetings. Additionally, we held workshops at the participating universities. During the workshops, in the first stage, we presented the project and the workflow. As an exercise, we collectively translated a few of the shorter stories and uploaded them on the platform. After this, each translator or team of translators worked at liberty. In the second stage, we organized seminars to present and discuss challenges in the translation process. We also conversed with the translators about their views on Indigenous literacies and translation in general. Subsequently, we worked together to upload the translations on the platform. Then, audio scripts were prepared. In the final part of the project, the translators lent their voices to the recording sessions. The activities resulted in a collection of 98 stories in ten linguistic varieties on the *Cuentos para México* website.

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[4] https://storybookscanada.ca.

[5] https://africanstorybook.org.

[6] https://global-asp.github.io/storybooks-mexico/.

For the Maya part of the project, we organized a 30-h workshop that consisted of the translation seminar, the upload of the final drafts to the platform, the preparation of the audio scripts, and the audio recording. We video-recorded all activities during this workshop for data collection. Six months after the Maya text renditions were available on the platform, we gathered information from the translators about the uses of the produced materials and their assessment of the impact. With some translators, we conducted interviews. To others, we sent a written survey through an Internet application. Our thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) builds upon a data set from the presentations and discussions during the translation seminar, the interviews, and the survey. In our constructionist approach, we intend to foreground the individual's sense-making of their experience. We focus on the translators' clarifications of their translation practices, especially their research and resolution of specific problems, examining meaning at both semantic and latent levels. The challenges mentioned in the seminar were about how to deal with new vocabulary and find an adequate tone or style for the stories. The translators also discussed the suitability of the materials for literacy learning and reflected on how to adapt particular elements to the Maya linguistic structure and cultural context.

4.5 Findings and Discussion

4.5.1 The Start of the Project

The coordinator of the Maya collaboration for the Storybooks project was Hilario Poot Cahun, who was in charge of a translation workshop at the Intercultural Maya University of Quintana Roo (UIMQroo) in the fall semester of 2018. Secluded from the Riviera Maya tourist area, this university was founded in 2007 in the municipality of José María Morelos. The UIMQroo receives students from various parts of the Yucatan peninsula. At this university, 61% of the students affirm to speak only Spanish at home, while 7% use only Maya in their family. Even when 80% hold Maya to be very important for their professional development, they speak Spanish in both class and out-of-class settings, partly because this language is associated with the educational success needed to get accepted into university in the first place (Canché Teh, 2014).

The translation workshop is a compulsory course in the fifth semester of the B.A. program language and culture. Hilario was interested in joining the Storybooks project as it offered his class of twenty-one students an opportunity to work with attractive materials in a new digital setting. With different proficiencies, all participants were Maya speakers. They set up eight teams to work on a set of stories each. Together, they translated the forty stories of the *Cuentos para México* Web site.[7]

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[7] https://global-asp.github.io/storybooks-mexico/stories/yua/. Hilario gave permission to publish this experience here. To ensure privacy, the names of the students were anonymized.

4.5.2 *Maya Identity and Interculturality in Practice*

The Maya teams worked during one semester on the stories. After a first rendering they called "pre-translation," each team enlisted the items that needed input from others to reach consensus and produce a second rendering. This input was provided by their peers in class, students in higher semesters, other teachers, or family or knowledgeable members of the community. The translators also consulted reference materials such as dictionaries as well as notes from previous courses. The final part of the process involved a check for punctuation, following the Standardized Maya Norms (INALI, 2014b).[8] The final drafts were adopted by consensus after group discussion.

During his welcome speech at the start of our workshop, Hilario addressed the lack of Maya equivalents as a first challenge for Maya translators. He discussed this need to innovate in the context of postcolonialism, which in his conversation refers to the postcolonial period in Mexican history:

> Postcolonialism brought us this [homogenization]. It was the start of discrimination, of racism. [In this context], who would want to write in their language? Who would want to publish in their language? The majority of these impacts made our language drop in its advancement. Spanish has all its norms updated, [it has] books, publications, web pages. And our languages have a minimum development, they are displaced by Spanish. Postcolonialism impacted negatively, and this also applies to translation, it brings us problems. I am looking at "panda", at how to translate "panda". I check a dictionary, for example, in English, and quickly I'll find it. But in Maya? This was the first challenge. (Hilario Poot Cahun, November 21, 2018)

Hilario's view of translation steered the decision process in the teams. Hilario considers the creation of new vocabulary to be an intrinsic part of Indigenous language development to meet changes occurring in the life and culture of the region. To enrich the language, he encouraged his students to look first at reference materials for established equivalents. When existing, this knowledge would be retrieved and recovered, even if they were archaisms that are not part of ordinary speech anymore. Sometimes, the translators felt awkward with the result, yet accepted their subject position as students and conceded to the teacher's view. In the story about a boy called Magozwe, the protagonist wants to become a pilot. The translators recall their search for an equivalent for the noun "pilot":

> In this story, the difficulty we encountered was with the word "pilot" (Sp. "piloto"). There already was a definition in the Cordemex [dictionary],[9] but the problem we encountered here is, for example, that a Maya speaker when reading this, if it is only written in Maya, he or

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[8] The INALI also directs standardization projects and considers these to be fundamental instruments to enhance the status of the Indigenous languages and their speakers, and counter language shift (INALI, 2012). These standardization efforts face several challenges, which cannot be discussed in this chapter (on this topic see, e.g., De Korne, 2018; Flores Farfán, 2014; Gal, 2018; Shah & Brenzinger, 2021).

[9] First published in 1980, research for this almost 1400-page dictionary was directed by anthropologist and linguist Alfredo Barrera Vázquez, who was the founder of the Academy of the Maya language in 1937.

she would not figure out what it is meant to say. For us, there is no word "ah chun chem". When a Maya speaker reads it, of course he or she would not understand it. So, like we put it here, "ah chun chem", as you can see, well, it is not comprehensible. And we wanted to find another way to name it, but there wasn't. So we had to respect the definition of the Cordemex [modernized as "ajchum chem"], but these are expressions that are not used in the region. (Team 1, November 21, 2018)

The search for established equivalents included neologisms such as "chowak xikin" (lit. "long-ear") for donkey: "We considered it appropriate to use existing neologisms, so that they become known" (Team 1, November 21, 2018). When established equivalents where not available, borrowing was avoided. Even when some translators argued in favor of names such as "giraffe," as giraffe was also a loan in English or French, the creation of new vocabulary was based on the elements and resources of the Maya language: wéewel tsíimin (lit. "striped horse") for zebra, *jomba'alce'* (lit. "trunk-animal") for elephant. The final rendering of giraffe became *chowak kaale'* (lit. "long-neck").

The translators expressed to be open to change, yet most teams adopted a rather purist attitude (Flores Farfán, 2014) to writing in Maya. They rejected the idea of using loan translations or hispanicized names that are common in everyday spoken language and considered that the written expression of Maya can and should be developed with its own resources. About the use of Spanish "hasta" in expressions such as "áasta ke" ("see you tomorrow"), they explained why they had avoided this popular speech when saying goodbye:

A lot of people use "áasta ke", they hispanicize it, that is, they use a direct loan translation. But we settled that, since we are working on an academic text that will be online, we cannot use a loan but need to recur to [interlingual] equivalence. (Team 2, November 21, 2018)

Adopting the subject position translators rather than students, they gained a position of strength and claimed more powerful identities. This showed in their use of expert language to clarify their decisions, for example, when they used topicalization to stress particular parts of phrases or opted for modulation as a translation technique. Topicalization is a favored substitute for the verb "to be," which is non-existent in Maya (Team 2, November 21, 2018). One instance of modulation occurred when "enemy" was rendered as "persons who do not get on well" (Team 3, November 21, 2018).

The translators displayed confidence in their choices through the use of these labels. Another label was the adaptation technique. In the story of Khalai, the protagonist is a girl who speaks to animals and plants. In one phrase, she addresses an unspecified type of tree growing in the schoolyard. This poses a dilemma in Maya, which requires identification of a particular tree in this situation. Outside the context of a wood, wilderness or grown-over farmland, the noun for tree, *che',* will be understood as a piece of wood, such as a stake, a log, a broken off branch, or a wooden plank or board. The team resolved to include the indication of a planted tree, which left it more or less unspecified, and kept the meaning of a living tree (Team 5, November 21, 2018).

The decisions about how and when to apply the adaptation technique presented an opportunity to envision the intended audience of the materials. This happened, for example, with the verb "to push." In Maya, "aakan" is to push when giving birth, but only applies to animals. The Maya verb that corresponds to the pushing during labor would not be used in the imperative to encourage the mother. The translators used the description *¡Ts'áaj a wóoli'!* (give it your all!), which includes the emotion and the strength needed to push. This way, when reading the complete sentence, it is clear that the assisting women are encouraging the delivering woman. Their reasoning was this:

> We recurred to more cultural contexts, so that these [terms] would have a broad meaning, and the reader would understand and get the general idea of the complete text. (Team 1, November 21, 2018)

Adaptation concerns the replacement of cultural elements in the source language with a cultural equivalent in the target language. The example above shows how, in their translation practice, the translators take into account the learners they imagine so that they might understand the chosen cultural equivalent. It should be noted that the translators are in a privileged position, using digital technologies as educational tools and in their private lives, when IBE schools and many Maya households struggle to gain access to basic utilities. This made it difficult for them to envision the users of these materials, and they spoke more broadly of "readers in Maya" as an audience. Yet, in the follow-up survey, they expressed their appreciation for the materials as appropriate and child-friendly, especially due to its multimedia format. No mention was made of the benefits of multimodal materials for literacy development that are inclusive of Indigenous forms of transmitting linguistic and cultural knowledge. For the Maya translators, the main appeal of digital learning materials is their presence on the Internet. From their position as Internet users, they considered the materials "attractive" and "modern," and felt confident that the multimedia features would make children curious to check out the stories and interact in Maya on the Internet.

The translators also expressed their thoughts about the intercultural processes in the stories and how they had addressed these in their work. They were positive about the end results:

- There are many people who like to know one and the same story in various languages and thus learn another language different from their own. For example, I would like to learn about another language through stories, since it is shorter, and obviously I would like to have the translation in a language I know, be it Maya or Spanish.

- Today we are going through a process of interculturality, and there is more receptiveness and respect towards knowledge from other cultures.

4.5.3   Maya Identity and Interculturality in the Multilingual Setting

Speaking Maya is a marker of ethnic identity; yet, this and other ethnolinguistic categories are regarded as fluid, localized, situational, and not mutually exclusive with other identities.[10] In this dynamic and relational context, writing in Maya is a purposeful and strategic expression of Mayan identity, in particular for youngsters (de León Pasquel, 2018), who aim to mobilize language resources to revalue their ways of knowing and their languages and contribute to cultural and ethnic reclamation (Llanes-Ortiz, 2016). In this activism, there is a discussion on the role of the written form of the language to help destigmatize the local language (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006), legitimize, and revalorize its use and extend its domains of usage (Cru, 2014, 2017). Thus, several young and adult Maya speakers now write in their language as a social practice (Llanes-Ortiz, 2016), contributing to language maintenance and revitalization, and also to the development of Indigenous literacy in Maya. Some authors speak of a new stage of Mayan ethnogenesis that is, in particular, promoted at local universities (Guerrettaz, 2020).

The Maya students who collaborated in our project are immersed in outside-school digital practices, embracing reading and writing activities that are cultural forms to express ethnic and social identities. Being users of Facebook, WhatsApp, and other social networks to consume, produce, share, and discuss digital resources, they considered it natural that Indigenous children should use these tools in their learning process. The translation task was part of their daily digital interactions, yet with two significant differences: the language of communication and the institutional setting. The translators, who mostly use Spanish in their everyday social network communication, now had to reflect on the role of the Indigenous language in these digital spaces. Also, their collaboration in the Storybooks Mexico project placed the classroom in the foreground as a site of identity negotiation.

In their translation process, the young translators positioned themselves as students, translators, or users of digital technologies. Norton (2013) discusses how, for language learners, the "target language may be, to some extent, a reconstruction of past community and historically constituted relationships, but also a community of the imagination, a desired community that offers possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future" (2013: 3). During the creation of learning digital materials in the Indigenous language, the translators for Maya envisioned this future connecting the old and the new. The learning materials were associated with novel ways of literacy learning that challenge prevailing IBE models; yet, they were also firmly rooted in Maya literacy traditions and attitudes toward writing as prescribed in existing reference works and at their educational institution. The contents of the materials provided resources from other parts of the world and were believed to

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[10] The discussion of Mayan as an ethnic category is ongoing. Most specialists, however, consider Maya to be an ethnic identification historically imposed by outsiders—starting with the Spanish colonization-, which was adopted only recently by Mayan people, who mainly use self-referents based on class, dress, and linguistic markers, rather than ethnicity (Castellanos, 2010).

enrich literacy experiences for children, yet were consciously adapted to the local cultural setting to be respectful toward local knowledge systems and local ways of knowledge transfer.

The translators were greatly motivated by the idea that their contributions to the Storybooks project would be on display on the Internet, as then "everybody will be able to see it, and our name is there." It made them become more engaged with the materials and with finding ways to best translate the stories for the intended audience. Online spaces have become increasingly important for the construction of identities (Darvin, 2016) and the translators' motivation and engagement connects to their desire to project a self in these spaces. To these new writers and creators of Indigenous language resources, digital media offer new ways to perceive and situate themselves within their communities, providing for more horizontal, dialogical, and participative social relations with peers. While negotiating the often contradictory tensions they encounter as members of diverse communities, they use the Indigenous language to express self-identity and create new discourses (de León Pasquel, 2018).

Translators' comments such as the one above can also be directly linked to their desire to promote the Indigenous language in digital spaces. Their view on interculturality is here articulated as the need to make their language visible to others, conquering spaces where this expression is only marginally present. They expressed their willingness to play an active part in this process, performing a new identity as digital language activists. In this, the Indigenous language plays a prominent role and is put to work to challenge coercive relations of power.

Accordingly, the inadequate education system or the lack of opportunities to develop Indigenous literacies was not the main reasons for the translators to participate in the Storybooks project. Their motivation originated from the knowledge about the situation and position of their language in the multilingual setting and their vision of how digital media might constitute a factor of social change. Rather than the promotion of Indigenous literacy in particular, they framed the development of learning materials within a context of claiming visibility for their language to others. Also, they stressed the need to revalue of the language within the language community. At the start of the project, one of the translators for the Maya language said it would be great to use other media like digital platforms "to make our language known to others, to disseminate and revalue our Peninsular Maya language." Another comment was that the project surely would "contribute to revitalize, strengthen, and develop our Indigenous languages".

The online presence of an Indigenous language raises its social prestige within the community and expresses its worth to exist amidst languages of wider communication (Galla, 2018). Writing in Maya becomes a conscious action against the dominance of Spanish, aiming to make the Indigenous language visible to others. It is no so much equity in Indigenous literacy that the translators in our project seek; their target is the Maya language itself as an issue of equity.

Equity in digital literacy was discussed as a right to develop the Maya language autonomously, especially without the help or influence of dominant languages. The more conservative approach in their language work (e.g., preferring existing neologisms—even when no longer in use—over loans and the creation of new forms)

aimed to display the resources of the local language as independent from Spanish (Cruz Cruz, 2020) and suitable for the modern technological world. At the same time, it was a sign of respect toward the Mayanists who had created reference works, possibly fueled by a lack of authority they felt as commencing translators of Maya. What they considered appropriate can be understood when revising the relations of power that affect the interaction between the students and their teacher (Norton, 2013).

Equity in digital literacy deals not only with the lack of access to new technologies, but with the opportunities to engage with digital resources in the home or first language (Stranger-Johannessen et al., 2018). For writing, extensive and motivating reading and exposure to multiple registers is required to gain expertise, together with authentic opportunities for the use of these registers (Cummins, 2000). When lacking resources, such as open-licensed digital learning materials, equity cannot be achieved. However, in a society where Spanish is the language of power and access, the development of learning materials to promote Indigenous literacies is challenging. In their call for new practices of teaching, learning, and ways of relating, community-based initiatives have to go against a dominant educational model that does not consider linguistic and cultural differences. As a result, the creation of literacy learning materials and the promotion of literacy learning become part of a bigger issue of Indigenous language reclamation meant to bring the language to new uses and new users, claim the right to speak a language, and set goals according to the local needs and perspectives (De Korne & Leonard, 2017; Hornberger et al., 2016).

4.6 Implications for Education in a Global Sense

Digital technologies have the potential to be powerful tools for the development of Indigenous literacy. As to the effectiveness of these digital media, digital presence is said to bridge the gap between oral and written discourse as digitally mediated language use is often more informal (Fenyvesi, 2014), extending the functions of the language in a playful, contemporary and creative ways, and incorporating emotional aspects that are not addressed in institutional settings (Cru, 2017). Digital technologies enable multimodal ways of learning, which are known to contribute to children's individual communicative repertoire, encourage peer interaction, and foster cooperative learning (Hornberger, 2019). As the oral and visual components add to the writing, multimodality can allocate alternative modes of representation and communication to enhance learning. It is inclusive to Indigenous forms of transmitting linguistic and cultural knowledge, such as storytelling, and can support and recognize orality as a fundamental part of language use and of cultural and linguistic diversity (Maffi, 2003; Rebolledo Recendiz, 2014; Shaul, 2014). This is crucial, as Indigenous literacy learning grounded in location and community, and informed by

local literacy practices and ways of knowing, help students develop a sense of their own identity (Hare, 2005) and is vital as a foundation for ensuring the cognitive and linguistic development of children (Romero-Little, 2010).

However, digital technologies can also lead to a new forms of colonization, reinforcing Western-based dominant modes of knowledge systems and worldviews (Galla, 2018), and generating new modes of inclusion and exclusion. A better understanding is needed of how technology is adapted, adopted, developed, and promoted among speakers of Indigenous languages (Galla, 2018). An important concern in this is how learners are able to gain digital access and literacies necessary to assert their place in the world (Darvin, 2016). Much remains to be done in this area to prevent the creation of literacy inequalities in these digital spaces.

Our project focused on the development of learning materials that will introduce digital technologies in Indigenous literacy learning. We foregrounded the creators of these materials as actors who, through their translation practice, perform multiple identities as they navigate multiple contexts of power. These translators already have a digital mindset and can become agents of change in their communities regarding the development of Indigenous literacies. The understanding of their translation practice should be complemented with a more profound study of their digital practices, in particular regarding their multimodality productivity, representation, and socialization. These practices influence their views on how to develop Indigenous digital literacies in their community.

Apart from desiring something for themselves, the translators linked their practice to interculturality as a project to change hegemonic perspectives on the development of Indigenous literacies, connected to the need to revitalize the language and tackle the roots of inequality that underlie the subordinate position of the Indigenous people. The translated stories did not only contribute to digital literacy development; they became a tool to dignify and make the Indigenous language visible on the Internet. Interculturality is thus intrinsically connected to language reclamation.

The aim of language reclamation "is not merely or even primarily a linguistic one but is profoundly linked to issues of educational equity, Indigenous self-determination, and the (re)construction of community well-being via culturally distinctive worldviews, identities, and life orientations" (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014: 107). Language reclamation starts at the community level and Indigenous literacy development can be an important component of initiatives to strengthen and revitalize the local language. Solid local involvement is crucial, as projects should part from the local perspective on Indigenous literacy (Hare, 2005) and local ways of learning (Hare, 2011). With suitable learning materials, teachers can incorporate their knowledge about local perspectives on how children learn in classrooms and home settings into the learning process. The local use and valuation of these (digital) media have to be further examined and discussed to better understand traditional and digital literacy as a set of socially organized practices in Indigenous and minority languages.

In the current context of language loss, it is important to examine and discuss how digital spaces may contribute to language legitimization and revitalization (Cru, 2014, 2017; Fenyvesi, 2014; Galla, 2018). In these discussions, young Indigenous language

speakers should be taken into account as vital actors, who contribute to literacy development both from within and outside institutional efforts. The acknowledgment of their agency as multilingual, multicompetent actors in the creation of learning materials will provide more insight into the future of the Indigenous literacies.

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Part II
Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Teacher Education

Chapter 5
Challenging Monolingual Norms: TESL Teacher Education to Advance Learners' Plurilingual and Pluricultural Awareness

Angelica Galante, John Wayne dela Cruz, Maria Chiras, and Lana Zeaiter

Abstract Multilingualism is the norm in many societies across the globe, and Canada is no exception. Colonialism, immigration and mobility have transformed the way people use language(s) and navigate relations of power in society. Despite this diverse reality, language education continues to follow a one-language-only approach, and learners are expected to perform based on standard monolingual norms. Previous research shows that while language teachers value linguistically and culturally inclusive language classrooms, implementing pedagogical change is still a challenge. To address this issue, our chapter presents pedagogical resources developed as part of a Quebec-funded project in a Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) teacher education program in the multilingual and multicultural city of Montreal, Canada. To facilitate teacher development in plurilingual pedagogies, we drew from the theoretical concepts of plurilingualism, pluriculturalism and identity to design educational materials that consisted of a YouTube Playlist with tutorials, VoiceThread discussions, an action-oriented task template and pre-service teacher reflections. We discuss how our resources can facilitate a shift in teachers' mindsets from monolingual to plurilingual approaches to teaching additional languages in Canada and other multilingual and multicultural contexts. We end the chapter by discussing implications and challenges such as monolingual and bilingual policies that can undermine learners' plurilingual identities.

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5.1   Introduction/Context

Language education for plurilingual speakers is an increasingly important issue on an international scale particularly given the rise in multilingualism in many countries (UNESCO, 2019), including Canada (Kubota & Bale, 2020; Lau et al., 2020; Piccardo, 2019). Many multilingual countries have national language policies that favour one or two languages, which result in a power imbalance among languages present in the landscape and a false monolingual/bilingual identity of individuals who speak the national languages that are recognized officially. Canada, for example, has an official bilingual policy, with English and French enjoying official status, but the country has over 200 non-official languages, including Indigenous and immigrant languages. Similar to other immigrant receiving countries, linguistic diversity in Canada is on the rise primarily due to an increase in immigration over the past few years (Statistics Canada, 2017). Immigrants account for two-thirds of the growth in the population between 2011 and 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017) and 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. These numbers indicate that the landscape is more multilingual than ever before and language policies and pedagogy need to catch up with this current phenomenon. In language education, this new reality requires that teachers are well equipped to teach the target language while concurrently preparing their students to develop plurilingual and pluricultural awareness. In additional language teaching, this is important especially given that the field of language education has traditionally been monolingually-oriented and rather than preparing plurilingual speakers, language education aimed at preparing students to be speakers of the target language only (Piccardo, 2019).

Despite the growing multilingual trend, linguistic and cultural diversity is often overlooked in educational settings. There are concerns that monolingual policies assume that separating languages is the default best practice (Cummins, 2017), which can have a negative impact on the educational path of plurilingual speakers and their chances for academic success. These speakers are often subject to stereotypes regarding lower academic expectations and achievements, for example, in the assessment of language proficiency and/or deficient categorizations such as labelling students as being "at risk," or "remedial" (Mahboob & Szenes, 2010; Stanley, 2010). This issue calls for the need to address language learning and performance that does not conform to monolingual standards and expectations (García, 2019). If students' linguistic repertoires, identities and prior lived experiences are undervalued or ignored, plurilingual speakers' linguistic practices will remain marginalized.

In this chapter, we use the term multilingual to refer to the side-by-side existence of many languages in the social landscape (not necessarily interacting socially) and plurilingual and pluricultural to refer to the repertoire of languages and cultures within the individual, which is a distinction made in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR; Council of Europe [CoE], 2001, 2020). While some scholars, including ourselves, may use the terms multilingual and plurilingual interchangeably in the literature, we make this distinction here to help us highlight

individual plurilingual and pluricultural awareness as it is the focus of the chapter. We are particularly interested in addressing current social multilingual realities and through teacher education assist pre-service teachers change potential monolingual biases. That is, we strongly believe that through teacher education on plurilingual approaches, teachers can help their students reject the potential monolingual-oriented notion that in order to be a legitimate speaker of a language they need to speak it like a native speaker. Instead, teachers can help empower their students to see themselves as plurilingual speakers with rich linguistic and cultural resources that can be used for communication, as we later explore in the chapter. Therefore, we use the *pluri* to focus on the individual and *multi* to focus on the social landscape.

Given that language policies and pedagogical practices in many countries may be incongruent with plurilingual speakers' realities, our goal is to provide pre-service teacher education on plurilingual approaches to validate student identity. As part of a research project funded by the *Fonds de recherche du Québec—Societé et Culture* (FRQSC), we produced pre-service teacher education materials on plurilingual approaches for a teaching English as a second language (TESL) program at McGill University in Montréal, Québec, Canada. While we focus on a city that presents a unique multilingual context in a non-English-speaking province of Canada, the learner-centred nature of our pedagogical materials allows for their applicability in other contexts.

5.1.1 Montréal: Linguistic and Cultural Landscape

Montréal is the city in North America with the highest percentage of trilingual residents, where more than 40% know French and English along with an additional language (Statistics Canada, 2017). Montréal is the largest city in the French-speaking province of Québec and has a population of over 4 million people with approximately 150 languages (Statistics Canada, 2017). English in the province of Québec is considered a minority language, but at the national level, English is the majority language. Montréal faces the contradicting reality of being a multilingual and multicultural city having to conform to official monolingual French policies which legislate and regulate French language use in public and encourage residents to support Francophone culture as a means of integration in the dominant Québec society. In 2020, first-generation immigrants accounted for 38.5% of Montréal's population, while second-generation immigrants—people with at least one parent born outside of Canada—accounted for 21% of the population (Office de consultation publique de Montréal, 2020). Our research is particularly aimed at TESL education and understanding the context where we are based is important as it provides indicators of potential challenges for pedagogical change given the historical facts and language policy structures. The terms ESL (English as a second language) and FSL (French as a second language) are commonly used across Canada and are indicative of the officially bilingual national identity supported in language policies. We problematize official English/French bilingualism and raise issues about the lack of

recognition of other types of bilingualisms as well as of minoritized languages and cultures in the Canadian landscape. The ESL and FSL is reminiscent of the colonial legacy in Canada, as discussed in the next section. Thus, while we use TESL and ESL to refer to the current policies and the teacher education program, we argue that this dichotomy may permeate the view language learners may have of themselves as either monolingual or bilingual, only if this identity refers to these languages. Instead, we offer an alternative to empower language speakers as plurilingual speakers and develop a plurilingual identity.

5.1.2 Language and Culture in Québec

Canada carries a colonial legacy that has strongly influenced language use today. Historically, the conflicts between the English and the French as the two colonial powers have created a structure for the development of distinct language policies in Canada. While at the federal level (Canadian) language policies focus on promoting an English and French bilingual framework, Québec is the only Canadian province with a monolingual French framework. In Canada, English and French are the official languages as outlined by the federal *Official Languages Act* (1969), and in Québec, French is the official language as mandated by the Québec *Charter of the French Language* (1977). In addition to preserving the French language in the province, the education clause in the charter prevents access to English language schools for the majority of the population. In order to attend English language schools in Québec, 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, especially students from an immigrant background.

As noted, the evolution of Québec's and Canada's history of language policies conflicts with the current multilingual and multicultural reality of the province and country. To respond to the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of the population, the federal government introduced the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in 1988, which supported the preservation of immigrant languages while reaffirming the two official languages in the country: English and French. Whereas Canada's multicultural model supports the existence of cultural differences with no "official culture" within an English and French structure, Québec's adoption of the intercultural model supports a distinct Francophone identity and culture by rejecting linguistic diversity. In Québec, interculturalism has been understood as a response to Canada's *Multicultural Act* and as a different social model that would ensure the preservation of the French language and Francophone culture as to encourage the linguistic integration of immigrants to Québec society (Heller, 2011).

In 2015, 90.4% of students in Québec attended a French primary and/or secondary school; as well, in 2015, the percentage of plurilingual students who attended French school rose from only 14.6% in 1971 to 89.4% (Office québécois de la langue française, 2017) as a direct result of the 1977 inception of the French mandated

policies. In Montréal, in 2015, the proportion of plurilingual students who attended school in French 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). In higher education, Québec is the only province with both French and English college systems, and students have the option to attend an English or French-speaking college or university. Prior to attending a university, however, students are required to complete a two-year college diploma in an English or French CEGEP, the French acronym for *Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*. Because there are both English- and French-speaking universities in Québec, students choose an English or French-speaking college based on their future path to university. For example, students who wish to attend an English-speaking university, which is the case of McGill University where we are based, often choose to attend an English-speaking college as prior academic preparation in English. However, students from an immigrant background, who did not have the opportunity to complete their schooling in Québec or attend college, need to take ESL courses to improve language proficiency in English. ESL classes are offered as part of the Québec curriculum whether it is an English- or French-speaking school. In any ESL class in Montréal, it is common to have students from an immigrant background and who speak multiple languages and students who grew up in Québec and who speak French as a first language and other additional languages. Our work, therefore, focuses on preparing pre-service teachers to teach this student population in ESL classes in Montréal schools.

Similar to this student population in Montréal schools, the pre-service teachers who attend teacher education programs in English-speaking universities, which is the case of McGill University where we are located, are largely plurilingual, as many speak two or more languages as a result of their immigrant and Indigenous backgrounds, or of growing up in Québec going through the French education system prior to attending an English-speaking university. By the end of the TESL teacher education program at McGill, the pre-service teachers will have the required Québec provincial license that allows them to teach ESL in provincially-funded elementary and secondary schools. Some of our pre-service teachers will teach local and international students in CEGEPs or other language programs, although the Québec license may not be required in these workplaces. Some of them may go to an English-speaking province in Canada (e.g. Ontario) or teach abroad. Therefore, despite the specificity of our context, our pedagogical materials were designed to be applicable to both national and international levels. One important point is that these materials do not offer ready-made prescribed tasks; instead, they allow pre-service teachers to reflect on their own context and student population, and how a plurilingual approach can advance their students' plurilingual and pluricultural awareness.

5.2 Theoretical Framing: Plurilingualism, Pluriculturalism and Identity

As previously mentioned, our work draws on the concepts of *multilingualism* and *pluriculturalism. Multilingualism* refers to the presence of multiple languages at the societal level, such as in Canada, where Indigenous and immigrant languages exist and are spoken alongside the official English and French languages at home, work, schools (e.g. heritage language schools) and public spaces (e.g. public transportation and stores). In this sense, multilingualism refers to an enumerative addition of one language to a list of languages. *Plurilingualism,* on the other hand, puts forth a repertoire at the individual level of interrelated languages *and* cultures, from which individuals have the agency to draw when using their languages or when learning new ones. Hence, even a monolingual person can be considered plurilingual since familiarity with regional varieties or dialects in one language only is part of a plurilingual repertoire (Piccardo, 2019).

Pluriculturalism is also an inherent aspect of plurilingualism, which treats languages and cultures as inseparable. In a plurilingual framework, learners' language use is tied to their cultural experiences, life trajectories, and social interactions (Marshall & Moore, 2018; Ortega, 2013, 2014). As such, language learners' linguistic practices help them co-construct and negotiate their *identity*, through their lived and embodied experiences with languages and cultures, as well as their evolving investments in personal values and goals (Busch, 2017; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013). Within a plurilingual framework, a person's linguistic repertoire and identities are therefore dynamic, complex, fluid, and embedded in their linguistic and cultural experiences (Piccardo, 2019). Plurilingual individuals may use one language at work, another language at home and a mix of languages for several other purposes. They have a unique *plurilingual blueprint* (Galante, 2020a, p. 240) that belongs to them only and is a result of their linguistic and cultural resources which have developed in their past and will continue to develop in their lifetime. However, even individuals who speak two or more languages may not recognize themselves as plurilingual; instead, they may see themselves as a bilingual speaker who keeps their language practices separated, a belief which Grosjean (1989) referred to as two monolinguals in one over thirty years ago. Instead, developing *plurilingual and pluricultural awareness* is an essential holistic dimension of plurilingualism, as it helps learners recognize and foster their emergent *plurilingual and pluricultural identity*. Therefore, plurilingual/pluricultural awareness and identity allow individuals to have agency over their own language use, choose when to use their languages, where, and for which purposes. They can also challenge societal monolingual norms, their own potential monolingual biases, nativespeakerism and the notion of language separation.

Language learners' identities are composed of several personal, historical, social, cultural and linguistic factors that interact with each other in different ways and for different purposes depending on the specific situation (Galante, 2019). For example, in language classrooms, they rely on their linguistic repertoires, choosing between

two or three languages during social and discipline-specific interactions (Ortega, 2013; Rymes, 2014). As well, plurilingual students use their repertoires to negotiate and construct new varieties in their language practices, which suggests that language, culture and identity are interrelated (Canagarajah, 2018; Galante, 2020b; Lau et al., 2016). Pedagogical practices need to transcend standardized views that stem from monolingual/bilingual political discourses towards approaches that integrate students' entire repertoire, whether stemming from languages learned at home, in social settings, or from prior educational experiences (Busch, 2017; García, 2019). Moreover, creating spaces and implementing pedagogical approaches which embrace the fluid language system of plurilingual speakers and contest the view that students need to conform to monolingual expectations of language use is urgently needed (Canagarajah, 2018; Cummins, 2017; Lau et al., 2016).

5.2.1 Empirical Findings: Student Identities and Plurilingual and Pluricultural Awareness

Existing literature reveals an intricate and tight link among language, culture and identity (Kramsch, 2009; Norton, 2013). This interrelationship is further made complex by ideological, political and historical factors that affect linguistic practices and identity (Dagenais, 2013; Lamarre, 2013). For instance, among language learners, research shows that more experienced language learners tend to be more aware of their plurilingual and pluricultural identity (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009; dela Cruz, 2022a). Yet, official educational and societal monolingual policies could potentially disparage or even suppress the expression of such plurilingual/pluricultural identities (Oliveira & Ança, 2009; Pickel & Hélot, 2014).

Engaging in an introspective reflection of our own identities can better prepare us to understand others, their cultural beliefs and values. In Australian classes, where an intercultural approach to language learning has been widely embraced, research shows that a key element for students to develop interculturality and multilingual identity is self-awareness (we understand that plurilingual and multilingual can be used interchangeably here) (Fielding, 2021). Young and adult learners who recognize their plurilingual and pluricultural identity tend to also identify as having plurilingual and pluricultural competence (e.g. Galante, 2020b; Prasad, 2018). In a study with plurilinguals studying English in a French-speaking college (CEGEP) in Montréal, many learners who did not recognize their plurilingual and pluricultural awareness also tended to identify as monolingual and monocultural (e.g. dela Cruz, 2022b), even if they reported speaking two or more languages. More importantly, regardless of age, research shows that language learners' plurilingual identity is dynamic and multiplex and is critical to their linguistic and personal developments within and beyond their language classrooms (Fielding, 2016; Lau et al., 2016; Stille, 2015). Such findings have implications for the inclusion of plurilingual and pluricultural dimensions to

language education to ensure that students develop not only their linguistic competences on the target language, but also their plurilingual and pluricultural awareness and identities.

Apart from individual awareness, societal and educational language policies can play an important role in developing or hindering the development of plurilingual identities. For example, a recent study conducted with 250 Montréal residents in an English-speaking university shows that all participants had at least three languages in their repertoire and that 92.9% ($n = 231$) identified as plurilingual, reporting their rich linguistic repertoire and lived cultural experiences as a reason for this self-reported identity (Galante & dela Cruz, 2021). Most participants who did not identify as plurilingual reported that they perceived themselves as bilingual, even if they had more than two languages in their repertoire. Interestingly, all of those who identified as bilingual were born in Québec and were fluent in English and French. The authors explain that this result could be tied to official English–French policies in Canada (see also Churchill, 2003), as well as dominant language discourses: a bilingual person is only considered bilingual if they speak the two Canadian official languages fluently (Heller, 2007), while other types of bilingualism (minoritized languages) are often ignored. This discrepancy between policies and students' plurilingual realities in many multilingual settings further necessitates inclusive language instruction in order to foster learners' plurilingual and pluricultural awareness and identities.

5.2.2   The Need for Teacher Education on Plurilingual Approaches

Studies conducted in multilingual settings reveal that plurilingual language teachers can have different views of their students' repertoires compared to teachers who perceive themselves as monolingual. One study in Australia shows that ESL teachers' ($n = 31$) repertoires influence their beliefs about language teaching: plurilingual teachers have awareness that the varying proficiency levels in the languages in their repertoire is normal while monolingual teachers see this imbalance as a deficiency (Ellis, 2013). Moreover, the study shows that plurilingual teachers are more aware of language learning strategies, such as code-switching and intercomprehension, compared to teachers who consider themselves as monolingual. These results offer a step in the right direction but do not necessarily mean that teachers who identify as plurilingual are ready to implement plurilingual approaches in the classroom. For example, another study with teachers of diverse languages in Australia and the UK ($n = 62$) shows that even if teachers recognized the languages in their repertoire they still had limited awareness of their students' repertoire (Pauwels, 2014), which can hinder the implementation of plurilingual approaches. In fact, most teachers considered their students' plurilingual repertoire as an annoyance, but a few teachers who had received teacher education on plurilingualism considered their students' repertoire as an asset. In another study with a collaboration between a researcher and seven

university teachers of English for academic purposes in Canada, results show that teachers confronted their own monolingual and monocultural biases after applying weekly plurilingual tasks under the guidance of the researcher (Galante et al., 2020). These results show that teachers can successfully implement plurilingual approaches with the right support.

One way to support teachers in the implementation of plurilingual approaches is through teacher education, which can be done during their pre-service training or in-service with projects supported by a researcher. However, time and reflection is needed for teachers to challenge their own beliefs and rethink their own pedagogical practices. For example, researchers and teachers in Lau and colleagues' (2020) study needed "cycles of planning, action, and reflection" in order to successfully implement a cross-curricular plurilingual approach in college English and French courses (p. 293). Thus, without support for teachers, the implementation of plurilingual approaches will remain a challenge (Ellis, 2013; Kubota, 2020). Without the necessary support and resources, teachers are often left to rely on the spontaneous plurilingual practices of their students, which could sometimes come off as random or unsystematic.

Another issue that poses barriers for the implementation of plurilingual approaches is teachers' monolingual predisposition (Piccardo, 2013); that is, many teachers still follow the native speaker model as a standard, and students' linguistic diversity remains unreflected in the language pedagogies that they receive (Sterzuk, 2015). This reality leaves language teachers professionally unprepared to teach languages to an increasingly multilingual and multicultural student population. For instance, many pre-service teachers feel unprepared to employ plurilingual approaches in their teaching, despite being committed to the importance of social justice in language education (Mujawamariya & Mahrouse, 2006); specifically, the pre-service teachers in this study felt that they received inadequate education to prepare them to effectively teach an ethnoracially diverse student population. Further, some of these teachers have expressed dissatisfaction with their training programs, citing the vague or generalized nature of the multicultural education they received. That is, while the challenges of increasingly multilingual societies are often presented, no room is fostered for real and meaningful discussions of these challenges.

In Québec, like other contexts, socio-political tensions pose further challenges for the inclusion of plurilingual education. As previously noted, Québec's unique historical and political landscape has produced a space where the use and presence of English is tense and conflicted. This extends to ESL classrooms, where one study shows that the use of French by francophone learners is polarizing for many B.Ed. student–teachers (Winer, 2007); when discussing their internship experiences during their training, some pre-service teachers claimed that allowing students to use their first language was helpful in many situations, while others believed that this could lead students to excessively relying on their French, which in turn could eventually stunt their progress in English. These pre-service teachers' linguistic identities also come into question in their ESL classroom, where language-mixing was often contested. That is, given the monolingual policies and ideologies that permeate

many parts of Québec society–educational settings included–it is no surprise that some pre-service ESL teachers, especially those who identify as francophones, often experience ambivalence or even hostility from others towards their choice to teach English. That is, English can be seen as a threat in a province where monolingual French language policies are used to preserve French as a minority language in the country; thus, francophones who wish to become English teachers in Québec can be even seen as an enemy of their own people. Arguably, in contexts like Canada and Québec, where bilingual and monolingual frameworks are applied in multilingual cities, monolingual ideologies continue to inform policy and practice within and beyond language classrooms (Kubota & Miller, 2017). It is this precise gap that we were interested in addressing: how can we better prepare pre-service teachers on plurilingual approaches to teaching English in contexts with monolingual policies?

5.3   Our Positionality

Our positionality is an important aspect of this project as our own identities and trajectories have motivated us to conduct this study. We have several years of experience teaching English language programs (English as a second and foreign language, English for academic purposes and English writing) in Montréal, in Canada, and in other countries; we all have an immigrant background either as first or second-generation settler in Canada (from Brazil, Philippines, Greece, and Lebanon); we are speakers of English as an additional language. Combined, we speak eight languages besides English: Portuguese, Spanish, French, Greek, Tagalog, Ilocano, Kapampangan, and Arabic. Our plurilingual identities are similar to the identities of many English teachers and ESL students in Montréal.

We engaged in reading recent literature on plurilingualism, translanguaging, interculturality and identity, particularly as they relate to pedagogical applications as well as our own identities and language practices. We shared articles, read and discussed them in bi-weekly meetings for approximately three months. Our discussions examined the extent to which the concepts and practices would be applicable to ESL programs in Montréal and beyond and how to provide initial teacher education on plurilingual approaches to students attending a pre-service program in TESL at McGill University. Our main goal was to prepare pre-service teachers who would teach in multilingual settings—in Montréal, Québec, Canada and other countries—to affirm their students' plurilingual and pluricultural identities while advancing their English language skills through action-oriented tasks.

5.4   Teacher Education on Plurilingual Approaches

The teacher education project described below was part of a second course on Teaching Methods that pre-service teachers attended as a required course in their

4th year of a B.Ed. program. The course was taught by the first author in the Winter term of 2021. Given the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, the course was delivered remotely with synchronous classes via Zoom and weekly asynchronous discussions via VoiceThread, which is a platform that allows students to post audio and video comments to one another, resembling a discussion. There were 22 pre-service teachers enrolled in the course. They were all familiar with traditional teaching methods such as communicative language teaching and task-based language teaching, but none of them were familiar with an action-oriented plurilingual approach to language teaching. That is, the pre-service teachers were familiar with decontextualized language activities such as using worksheets for grammar practice or role-playing a dialogue, but not on the use of language tasks for real-life situations, which is required when following an action-oriented approach. The course focused on hands-on applications so that the pre-service teachers could become familiar with the implementation of a plurilingual approach through the use of the new descriptors of the CEFR (CoE, 2020), which included plurilingual descriptors. While the descriptors are divided into proficiency levels, ranging from pre-A1 (novice) to C2 (experienced), the students were free to choose descriptors that best represented the abilities of their students, especially given that many times students may have different proficiency levels in the same class. For example, in a grade 10 class where most students have intermediate levels of English, the pre-service teachers sometimes chose similar descriptors across the levels: descriptors for building a pluricultural repertoire, pre-service teachers could choose *Can discuss in simple terms the way their own culturally determined actions may be perceived differently by people from other cultures* for B1 level or a similar descriptor for C1 level as *Can deal with ambiguity in cross-cultural communication and express their reactions constructively and culturally appropriately in order to bring clarity*. Since the CEFR descriptors are not meant to be used linearly or uniformly across levels as not all students are or should be equally proficient in all skills at the same level, the pre-service teachers would make decisions based on their own student population and choose most suitable descriptors regardless of the proficiency level suggested in the CEFR. The pre-service teachers were also required to adapt the descriptors chosen based on their students and their own context.

Advancing plurilingual and pluricultural awareness among language learners and affirming their identities as plurilingual speakers requires that pre-service teachers become familiar with pedagogical practices that can be implemented in their own classroom. For the purposes of our project, we focused on five plurilingual strategies, presented as video tutorials, followed by discussions on VoiceThread, and completion of tasks using a task template (see Appendix) which guided the pre-service teachers to reflect on and include a plurilingual approach in their classroom. The decision to include the strategies and the task template stemmed from the need to provide teachers education that suit their context (a multilingual setting), student population (plurilingual speakers) and pre-service teachers with little or no experience with plurilingual education.

5.4.1   Five Pedagogical Strategies

Based on our literature review and the fact that our pre-service teachers had little to no knowledge of plurilingual approaches, we selected five plurilingual strategies for initial pre-service teacher education:

(1) Cross-linguistic comparisons (Auger, 2005, 2008a, 2008b): comparing the languages of the students to the target language, English in this case, as an effective way to get students to engage in learning. These comparisons can be done at the level of linguistic features, such as grammar, syntax, phonology and morphology or at the level of language use. For example, when learning a new feature such as connectors, students can compare where connectors are positioned in sentences in different languages, compare to English sentences, and discuss their use in oral and written texts. Through cross-linguistic comparisons, students actively engage in learning and have their linguistic repertoire valued during the English lessons. Importantly, it was highlighted that such comparisons should not be done only among the official languages of Canada (e.g. comparing English with French), or the languages that the teachers spoke as most pre-service teachers imagined. Instead, even if the teacher does not speak all the languages of their students, they can give students the agency to compare their own languages (minoritized and/or official). The students can also be positioned as the "teacher" and explain such comparisons in their languages to other students and the teacher who may or may not speak those languages.

(2) Cross-cultural comparisons (Coste et al., 1997/2009): learning a new language offers a unique advantage to learning new cultures, customs, values and beliefs of a community. English is a language used in countries where the language is official, such as Canada, but also internationally; therefore, the way people use the language may differ depending on where it is spoken. Making cross-cultural comparisons can help students develop critical thinking, learn about how knowledge is constructed, understand their own culture and the culture of their peers, as well as new ways of life. By using cross-cultural comparisons, for example, when discussing topics such as food security and environmental issues, students can gather texts (oral, written or other semiotic resources) in different languages and compare the content that is prioritized, how knowledge is communicated in different languages and how language connects to culture. These comparisons offer opportunities to discuss values and ideas across languages and cultures, which in turn can develop an awareness of different ways of knowing or knowledge, develop criticality and creative ways of thinking. Cultures here are not bound to majority cultures attached to the language of instruction, for example, "mainstream Canadian culture" but to communities. For example, even though French and Québecois identity are promoted in language policies in the province of Québec, there are many Indigenous and immigrant communities whose cultures may differ from mainstream Québecois culture. As well, these discussions do not have to focus on difference only, but also highlight similarities across communities.

(3) Translanguaging (García & Otheguy, 2019; García & Li, 2014; Li, 2018): translanguaging, or using different languages and dialects for communication can be an effective strategy for making meaning of content in a new language. Students can read, write, watch a news segment or listen to a podcast in a language other than English and bring the knowledge to class to be discussed in English or in another language, if there are students in class who share the same languages. For example, in small groups, students can discuss a topic in Mandarin and later express the meaning discussed in English. Students can also start writing an essay in English, and if they feel "stuck" because they cannot remember a word or a verb, they can switch and continue in another language (this is called postponing) and later check for the meaning in English. By using languages other than English, students have the opportunity to continue communication, getting the point across, which can make communication more effective. While exposure to the target language is often a concern among teachers, translanguaging here is not used at the expense of the target language but as way to integrate the entire repertoire in the language tasks. That is, students can watch a video in one language and explain the knowledge in English or even mixing the languages if it is more appropriate. Thus, instead of the ESL teacher relying on English texts only, they can use texts in other languages and encourage their students to do the same.

(4) Translation for Mediation (Galante, 2021; González-Davies, 2017): whenever there is a new expression, vocabulary or grammatical item in the lesson, teachers can plan activities that engage students in using the languages in their repertoire. For example, teachers can ask students to translate the new items into languages they already know and in small groups share their translations with other peers, who will have translation in other languages. Students can compare meaning across languages, whether there is a translation in another language or not, how to pronounce these words, whether they are similar or different from English, etc. By translating in different languages and comparing these words, students have more opportunities to engage with meaning and are likely to learn these words more quickly. Here, the focus is not on professional translations but on building awareness of meanings, sounds, concepts and scripts across languages. For example, a student who speaks Cree, can write words or sentences on the board, pronounce them to their peers and explain how the suffixes attached to words can change the meaning of a sentence as well as compare whether these concepts even exist in English.

(5) Pluriliteracies (García et al., 2007; Meyer, 2016)**:** communication is a purposeful social activity, and plurilingual approaches consider language learners as *social agents* who complete different daily tasks using linguistic and cultural repertoire. Learners do not only interact through listening, speaking, reading and writing but also using other types or literacy such as visual representations (e.g. emoticons and GIFs), photographs, gestures and digital literacies (e.g. creating movies and Vlogs). Therefore, plurilingual approaches will make use of different types of pedagogical resources and materials already available, but new ones will be created by the learners. For example, one lesson can engage learners

in analysing a written poem in English and subsequently have them create a poem of their own and deliver it in different formats, such as *spoken word* or a *rap song.* Importantly, pluriliteracies are considered semtiotic resources for communication that are not necessarily bound to the linguistic code, that is, through embodying language and using non-linguistic representations students can expand their repertoire and see themselves as having rich resources for communication.

These five approaches have been discussed separately here for ease of presentation and to allow teachers to not rely on only one approach: for example, many pre-service teachers think that plurilingual approaches basically mean allowing students to use other languages in class, which is a limited view. Thus, the five strategies allow pre-service teachers to develop an understanding of different ways of engaging students' repertoires. Moreover, these strategies have soft boundaries among them and can be seen as interrelated as one can inform another or two or more can be used in a lesson at the same time. Given that the teaching methods course was delivered remotely due to the COVID-19 pandemic face-to-face restrictions, we created video tutorials to facilitate pre-service teacher understanding of the five strategies.

5.4.2 Five Video Tutorials for a Plurilingual Approach

The five videos we created were each approximately two-minutes long. They provide a brief explanation of the plurilingual strategy and examples for implementation in the ESL classroom. Our aim was to bridge the knowledge of the complex notion of plurilingualism as a theoretical framework to teaching practice through a creative and engaging visual representation. They are available online as a playlist on our research lab's (Plurilingual Lab) YouTube channel and in a teachers' guide we created as an outcome of this project (Galante et al. 2022). By watching the tutorials, the pre-service teachers were invited to reflect on using their students' linguistic and cultural repertoire in the classroom and affirm their student identity. They also provide pre-service teachers with a description of the steps of implementing a task following a plurilingual approach. Importantly, the video tutorials were accompanied by a task template (see sample in Appendix) and discussions via VoiceThread, as discussed below.

5.4.3 Task Template

Besides readings on post-method approaches (Galante, 2014), action-oriented tasks in language teaching (Piccardo, 2014), calls for Indigenous education in ESL teaching (Abe, 2017; TRC, 2015), and classroom strategies such as explicit instruction (Hattie & Zierer, 2017), the pre-service teachers engaged in task development for

their future teaching. To develop the tasks, they worked synchronously in small groups of three or four via Zoom to make decisions for their task development. Each group used the task template, which was later added to a Google document so the members of the group could asynchronously populate the template. The template required information such as the context of their ESL classroom, student population, task development based on a backward design and plurilingual strategies used. This group work was done three times in the course: at the start, middle and end so the instructor (first author) could evaluate a progression of the inclusion of plurilingual approaches. For example, in the first task it was observed that pre-service teachers would include comparisons between English and French only, even if they reported that a vast majority of their students spoke other minoritized languages. The instructor ensured to provide feedback, which was done in track changes, with comments such as "A plurilingual approach encourages the engagement of students' entire repertoire and not only the official languages in Canada. How can you ensure that the minoritized languages of your students as well as their diverse backgrounds are recognized and validated during the lesson? You may want to reflect on this question and address this issue in your future task." It was through constant feedback and engagement in reflections that pre-service teachers could challenge their monolingual or bilingual (English/French) biases and strive for a classroom that is more linguistically and culturally inclusive.

5.4.4 CEFR Descriptors

The development of the task required that the pre-service teachers choose CEFR descriptors which were related to the task. The CEFR companion volume (CoE, 2020) was made available as reference to the pre-service teachers, but they were not expected to read the entire document; instead, they were encouraged to familiarize themselves with the document, the plurilingual approach to teaching languages, and the descriptors based on proficiency level, from A1 (basic) to C2 (advanced). However, as previously noted, it is often the case that there are students who have different overall proficiency levels and students who may be more or less proficient depending on the skill (e.g. B2 in listening and A2 in oral communication); thus, the pre-service teachers were free to tailor the tasks to address individual differences. Given the large number of descriptors and to facilitate navigation, an excel file (see CERF Searchable Descriptors excel file available in the Council of Europe website) was made available so that they could "play around" with the descriptors by selecting different proficiency levels and language activities to design their tasks. Because the descriptors provide general information, the pre-service teachers were asked to adapt the original descriptors to suit their task design, student population and content. For example:

Original descriptor (B1, plurilingual comprehension): *Can use what they have understood in one language to understand the topic and main message of a text in another*

language (e.g. when reading short newspaper articles in different languages on the same theme).

Adapted version: *can use the information of a simple text about traffic signs in a language in their repertoire (e.g. French) to understand the main message of a text in the same topic in English.*

5.4.5 Task Description

After selecting the descriptors, the pre-service teachers were asked to describe the scenario of the task which should be based on a real-life situation where students would use English for communication and describe the steps for task completion. Importantly, to ensure that pre-service teachers can advance their students' plurilingual and pluricultural awareness, they were asked to complete a separate section in the template where they reflected on the plurilingual strategies used based on the video tutorials presented to them. Importantly, these five strategies have student identity at the core of the language task; that is, the pre-service teachers were encouraged to develop language tasks that included one or more of the strategies above but centred on the learner.

5.4.6 VoiceThread Discussions

Through the engagement of plurilingual pedagogical materials such as the five pedagogical strategies along with video tutorials, CEFR descriptors, task template and instructor feedback, pre-service teachers had opportunities to challenge their own beliefs about language teaching based on a monolingual approach and shift towards a plurilingual and pluricultural approach. We have observed that our materials have allowed pre-service teachers to reflect on their future teaching context, their students' identities (background, family, languages and socio-economic status) and the plurilingual strategies that they can use to advance students' plurilingual and pluricultural awareness and affirm their identities. Besides the required readings, the pre-service teachers were asked to watch the video tutorials and engage in weekly discussions online through VoiceThread by posting and replying to video and audio comments to one another. These discussions allowed them to be familiar with the topic of plurilingualism and an action-oriented approach to teaching, raise their students' plurilingual and pluricultural awareness and use the CEFR descriptors to set goals by adapting them to their context, student population and task requirement. Figure 5.1 shows a sample question on VoiceThread.

In the first weeks of the course, it was observed that some pre-service teachers were hesitant to allow their students' use of languages other than English in class. They claimed that because Montréal is located in a French-speaking province and

Fig. 5.1 Sample of discussion question on VoiceThread

students are mainly exposed to French outside of the classroom, at least officially, the need to maximize exposure to English in class was necessary. It was only through completing the readings, engaging in these discussions, receiving feedback from the instructor, and having this monolingual predisposition (Piccardo, 2013) challenged that they began to shift their perceptions. That is, changing teachers' perceptions and opening up to a plurilingual approach in their teaching takes time. Thus, these discussions are crucial as they allow ample opportunities for pre-service teachers to reflect on their practice, listen to examples of how their peers challenge their own monolingual biases and the diverse ways in which their students' plurilingual and pluricultural awareness can be harnessed in the classroom. Figure 5.2 shows a sample of video feedback provided by the instructor, although it is important to note that peer-feedback was also part of these discussions.

At the start of the course, some terms that the pre-service teachers used to identify their students were challenged by the instructor and sometimes their peers, such as "Québécois" to refer to students who speak French only, or "bilingual" to refer to students who speak English and French only. The pre-service teachers were required to reflect on other types of bilingualism, such as recognizing that a student who speaks two languages that are not official in Canada are also bilingual, which although it may seem obvious, the dominant discourses of official bilingualism in Canada may pose challenges for recognizing bilingualism and plurilingualism of minoritized languages. Moreover, the pre-service teachers were encouraged to think of their students as plurilingual speakers and not only as ESL students, which reduces their repertoire to one language only. For example, the first discussion on VoiceThread asked the pre-service teachers to reflect on their own identities in relation to: their names, languages and dialects they speak, race, colour, gender, religion, cultures, beliefs, etc., and discuss how these dimensions helped shape their own identities.
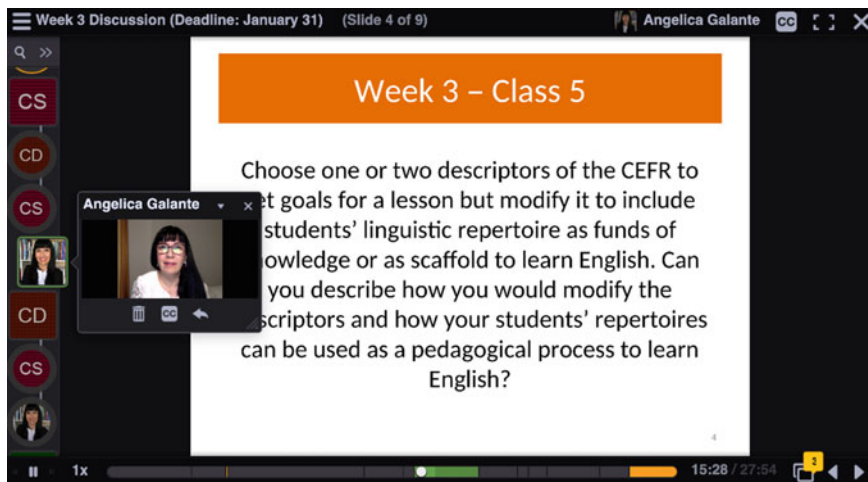
Fig. 5.2 Sample of video feedback on VoiceThread

None of the teachers reported using only one language in daily tasks. Some of them talked about their heritage and how their language use changes depending on interlocutor, or how their religion and cultures have also shaped their linguistics practices; for example, one student mainly using Arabic for religious purposes like reading the Quran, using mostly English for academic purposes and both French and English to complete daily tasks such as at the bank or the supermarket. Through gaining self-awareness of their own plurilingual and pluricultural identities (Fielding, 2021), the pre-service teachers began to reflect on their own students and how their identities could also be similar. That is, regardless of the background their students came from—Québécois, Indigenous, immigrant or refugee—each one of them would likely have a unique identity, or a *plurilingual blueprint* (Galante, 2020a). The discussions on VoiceThread were particularly helpful as the pre-service teachers were encouraged to voice their thoughts about the inclusion of languages other than English in the class, the linguistic tensions between French and English in Québec, the frequent expectations from school principals and students' parents of a monolingual English-only environment in the classroom, among other themes. These discussions served as a scaffold for the design of action-oriented tasks.

As shown in the appendix, the task which was completed by a group of four pre-service teachers demonstrates a critical reflection of their context and how their students' linguistic and cultural repertoire can be included in the ESL classroom to not only raise students' awareness of their plurilingual and pluricultural identities but also to engage them in learning the target language. The task relates to road safety in Montréal, where students are based, and allows them to use the knowledge learned in class in real life by applying the safety measures when walking to school. Following a backward design, the pre-service teachers selected CEFR descriptors which were relevant for the topic, the goals and their students' proficiency levels.

Because the descriptors offer a general overview, they were also asked to adapt the descriptors and include examples that were relevant for their task. The pre-service teachers also chose materials available online in different languages (e.g. a video with children giving safety measures to cross the street in different languages) as well as other semiotic resources such as sounds of busy streets. The task results in a plurilingual artifact which students can display in their classroom and showcase the knowledge about road safety in different languages, including English. In this example, while English is the target language, the pre-service teachers included their students' repertoires in the process of completion of the task and also in the artifact which was a plurilingual poster.

During the course, the pre-service teachers designed a total of two tasks following the same template, and a lesson plan with both formative and summative assessments, allowing them to be prepared to implement the tasks during their practicum.

5.5 Implications for Plurilingual Approaches in International Contexts

With multilingualism being a reality in many countries, the provision of pedagogical approaches that take into account learners' diverse linguistic and cultural repertoires is crucial. Research shows that current second language teaching practices are still largely based on a monolingual-oriented approach where learners are expected to disregard their plurilingual and pluricultural identities even in multilingual contexts (Cook, 2016; Piccardo, 2019). Research also shows that teachers value inclusive approaches to second language teaching that affirm learners' identities as plurilingual speakers, but there is a lack of teacher education on how to implement plurilingual pedagogy (Ellis, 2017; Galante et al., 2020). In our context, the presence of monolingual French policies in Québec and bilingual French–English policies in Canada validate only one or two types of speakers: French and French/English bilinguals (Haque, 2012; Heller, 2007) and the fact that other types of bilingualism and plurilingualism are largely ignored is concerning and pose threats to the vitality of multilingual societies.

The project we discussed in this chapter was designed to address these issues and provide initial teacher education following a plurilingual approach to language teaching. We particularly focused on providing teacher education to English teachers in Montréal, Québec, a context where English is a minority language at the provincial level but a dominant language at the national level. While our work is based in Montréal, the video tutorials, task template and process can be applicable in teacher education programs in similar multilingual settings. Given that the materials require that teachers reflect on their own context, their students' identities, their pedagogical practices and how to advance student plurilingual and pluricultural awareness, teachers can design tasks that are context-specific and suitable to their student population.

One important outcome of this project, which is applicable to other contexts, is an examination of the dominant language discourses present in societies and in educational institutions. Tensions among majority, minority and minoritized languages, and a critical examination of pre-service teachers' potential biases that may disadvantage students from an immigrant, refugee or indigenous backgrounds warrant special consideration in multilingual contexts with monolingual language policies. In fact, even in contexts where language policies are bilingual (which is the case of French and English in Canada) may hinder pre-service teachers' awareness of inclusive plurilingual approaches since social dominant discourses about language can be so ingrained in their mindset that these issues first need to be unpacked so that pedagogical practices can shift towards a plurilingual approach. In Canada, this issue is particularly important as the common discourse, which is influenced by Canadian language policies, only recognizes individuals who speak English and French as bilingual (Haque, 2012; Heller, 2007), leaving speakers of minoritized languages at risk of marginalization. While updated policies that recognize all types of bilingualism and plurilingualism are needed to inform top-down educational policies and practices, we believe that teacher education programs can start by equipping pre-service teachers with the knowledge and practice of plurilingual approaches so they can implement educational change. This bottom-up strategy can empower students to see themselves as plurilingual speakers and in turn contribute with empirical evidence for the development of multilingual/plurilingual policies.

Appendix: Task Template

Context and Student Population

1. **Students' age**: 6–7 years old
2. **Students' CEFR level**: A1/A2
3. **Type of ESL program**: Regular
4. **Grade (if applicable)**: Primary 1st Grade
5. **Location of the Program (neighbourhood, city, province, country)**: Montréal, Québec, Canada
6. **Approximate number of students per class**: 22
7. **Information about your students' identities, background, family, socio-economic status, etc.**

The City of Montréal is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in North America. In this particular student population, we can find multicultural groups such as Syrian, Algerian, Moroccan and Haitian. However, none of these students belong to white Canadian population. This class has French as their second, third or fourth language.

90% of the student population have parents who speak English. As a result, these children are exposed to English at home, and they have receptive skills in English. While they have A1 and A2 CEFR levels of English, they are able to understand a large amount of spoken English in class.

Approximately 70% of the children's parents belong to the middle class and 30% are part of the low-income families. The latter is part of the last wave of Syrian refugee's migration. As a newcomer population, most of these parents are in the adaptation process both linguistically and culturally to their new country.

Information About the Action-Oriented Language Task

1. **Describe the scenario of your task**

   One of your friends is not feeling very well today. When you ask her what happened and why she looks sad, she explains that on the way to school, while crossing the road, a big truck driver honked the horn extremely loud. The driver stopped the truck right next to her. Her heart started beating real fast but luckily nothing happened. Now, she is scared to cross the road alone again. You want to help your friend so that she can feel safe while crossing the road so you will help her with road safety rules.

2. **What existing material(s) will you use?**

   - *Sidewalk Safety Video*:

     ICBC. (2019, October 3). *Bike safe. Walk smart—k to 3—sidewalk safety* **[Video]. YouTube**. https://youtu.be/KtaMYFptmvc.
   - *Busy Traffic Sound Effects*:

     Easy English Conversation. (2020, February 8). *Busy traffic sound effects* **[Video]. YouTube**. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rvc63Ez6DM.

3. **Backwards Design**

   CEFR Descriptors: Choose five descriptors that are most applicable to this task.

CEFR descriptor scheme	Mode of communication	Activity, strategy or competence	Scale	Level	Descriptor
1. Communicative language competences	N/A	Linguistic competence	Vocabulary range	A1	Has a basic vocabulary repertoire of words/signs and phrases related to particular concrete situations

(continued)

(continued)

CEFR descriptor scheme	Mode of communication	Activity, strategy or competence	Scale	Level	Descriptor
2. Communicative language competences	N/A	Linguistic competence	Vocabulary range	A2	Has sufficient vocabulary for coping with simple survival needs
3. Communicative language competences	Reception	Audio-visual comprehension	Watching TV, film and video	A2	Can follow changes of topic of factual TV news items and form an idea of the main content
4. Communicative language competences	Production	Oral production	Overall oral production	A1	Can produce simple, mainly isolated phrases about people and places
5. Communicative language competences	Production	Written production	Creative writing	A1	Can use simple words/signs and phrases to describe certain everyday objects (e.g. the colour of a car, whether it is big or small)

4. **List five things students will be able to do/learn based on the CEFR descriptors above. Please do not copy and paste the descriptors above. Modify/adapt the descriptors according to your task**

By the end of the task, students will be able to…

1. identify the actions (stop, go and slow) linked to the colours (red, green and yellow) of traffic lights
2. use their senses of sight and sound to cross a road safely by looking left and right and listening for vehicles before crossing
3. watch a video about road safety, know how to cross a street safely and combine this information with other information/ideas and language and his/her own ideas and personal linguistic repertoire to navigate throughout the world safely; for example, crossing a train track
4. form simple sentences to describe how they can use their sense to cross roads and intersections safely
5. identify and write the parts of the human body that are sensory organs (the eyes, ears, etc.).

Fig. 5.3 Teacher
resource—picture copyright
free from Pixabay.com

5. **Describe the activities that the teacher will do so that students can accomplish the overarching goal of the task**

Step 1: Warm Up/Hook

Introduction to the Traffic Light:

The teacher will show the picture below (Fig. 5.3).

Students will be asked what the colours of the traffic light represent. The teacher will ask students to write the action related to each colour on the board in the languages in their repertoire. The indications of the green, yellow and red colours will be discussed.

Traffic Light Game:

A total physical response game will be played to practice the imperatives. The teacher will write *green go*, *yellow slow* and *red stop* on the board. The teacher will ask students to stand up and follow the directions. The teacher will say *green go*, *yellow slow* and *red stop* while holding up paper circles of various colours. Students will listen and respond to the teacher by acting physically: running, walking slowly or stopping. The teacher will eventually increase the challenge level by naming the colours randomly: yellow, green and red. The teacher will also add some colours that do not correspond to the traffic light. This game will be played for about 3 min to activate students' prior knowledge and be familiar with familiar vocabulary in English.

Step 2: Road Safety

Watch the Sidewalk Safety Video:

The teacher will show the *Sidewalk Safety Video* and ask students to pay attention to the superpowers listed (super eyes can see when the way is clear, super ears can listen for cars and trucks, and super feet can stop wherever they feel danger). The video supports plurilingualism by including children from different ethnic groups and linguistic backgrounds who name the superpowers in the languages in their repertoire. The teacher will ask the students about the three superpowers that they should use on the road: stop, look and listen.

Practice Superpowers: Look, Listen, Stop:

The teacher will prepare an area in the classroom by sticking white tape on the floor to imitate a pedestrian crossing. Students will be asked to practice their three superpowers to cross the road. They will stop by standing still, look on both sides by placing their hands above their eyes and listen by placing their hands next to the ears as a demonstration. The teacher will play the traffic sound from the video *Busy Traffic Sound Effects*. When the way is clear and safe, students will cross the road.

The activities above (the game, working in teams, etc.) in addition to the students' participation throughout the lesson will be considered as informal ongoing formative assessments through teacher's observation.

Step 3: An Artifact Production

Presentation of the Scenario and Creating a Poster:

The teacher will ask students to create a poster to have their friend from the scenario of the task. Students will be reminded that with the knowledge that they acquired in the class about road safety, they can create a poster in teams of 3 to explain the superpowers that can help their friend stay safe on the road. The teacher can show the sample of the road safety poster below to help ease the cognitive load (Fig. 5.4).

Superpower words like *eyes, ears, feet, look, listen* and *stop* may be written on the board to make it easier for the students to write them down on their poster. They will have the choice to include the superpowers in their own languages next to the English words on the poster. When the posters are completed, they will be hung in the high circulation area where all students can look at them and learn about road safety. This will be the formal assessment of the lesson.

Superpowers Checklist
Students will be given the superpowers checklist below (Fig. 5.5):

They can take the checklist home and share what they learned in class with their family members in the language(s) they speak at home. They can go for a walk with their caregiver/family member and practice their superpowers by completing the checklist. Once the checklist is completed, they will be returned to the teacher.

Fig. 5.4 Artifact
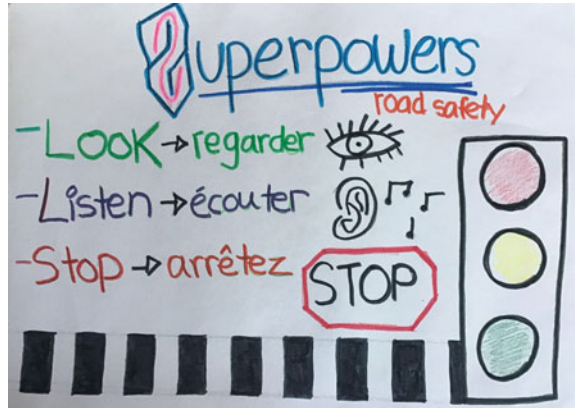
My Superpowers	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4	Day 5
LOOK!					
(ear)					
STOP					

Fig. 5.5 Checklist

The checklist will be considered as an informal way of giving the teacher insight and feedback and to show students how their lesson is relevant to and be applied in real life.

Artifact

What is the artifact that will be produced as a result of this task? Explain how the artifact relates to real-life application

A Road Safety Poster similar to the sample provided in step 3 will be produced. It relates to students' real-life application, because they will practice these superpowers in their everyday life right from the moment they step outside the classroom. Creating a poster provides students with an opportunity to express themselves in English and visual representations (drawing, collage and colours). Students will understand that their posters can help other students in the school to practice road safety. Students will also complete the Superpower Checklist with a caregiver/family member. This promotes taking what was learned in the classroom outside of its walls and into real life.

Plurilingual and Pluricultural Strategies

What plurilingual strategy(ies) from the YouTube Playlist did you use? Describe how this strategy can ensure that your task is linguistically and culturally inclusive to your student population

Two strategies were used: translation and translanguaging. Students' prior knowledge as a result of learning other languages in their linguistic repertoire is utilized in the scaffolding needed to produce their artifacts in this action-oriented lesson. The lesson simulates autonomy and teaches students to use what they already know, as well as other resources at their disposal, in order to learn what they still do not know.

The lesson accepts the students as their authentic self by allowing them, at every occasion, to use languages in their linguistic repertoire other than English as long as this leads them to learning English and serving the objectives of the lesson (traffic sign colour names in step 1, superpower names in step 2, including other languages in the poster in step 3). A non-threatening environment is a prerequisite for better language learning, and by giving space to marginalized minority languages, students will further feel their identities validated.

By exposing the students to languages they are not familiar with, as well as allowing translanguaging and translation during the lesson, they are encouraged to be in plurilingual situations in real life without resistance.

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Chapter 6
"Our Nationality or the Groups We Belong to Don't Define Us": Language Teachers' Understandings of Identity, Multilingualism and Interculturality in Colombia

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Abstract Colombia is a multilingual and pluriethnic country, although this was only officially recognized in the Constitution of 1991. In this context, interculturality has been associated with Indigenous peoples and with foreign international languages. However, there is little connection between these two visions within pedagogical practice or in most educational scenarios. This chapter focuses on a study carried out in a Colombian university with in-service teachers of foreign languages, particularly English. The objective was to provide the participants with opportunities to reflect on their teaching practice and the role of the intercultural dimension within it, leading to the creation of didactic sequences they considered appropriate to promote intercultural sensitivity in their own contexts. An action research methodology was used and the data, consisting of student reflections and materials, were analysed using a thematic content approach. The results evidenced two main themes: reflection on the participants' identities and the questioning of stereotypes, and the use of observation as a basis for action and integration. It is concluded that understanding the complex relationships between languages, interculturality and identities is possible if those involved become aware of their own preconceptions about the other in the process of understanding themselves and others from a critical point of view.

6.1 Introduction

Over the centuries, there have been multiple linguistic and cultural influences, which have shaped Colombia as a multilingual and pluricultural country. Historically, this is the result of the mixture (*mestizaje*) of three different cultures and races—Indigenous peoples, Europeans, particularly Spanish, and Africans, originally brought to the

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country as slaves. However, this was only officially recognised for the first time by the Political Constitution of 1991 (Article 7) when Indigenous languages were awarded co-official status with Spanish, in the territories where they are spoken. Today there are around 69 separate Indigenous languages in existence, two Creoles, Colombian Sign Language, Romani and immigrant languages, such as Arabic and Japanese. According to Landaburu (2005), there are 13 different Indigenous language families in Colombia. Some of these languages are Kogi, belonging to the Chibcha family, Inga, belonging to the Quechua family and Achagua, belonging to the Arawak family. More recently, foreign languages, such as English, French, Italian and Mandarin, are taught and learnt in the education system. Despite all this linguistic diversity, Spanish continues to be the dominant language, spoken by the majority of the population as a first language, and is used in government and mainstream education.

In Colombia, interculturality has been traditionally conceived as the ways in which the Indigenous communities interact with other cultures, rather than the relationship of foreign or international languages and cultures with national cultures (Hamel, 2008). The Colombian Ministry of Education (MEN) maintains separate offices for matters relating to Indigenous languages (Ethnoeducation) and foreign or international languages (Bilingual Colombia Programme). However, recently the government has increasingly recognised interculturality as an emergent issue in language and education policy in general. According to Decree 804, Article 2 (1995) which regulates Ethnoeducation, interculturality is understood as "the capacity to know one's own culture and other cultures which interact and enrich each other in a dynamic and reciprocal fashion, contributing to construct a co-existence in equality of conditions and mutual respect in social reality". In relation to foreign languages, MEN (2006) sees interculturality as relating to the "respecting of the value of one's own world as well as developing respect for other cultures…valuing of plurality and differences in the immediate surroundings as well as in globalized settings" (p. 8).[1]

With respect to developments in foreign language education, in 2004, MEN created "The National Bilingual Programme", aimed at offering all school students the possibility of reaching a B1 level of proficiency in English according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) by the end of their studies. The declared objective was:

> to have citizens who are capable of communicating in English, in order to be able to insert the country within processes of universal communication, within the global economy and cultural openness, through [the adopting of] internationally comparable standards. (MEN, 2006, 6)

In spite of a brief reference to "cultural openness", the emphasis was mainly on the improvement of English language proficiency within a vision of competitivity and global development, a neoliberal vision which has been criticised by Usma Wilches (2009) and Bonilla Carvajal and Tejada-Sánchez (2016), amongst others, as reductionist, concerned with the instrumentalisation of language learning. This coincides with what Despagne (2015) found in her study on the teaching of English

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[1] All translations from Spanish are by the authors.

and the relation with modernity in Puebla, Mexico. The researcher argues that "as English is associated with the discourse of modernity, power and global knowledge, this is used as a synonym of superiority" (p. 76).

Although there are other international languages, such as French, German, Italian and Hebrew, taught and learnt in Colombian schools, there is a strong focus on English as an important source of symbolic capital which will help students and school and university graduates gain access to "greater and better work opportunities" (MEN, 2006: 9). In one of the official documents produced by MEN (2006) relating to the National Bilingual Programme, there is a justification of how learning a foreign language will help students' personal development, in the following terms:

> it will diminish ethnocentrism and allow people to appreciate and respect the value of their own world, as well as developing respect for other cultures. The learning of a foreign language increases the respect and valuing of plurality and differences, in the immediate context as well as in globalised settings (p. 8).

There is thus a recognition here of an intercultural perspective in language teaching and learning, even though the term itself is not used in this extract. However, that being said, there has not been much movement towards incorporating an intercultural dimension in the teaching and learning of foreign languages in Colombian schools and universities, up to now. The emphasis has traditionally been on the development of linguistic proficiency, rather than a concern to understand and legitimise linguistic and cultural pluralism.

For this reason, at the School of Education at Universidad de los Andes, a prestigious private university in Bogotá (Colombia), we decided to carry out a study among students of the Emphasis in Bilingualism in the Master's in Education (M.Ed.) programme in 2017. This initiative aimed at providing in-service foreign language teachers with the opportunity to reflect on their teaching practice and the role of the intercultural dimension within it and to help their own students to become more interculturally sensitive. This study derives from a larger research project aimed at including the intercultural dimension explicitly in the foreign language classroom (Gamboa Diaz et al., 2019). It included a series of activities where the students were asked to reflect upon these notions and their own preconceptions, particularly in relation to stereotypes and identities, in order to deconstruct and reconstruct their teaching profiles and practices.

In this chapter, we first introduce some of the key theoretical notions on which we based our study, and then, we discuss the methodology we used. We go on to present a selection of the findings of the project, and after that, we consider some of the wider implications for education from a global perspective.

6.2 Theoretical Framing: Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Education—Latin-American Perspectives

According to UNESCO, education is a vital area for promoting the understanding of interculturality and helping to generate the skills necessary for living in the culturally diverse and globalised world of the twenty-first century, arguing that, "Intercultural Education provides all learners with cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills that enable them to contribute to respect, understanding and solidarity among individuals, ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and nations" (2006, p. 37).

Even though the importance of interculturality is widely acknowledged by organisations such as UNESCO, the way it has been operationalised in Latin America differs greatly from how it has been implemented in many other parts of the world. According to Walsh (2010), this is a significant notion in Latin America, as it refers to the struggle of the Indigenous communities. This struggle becomes evident today within an epistemic, ontological, academic and social movement that intends to counterbalance the influence of modernity in the region (Escobar, 2014), which views globalisation as a universalising and homogenising outcome, and within which Latin-American countries have been insistently conceived as *developing* territories that aspire to, one day, mirror their European colonisers' infrastructure, thinking, culture, etc.

As such, Walsh (2010) describes three different perspectives of interculturality: a *relational* vision which implies mere cultural interchange, a *functional* view, which acknowledges differences within the purpose of inclusion, and a *critical* perspective which highlights the asymmetric power relations exercised by larger structures of society, within which cultural and racial status plays a key role. Within this triad, *otherness* has been conceived differently: in the first two perspectives, the other is represented as anything that lies outside hegemonic and dominant practices. However, in the third, the focus is not on the other as an outlier, but rather on the understanding that difference and diversity—and the labelling of that other—are practices built within a hierarchical, racialized and dominant social structure. This last perspective refers to emerging actions and processes in Latin America that aim for respect, legitimacy, symmetry, equity and equality (Walsh, 2007).

As such, Walsh (2010) considers that interculturality in Latin America is essentially related to a pedagogical endeavour concerned with making visible these inequitable relations which have developed since colonial times and which have become normalised in the life of countries in the region. In this sense, interculturality is concerned with constructing a dialogue between different ontologies, visions, understandings and practices in order to create societies which are more just (Ministerio de Educación del Perú, 2005).

6.2.1 Intercultural Sensitivity

In the case of language education, there has been increasing recognition that developing linguistic competence for language teachers is important, but not sufficient. Kramsch (1993) was one of the first researchers to claim that while many approaches to language teaching have focused on linguistic features of language teaching and learning, the connections between discourse and culture have been insufficiently explored. In 2009, she argued that the inclusion of the intercultural dimension should be taken as a revitalization and renovation of language teaching and learning from a critical and reflexive position.

In Colombia, a growing interest in the intercultural dimension is shown by an increasing amount of scholarly work and research. This demonstrates that critical reflection is necessary especially in educational settings in order to acknowledge epistemic possibilities which differ from the dominant models of understanding culture (Granados-Beltran, 2016). In his analysis of 34 articles in six peer-reviewed journals, Álvarez-Valencia (2014) concludes that an intercultural turn in the language teaching practices in Colombia is still in its infancy. The great majority of the articles, which he classified as data-based, theory-based and pedagogical experiences, focused on dominant perspectives of English and English-speaking countries. His findings indicated that teachers are gradually moving away from the grammar-centred approach towards the inclusion of social issues such as intercultural communication, cultural representations and identity. Although the author predicts that developing intercultural understanding will gain more interest within the coming years in Colombia, he wonders how this approach will be materialised within Colombia's multicultural and multilingual reality.

A study which confirms this emerging stage is that conducted by Prieto Galindo and Salamanca Molano (2015) which showed that English teachers in a public (state) school in Bogotá were more concerned about the accountability of linguistic competence, which focused on teaching grammar and giving their students exercises from the national curriculum textbook, than in trying to develop intercultural understanding. Furthermore, in a recent research project also carried out in state schools in Bogotá by Peña Dix (2018) on English language teachers' attitudes to culture and interculturality, the researcher found that "teachers feel positively disposed to intercultural competence English language teaching (IELT), but their approaches to culture are mainly essentialist and nationalist, based on communicative language teaching (CLT) approaches" (p. 2). An example of this essentializing tendency is when one of the English teachers said in an interview with the researcher, "Culture is people's identity, their traditions, their intellectual heritage, beliefs, values, arts, gastronomy, and other aspects" (p. 137). Another teacher participant focused on the notion of culture as national differentiation saying, "Culture is the habits we have, the way we are, how we act; it is not the same to be a Colombian or a Venezuelan, no matter how close we are because culture is what makes us different" (p. 138).

Findings from these studies confirm that interculturality is treated separately in the foreign language classroom in both the didactic and the conceptual dimensions. The didactic dimension has been reviewed in relation to materials (Rico-Troncoso, 2012) and pedagogies, such as Álvarez-Valencia's (2016, in press) advocacy for multimodal approaches which seek to introduce semiotic practices into the L2 classroom as boosters of intercultural reflection. With respect to conceptualisation, Gamboa Diaz (2019) has foregrounded the idea of intercultural dimensions to characterize the vast range of notions embedded in language teaching practices and decision-making. She argues that these concepts arise from epistemological and practical issues in the field. In the case of Colombia, the notions that have been mostly adopted are those of intercultural competence, intercultural communicative competence and critical interculturality. In this study, we have chosen to refer to intercultural sensitivity as an emerging stage to approach intercultural reflection.

González López and Ramírez López (2016) make reference to Bennett's (1993, 2017) model of the development of intercultural sensitivity, which defines this notion as an affective, cognitive and behavioural change, moving from ethnocentric to ethnorelative positions in relation to the recognition and appreciation of cultural differences. The model includes a series of six stages which range from denial, through defence, minimization, acceptance, adaptation, to the integration of different cultural visions.

In the first two ethnocentric stages of Bennett's model, a person's understanding can move from a lack of distinction of cultural differences (denial) to distinguishing difference from the perspective of being either better or worse (defence). After that comes the minimisation stage, where differences are dismissed, instead of recognizing similarities. However, once a person learns to evaluate different cultural values and behaviours as they relate to each other, they may begin to move to the ethnorelative stages. Here, in the initial stage (acceptance), a person may recognize their own personal culture as being one among other equally valid options. This perspective then constitutes the basis for the next phase (adaptation), where there is recognition of the need to make cognitive and behavioural adjustments. The final stage, integration, is characterised by a multi-dimensional self-concept based on a multiplicity of worldviews.

The notion of models of intercultural competence (see Byram, 1997) and intercultural sensitivity (Bennett, 1993) has been criticised by scholars such as Hoff (2020) and Fielding (2020) as being problematic because of their limited and reductionist stance. However, we felt in our study that although, on one hand, the six stages proposed by Bennett could be seen as oversimplifying the complexities of the ongoing process of intercultural understanding, if they were not taken as taxative, but as a possible developmental sequence, this could illustrate tendencies in the growing awareness of intercultural sensitivity, rather than a set of rigid stages.

6.2.2 Identity

Kumaravadivelu (2012) has highlighted the importance of identity in a postmodern vision because it is linked to the recognition of the diversity and multiplicity of narratives about what people know and do. In the education sphere, Cummins et al. (2005) refer to the process of identity negotiation in multilingual classrooms, maintaining that "The process of identity negotiation is reciprocal. As teachers open up identity options for students, they also define their own identities" (p. 43).

In Colombia, Usma Wilches et al. (2018) have argued for the importance of incorporating a critical agenda into foreign language teacher education programmes, particularly with respect to issues such as student identities, the different cultural groups they belong to, their languages, their knowledge, their histories and experiences, in order to help them reflect on how their identities have been constructed and how these may influence their language teaching and their students' learning. For their part, García León and García León (2014) recognise that languages are essential factors in processes of cultural understanding as they help us to appropriate the global as well as our individual worlds. Thus, identity is no longer seen as a fixed element, but as a hybrid entity, which is dynamic, performed and mediated by languages (Valencia, 2017).

Identity is a cross-sectional construct within Bennett's model since it implies a developmental transformation of the self along its stages: in denial and defence, for example, identity is reinforced through a polarization where "us" implies a complex identity and "them" (the others) are perceived through a minimalisation of cultural difference, mostly influenced by the media (Bennett, 2017). In the adaptation and integration stages, identity is understood as a dynamic and intersectional construct that is at the heart of what diversity and hybridity are about.

According to the Ministry of Education in Peru (2005), teaching a language from an intercultural perspective implies looking reflexively at the identities which are represented in the classroom, particularly those of the idealized native speaker, in order to deconstruct stereotypes and establish more balanced relations with those who have different histories, cultural practices, knowledge and languages.

6.2.3 Multilingualism and Language Teaching and Learning

In 2015, while discussing multilingual practices in foreign language study, Kramsch and Huffmaster observed that the globalisation of communication involving the use of English as a lingua franca on the world stage has changed the expectations of foreign language students with regard to how they will be expected to use their languages in this scenario. Consequently, this has presented great challenges to teachers who are accustomed to teach from a monolingual and monocultural standpoint. These researchers maintained that, "*The national raison d'être of foreign language study, with its ideology of one national language = one national literature = one national*

culture no longer corresponds to the global reality of our times" (p. 134). This tendency to equate 'cultures' with 'nations' and the corresponding national stereotypes that result, positions culture as static and "leaves the learner primarily within his/her own cultural paradigm" (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, pp. 19–20).

Kramsch and Huffmaster argue for "a pedagogy focussed on fluid relationships between different ways of meaning-making… [in which] we can raise students' awareness of the meaning-making processes at work in the construction of social and cultural experience—including the surreptitious use of stereotypes" (p. 134). According to Liddicoat and Scarino (2013), an intercultural perspective in language education can be understood as "the lens through which the nature, purpose, and activity of language teaching and learning are viewed, and the focus which students develop through their language learning" (p. 6). These authors acknowledge that despite growing recognition of the fundamental importance of integrating intercultural capabilities within bi/multilingual language pedagogy, one of the challenges has been to move from this recognition to the development of practice.

Deardorff (2011), for her part, has focused her attention particularly on language teacher education to face these challenges and asks how far teachers are in fact interculturally conscious and how they can become more interculturally aware. She highlights particularly the following questions, "Are intercultural competence concepts infused throughout the teacher education curriculum? […] what can be done to increase educators' own development in this area? How can the *process* of intercultural competence development be integrated into courses and programs?" (p. 46).

This chapter is based on part of a wider study carried out as a collaborative research project between Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, Colombia and Université Sorbonne Nouvelle in Paris, France (Gamboa Diaz et al., 2019). Here, we will be reporting on some of the findings from the Colombian context. In our research, we see multilingualism, interculturality and identity as interrelated aspects of the teaching and learning of languages. This is in line with the position of Álvarez-Valencia (in press), who characterizes language classrooms as intercultural spaces and highlights the interrelationship between the development of cultural repertoires and the shaping of identity. He argues that individuals develop affiliations and a sense of group cohesion that eventually contributes to identity shaping. Ultimately, they are simultaneously members of multiple cultural groups, which allows them to develop unique cultural repertoires rather than unitary repertoires associated with national cultures. However, as we have noted above, these connections are yet to be made by most language teachers in Colombia.

In our revision of the literature we found, along with Fielding (2020, p. 2) that, "*Different fields theorise the term 'intercultural' in many different ways*". Thus, Scarino and Liddicoat (2009) refer to "intercultural stance" as involving students developing understanding of their own "situatedness" in their own language and culture and the recognition of the same in others. Abdallah-Pretceille (2006) for her part argues that cultural pluralism should be understood as a variety of cultural fragments rather than whole cultures. This relates to the notion of hybridity, or "in between-ness" (Bhabha, 1994), as a metaphor for language learning, involving the

notion of "moving between" two linguistic and cultural systems when learning an additional language. Thus, interculturality can be thought of as the exploration of different moments in these processes.

In our study we developed the following characterization of interculturality as,

the ability to explore, analyze similarities, differences or unexpected elements of another culture (individual) or develop (as far as possible) strategies of situational, communicational, relational adjustment, etc. It is about adopting a critical interactive perspective, understanding, and associating diversity with known and unknown people, in current and unexpected situations, as well as in multiple contexts (near and far). (Gamboa Diaz et al., 2019, pp. 21–22)

6.3 Methodology

6.3.1 Research Questions

The foreign language class can be studied as a place where intercultural experiences (both from everyday interactions as well as those associated with international contacts) can contribute knowledge and understanding which help to modify people's attitudes, or, on the contrary, leave them intact, when they are faced with situations of otherness. In order to explore methodologies for including the teaching and learning of the intercultural dimension in processes of teacher education, we formulated the following research question to guide our study:

How was intercultural sensitivity projected by in-service foreign language teachers in their reflections and understandings, after the intercultural dimension was explicitly included in a teacher education programme?

6.3.2 Action Research Perspective

As previously mentioned, this study belongs to a larger interinstitutional project in which we conducted an action research (AR) cycle along with two other colleagues in France. The four of us developed a joint didactic sequence for intercultural reflection, which we carried out in both the Colombian and the French contexts. This didactic sequence followed the principles of AR, which we understand as a nonlinear, flexible and constantly inquiring procedure, which provides a meaningful way for teachers to critically reflect on and modify their classroom practices. As such, we followed Burns' (2009) four stages: *Reflection:* the need to implement an explicit module on interculturality in the M.Ed. Program for in-service language teachers; *Planning:* we co-created a didactic sequence; *Acting: we* implemented this sequence and asked students to conduct their own version of it, and finally, *Observing:* we revised and analysed participants' feedback of our sequence as well as their own proposals and implementations.

6.3.3   Participants and Intervention

The participants were 12 in-service language teachers (Spanish and English as Foreign languages), studying on the M.Ed. course at Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá, from January–May, 2017. They taught different levels: from primary to higher education in both the private and public sectors, and their ages ranged from late 20s to late 30s. They were enrolled on the course "Second Language Learning", a 16-week, 3-h class, which took place once a week. It is worth noting that students were allowed to use their bilingual Spanish–English repertoire in this class.

Student-participants were told that a module on interculturality was going to be included. The didactic sequence we planned lasted three weeks, organised as follows:[2]

1. Participants received a list of readings (mandatory and optional) which they had to prepare for class discussions. Authors proposed had different backgrounds.
2. Class discussions with prompt questions, plenary sessions and activities were conducted.
3. Participants were guided towards a pedagogical reflection upon their own teaching views, their practice and their awareness of the role of the intercultural dimension in language education.
4. Participants were asked to identify a topic in their own teaching contexts related to interculturality and then to design and implement a didactic sequence based on the readings and discussions they had had and present a reflection about this. The aim was to challenge them to unpack, deconstruct and negotiate meanings about stereotypes, their preconceptions on what teaching about culture meant, their experiences and their attitudes and behaviours as language teachers.

Some of the topics selected by the students included: gender, regional differences in Colombia, urban and country life, college life in the USA and in Colombia, interculturality through art, institutional policies of inclusion and deaf and blind students and bullying. Thus, it can be seen that they went beyond the focus on national and international issues to highlight aspects they had identified as related to interculturality in encounters in their own contexts. As Álvarez Valencia (in press) argues, people usually develop a repertoire of cultural semiotic resources in relation to the different social groups where they participate and create affiliations, so most encounters between individuals have the potential to become intercultural.

We conducted a thematic content analysis of the students' reflections, presentations and materials, using the software for qualitative analysis, Atlas.ti 7.

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[2] This didactic sequence evolved in one of our research products, which is a Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) in the online education platform Coursera. The MOOC is called *Understanding intercultural dimensions in everyday life:* https://es.coursera.org/learn/interculturalidad.

6.4 Findings and Discussion

We will now discuss some of the findings of our study, based on the sequences the students created to promote intercultural sensitivity in their own contexts as well as their reflections on their growing understandings of the concepts and of the issues involved. We will include data we consider most relevant to our discussion from some, though not all, of the 12 students who participated in the study. Then, we will focus our analysis on the reflections derived from two of these teachers (these will be referred to as Teacher 1 and Teacher 2).

Despite some students reporting that they were not allowed to develop their intercultural pedagogic sequences because this was not seen as relevant by the authorities in the institutions where they were teaching English, most managed to design and implement them, albeit in different settings.

Two main themes were constructed from this analysis, based on the way student-participants showed how they moved towards Bennet's stages of acceptance, and adaptation and integration through their own pedagogic proposals. The first theme concerns the stage of acknowledging one's own identity through *reflection and planning,* and the second theme involves the possibilities they engaged in to adapt and integrate through *action and observation.*

The central finding that emerged from the analysis of the pedagogic sequences that the participants created for the institutions where they worked was their growing understanding of issues concerning identity, diversity and multilingualism. One of them revealed that her reflection on the whole project had made her question herself, her reality and become more conscious of the identities she performed relating to the different languages she spoke and taught, saying:

> The main responsibilities that I could reflect on are: Who am I when I speak this language? How am I when I speak this language? and How do I feel when I teach this language?

Another related the changes she noticed in her identities to her experiences of feeling like the other while living in a foreign country, noting,

> through the readings and the activities developed through the interculturality module in the class as well as this lesson, I reflected over my own process as a bilingual speaker and how my identity (or identities) changed after the experience of living abroad.

Both these participants recognised that they had reached a deeper level of consciousness of their own identities related to the languages and the discussions about interculturality as a result of the project. The first extract also highlights the affective nature of the relationship with the language used in teaching. This is in line with the findings of González López and Ramírez López (2016, p. 8) in their study on immigrants in the city of Cuenca, Spain, when they noted, "intercultural sensitivity… [is] considered as the affective dimension of intercultural communicative competence".

A third participant, for his part, focused on his new understanding of the importance of each individual's "unique configuration" (Grosjean, 1985) rather than stereotyped characterisations, saying,

my students emphasized in (sic) words like difference, other, accept, understand, adapt, learn, grow up. They recognize that each human being is unique and that our nationality or the groups we belong to don't define us.

This can be related to Bennett's (1993) model of intercultural sensitivity as well as Walsh's (2007) reconsideration of *otherness*, in that the order of the words in which the teacher refers to his students' awareness of their relationships to others in this example reflects changes from the ethnocentric to the ethnorelative stage, moving from denial, defence and minimization towards acceptance, adaptation and integration of different cultural visions.

We will now focus in more detail on the results of the individual pedagogic sequences and reflections of two of the participants. The first deals with an explicit focus on group stereotypes, and the second, on stereotypes of college life.

6.4.1   Theme 1. Acknowledging our identity through reflection and planning: group stereotypes. Discovering our prejudices (Teacher 1)

This teacher, who worked in a language institute, noted that "it is possible that, like me, many language teachers develop the technical abilities but rarely ask questions about language and culture and their role as teachers". Therefore, he decided to design his intercultural pedagogic sequence around the issue of national or group stereotypes. Participants were told to work individually with a worksheet entitled "Discovering our prejudices" in which they had to first identify their relationships with certain groups such as Colombians, Venezuelans, Americans and Foreigners, as well as categories such as African American, Indigenous and Caucasian people. Then, the students of Teacher 1 were asked whether they thought they had any stereotypes about these groups and whether these influenced their behaviour, and if so, how. After this, they discussed the definition of stereotypes with the other members of the group and reflected on the role of teachers in overcoming these.

After the implementation of the pedagogic sequence, the teacher observed that the participants felt that the activities had been useful as they had been able to reflect on their own stereotypes and agreed that it was a first step to be able to help students develop their intercultural sensitivity. He also acknowledged in his own case that

> My training as an English teacher has been flooded with teaching techniques and influenced by the theories of Stephen Krashen… However, a new world was presented to me when the idea of interculturality was recently introduced. I conclude that I have been exposed to the psycholinguistic debates of the field but blind to the sociocultural approaches.

On the other hand, he realised that some of the participants struggled to see how they could apply these concepts in their classes and asked about the practical applications and mechanisms they could use to measure intercultural awareness, in line with the observation by Liddicoat and Scarino (2013) about the gap between

a recognition of the need for an intercultural focus in language education to the development of this in practice. He concluded by observing the following in relation to his final course paper:

> As the participants of the activity I led said, the discussions and reflections about intercul-turality should not be an isolated event, but an ongoing practice, and I evidenced that need by writing this document.

We will now turn to the second pedagogic sequence and reflections on the topic of college life in the USA and in Colombia.

6.4.2 Theme 2. Possibilities of integration through observation as a basis for action: College Life. A Proposal of English Teaching from within an Intercultural Perspective (Teacher 2)

Teacher 2 was interested in exteriorizing what was understood as stereotypes and prejudices about being a young adult in the USA. In particular, she wanted to identify the stereotypes present in American TV shows and movies about college students and their routines and to contrast these with the views of some American students themselves talking about their personal experiences of college life. Therefore, she asked a group of Colombian college students she was teaching to write what they knew about college life in the USA, before looking at a video of American students describing what a normal day in college was for them and then comparing their initial ideas with what they thought, after looking at the video. She wanted them to focus particularly on the question of whether they held stereotypes influenced by movies or TV shows.

When the Colombian students shared their initial ideas of what they thought of college life in the USA, Teacher 2 noted,

> I was not surprised when they mentioned drugs, parties, sports, cheerleaders, fraternities and technology.

These were seen as common stereotypical activities promoted in US TV shows and movies. However, after watching the video, the students started identifying the differences between the video and their previous opinions. One said,

> What Sara said is very different from what I think, maybe because she is in a small university.

Then, they began to observe certain similarities between American college students and themselves. Referring both to languages and sport, another acknowl-edged.

> It's very like what we do. We learn English, she Spanish. She rides horses, my sport is ping pong.

Finally, some of the students began to recognise that what they wrote in the first exercise was mediated by stereotypes. One said:

> The interview can show us that we have a lot of stereotypes and it's hard to judge or say things about people without immersion in that culture.

Teacher 2 herself recognised that she had been impacted by the activities relating to the intercultural module and concluded her reflection acknowledging:

> Professionally, I recognized that teaching languages in an instrumental way is a mistake as it does not consider all the other dimensions that come along with a linguistic code.

As we can see, both in the gradual deepening of the consciousness about identity and identities, as well as in the understandings of how a focus on interculturality can help language students and teachers identify different perceptions of the other, there is more evidence to support Bennett's (1993, 2017) model of intercultural sensitivity, particularly how students were helped to advance from the ethnocentric stage—minimization—to the ethnorelative perspective—acceptance of different cultural visions. For example, in the second extract, the student seems to highlight differences with how she thought, in relation to how Sara thought. However, in the third extract, there is a clear recognition of how both sports and languages constitute points of similarity and may be seen as acceptance of personal culture as one among other valid options (Bennett, 1993).

6.5   Implications for Education in a Global Sense

As Álvarez Valencia (in press) and Gamboa Diaz (2019) maintain, second/foreign language education needs to take a more complex and nuanced understanding of interculturality, in order to help language teachers and their learners make sense of the complex intercultural dynamics of language classrooms. It is no longer possible to refer to the "song and dance routines" understood as culture that Fishman criticized in 1977. In this respect, it is also important to remember the warning from Byram in 1997 to teachers and researchers against the danger of an over-simplification of intercultural competences, as this may lead to the trivialisation and the reduction of subtle understanding to generalisations and stereotypes. As Dervin and Gross (2016) demonstrate 25 years later, not much has changed. They acknowledge that "recipes" and ideological representations of the concept of interculturality are common and do not do justice to the complexity of self and the other.

There is thus a need to combat essentialising tendencies involving polar opposites and dichotomies which may lead to reification. After the experience of our study, we would maintain that understanding the complex relationships between languages, interculturality and identities is possible if administrators, teachers and students are

helped to come to grips with their own, often unconscious or subconscious, preconceptions in a process of gradual awareness and deepening understanding of both themselves and others from a critical point of view.

In Colombia, these understandings are particularly important in the present circumstances, after the signing of the peace agreement between the government and the FARC guerrillas in 2016. The ensuing peace and reconciliation process has brought into the open different visions and stereotypes of sectors of Colombian society among the left-wing guerrillas and the right-wing paramilitaries who have been involved in a fifty-year conflict in the country. In the light of these developments, several universities have implemented courses focusing on intercultural understanding and peace building, such as the Master's in Peace Building programme at Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá and the postgraduate Diploma course in Justice, Victims and the Construction of Peace at Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, among several other initiatives.

From an international perspective, we would like to emphasize the importance of publicising local studies in international scenarios. As Skutnabb-Kangas et al. (2009) have argued, it is important to share local research globally as this can lead to better theory and in turn result in action for more social justice and equality through education. The creation of deeper, more nuanced visions of identities of different groups through the development of intercultural sensitivity among students, teachers and administrators in language programmes is also important in trying to combat what has been identified as the "Latino Threat Narrative" (Chavez, 2013: 3ff), in other words, the notion that Latinos—as opposed to other immigrant groups in the USA—are less likely to engage culturally, linguistically and politically with non-Latinos. This leads to the stereotype that these groups tend to be much more traditional, much less educated, more prone to self-segregation and more frequently couriers of crime.

In 2013, García and Kleyn proposed three ways forward for language teacher education curricula in the twenty-first century. One of these has to do with co-constructing with teachers, spaces and opportunities to develop multilingualism based on social justice and equity, as well as social practice, which the authors see as connected to students' worlds and identities. If, as we have evidenced in our study, understanding the relationships between language teaching and learning, interculturality and the construction of identity has been seen as a new development for language teachers in Colombia, there is an obvious need for both pre-service and in-service teacher education to face up to the challenge of incorporating a critical agenda into foreign language teacher education programmes, as Usma Wilches et al. (2018) have advocated. This is also in line with Kramsch and Huffmaster's (2015) argument for teaching and learning processes which highlight fluid relationships between different ways of constructing social and cultural meanings and where "self-awareness goes hand in-hand with understanding others" (Fielding, this volume).

Finally, we would like to end with a quotation from Dervin (2016, p. 2) who highlights the importance of developing intercultural sensitivity among students in the following terms, "In a world where racism, different kinds of discrimination,

and injustice are on the rise, time spent at school should contribute effectively to prepare students to be real *interculturalists* who can question these phenomena and act critically, ethically, and responsively". As a result of our study, we would like to add that we understand "real interculturalists" as people who are sensitive and understanding of cultural diversity, multilingualism and the interrelationships with different identity dimensions. In the words of one of the teacher participants in our study:

a successful teacher must be aware of their role in society, the reach they have, and the impact caused whether they decide to overcome stereotypes or not. Teachers have the ability [to] reinforce and perpetuate hatred or stimulate diversity and inspire students to create a better world.

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Chapter 7
Pre-service Language Teachers' Multilingual Identities—Linking Understandings of Intercultural Language Learning with Evolving Teacher Identity

Gary Bonar, Meihui Wang, and Ruth Fielding

Abstract Although there has been a growing focus on the intersection of intercultural understanding, identity and multilingualism among learners of languages, our understanding of how these three constructs influence the learning journey of pre-service language teachers is still limited. In this chapter, we examine the evolving pre-service teacher identities of three aspiring language teachers as they traverse the pre-service education phase of their career preparation. As part of a wider mixed-methods study we analysed interviews with pre-service teachers, which were conducted pre- and post-placement in schools using the five sub-categories of the multilingual identity approach to intercultural understanding (Fielding, 2021). These explorations of pre-service language teacher identity development can not only help inform initial teacher education and subsequent school support practices, but also be a productive way for pre-service teachers to engage with the complexity of intercultural understanding, identity and multilingualism so that they are then empowered to support their future language students to engage in a participatory approach to student multilingual identity.

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter we examine the evolving multilingual identities of three aspiring language teachers at an Australian university as they traverse their pre-service education and in-school placement phases of their career preparation. Drawing on data from a wider mixed-methods study, we share insights from the pre-service teacher (PST)

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interviews in which we sought to understand the development of identity and interculturality associated with becoming a language teacher. We use the five sub-categories of the multilingual identity approach (MIA) to intercultural understanding (Fielding, 2021) to analyse the interviews with PSTs in which they speak about their development of multilingual identities as language teachers. Insights from this study can inform how language teacher educators can engage PSTs in thinking about identity and interculturality, as well as how they can take this learning into their classrooms to support their future language students with developing their own multilingual identities.

7.2   Background

It is generally accepted that teachers can have a significant impact on student learning and attitudes towards the subject matter (Hattie, 2009). It is also acknowledged that the 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 2002) can exert a powerful and often invisible influence on how pre-service teachers imagine, perform and evaluate their work. During their previous schooling, the thousands of hours that pre-service teachers have accumulated observing and [un]consciously evaluating the work of their own teachers have a lasting impact on the preconceptions these PSTs have about what it means to be a teacher. It could also be argued that these preconceptions are even further defined and entrenched for what it means to be a language teacher since for many students their experiences of language learning may have only been with a very limited number of language teachers.

   This study's main focus, therefore, was on how pre-service language teacher identities have been shaped by their prior learning experiences, and then further developed during their academic studies and placement experiences in schools. We were also interested in whether these future language teachers display or have experienced aspects of the multilingual identity approach (MIA) (Fielding, 2021). We consider this research a useful addition to the model developed by Fisher et al. (2020) for the participative multilingual identity approach. We argue that a fundamental prerequisite for such a model to have an impact is firstly for pre-service and in-service language teachers to be cognisant of their own positioning in relation to the five elements of the MIA discussed below.

7.3   Theoretical Framing: Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality

This chapter draws on the MIA approach (Fielding, 2021) which makes links between multilingual identity and interculturality. In order to outline this positioning, we summarise the approach to interculturality taken in the Australian language education

context and then show how this incorporates, and could further incorporate, multilingual identity as a core component of the development of intercultural understanding in language education.

7.4 Intercultural Language Learning in Australia

Intercultural 'stance' has underpinned language teaching and therefore language teacher education for the past two decades in the Australian context. It has developed as a theoretical underpinning for teacher decision-making within the language classroom. Within the Australian curriculum for languages, some states have had an intercultural approach within their documentation for as much as 20 years (e.g. Board of Studies, 2003). More recently there has been a renewed national focus on intercultural stance since 2018 when the national curriculum embedded this stance within language learning (ACARA, 2011). Individual states and territories have subsequently implemented this national stance in localised ways. While intercultural understanding is explicitly deconstructed within curriculum documents, it still requires further theorisation to incorporate the complexity of multilingual identity negotiation and to position language learners as emerging multilinguals to deepen both intercultural understanding and language learning. The multilingual identity approach to intercultural stance has attempted to take a first step in deepening the theorisation of multilingual identity within intercultural understanding in the language classroom (Fielding, 2021). While curriculum documents and teacher education materials focus upon the intercultural stance (e.g. RCLCE, 2007) it remains undertheorised. In this section, the five principles of intercultural stance are elaborated, and links with identity are highlighted.

Intercultural stance has five underpinning principles: 'Active Construction' which requires learners to interact in the target language of the classroom while "*continuously reflecting on one's self and others in communication*" (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009, p. 35); 'Making Connections' is the second principle in which learners are said to learn through social interaction and to internalise that learning by making "*constant connections*" between different aspects of their classroom experience; the third principle is 'Interaction' through which learners engage in a "*continuous dialogue in negotiating meaning across variable perspectives*" (p. 35) in an attempt to consider differing viewpoints; the fourth principle is 'Reflection', which involves "*becoming aware of how we think, know and learn about language*" and encourages language learners to become increasingly aware of "*concepts such as diversity, identity, experiences and one's own intercultural thoughts and feelings*" (p. 35). The final principle is 'Responsibility'. This requires language learners to develop a sense of ownership and responsibility for their interactions and indicates that they should be "*striving continuously to better understand self and others*" (p. 35).

Notions of self can be seen to be embedded within intercultural stance. However, while the reflection principle mentions becoming aware of "*concepts such as identity*

and reflecting on language, culture, knowing and learning" (RCLCE, 2007, module 2 p. 47), it does not encourage students to necessarily see themselves as *multilingual* through being a language learner. Identity is positioned as a concept rather than individualised for personal connection. It is this gap which the MIA framework (Fielding, 2021) addresses by embedding multilingual identity negotiation within intercultural stance, encouraging all learners to consider their own emerging multilingualism as language learners, while also enabling deeper inclusion of existing multilingualism of students as they engage with additional newer languages in their repertoires.

In order to deepen the learning experience for students, they must consider that identity can be multiple and shifting (Norton, 2014). This means considering themselves as emerging multilinguals in the language classroom. Once learners consider themselves as having multiple and shifting identities, they may also see other people as more complex individuals. In order to engage with these more abstract concepts and to personalise those ideas, learners may need explicit guidance. In relation to this, Fisher et al. (2020) have developed a participative model to show how multilingual identities might be fostered in the language classroom.

7.5 Prior Consideration of Identity Within Intercultural Stance

The notion of identity has not been strongly considered within intercultural stance as yet. Most of the published materials relating to intercultural stance, apart from a handful of academic articles (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009; Scarino, 2014), are course notes or professional learning guidance for teachers rather than theoretical considerations. We therefore need to look at these materials to see what is still needed in the theorisation of multilingual identity within intercultural stance. For example, some published notes from a professional learning course on intercultural stance recognise identity as part of the intercultural process indicating that: "*What we do is influenced fundamentally by who we are*" (RCLCE, 2007, p. 52). Identity is clarified as comprising: "*beliefs, values, attitudes, history, experiences*" (RCLCE, 2007, p. 58). While these elements can be considered aspects of identity, multilingual identity is more complex than a collection of linguistic or cultural features (Fisher et al. 2020; Henry, 2017). The way identity is viewed in these documents is somewhat limited by wording such as "*making meaning across cultures*" (RCLCE, 2007, p. 58) which positions cultures as representative of nationality or nation state. Further compounding this issue of reinforcement of national ideas related to language within the small amount of literature on intercultural stance is the idea of "*moving between linguistic and cultural systems*" (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 33) which although does indicate a change of identity and positioning could potentially re-emphasise contested ideas of defined and bounded cultural systems (Dervin & Gross, 2016; Pennycook, 2012). Although identity is an aspect of intercultural stance, we need to emphasise

the multilingual identity of learners and consider much more individualised ideas of culture within identity.

7.6 MIA frame

(see Fielding, 2021 for related diagram and a more comprehensive literature review). There are five intersections identified within the MIA frame (Fielding, 2021) where intercultural stance and multilingual identity are linked. The central five areas show where multilingual identity theories and intercultural stance theories cross over.

7.6.1 The Interrelationship of Language and Culture

When learning a new language, students consider how language and culture are interrelated. Intercultural stance positions language and culture as inseparable, being interrelated notions which cannot be taught separately (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Scarino, 2014). Likewise, when thinking about multilingual identity, cultural connection and connection to language are viewed as interrelated, although perhaps ideas which may involve tensions and conflicts in terms of how they interrelate (see Fielding and Harbon [2013] for a full discussion of the interrelationship of feeling bilingual and feeling bicultural). It has been found that children find it easier to see themselves as bicultural than bilingual (Fielding & Harbon, 2013) as children often undervalue their linguistic skills. Prior to developing students' intercultural understanding, they need to first begin to appreciate their own linguistic and cultural skills by exploring how they might see themselves as a new/emerging/existing multilinguals. If they consider how language and culture exist within their own ideas of identity, they can appreciate how learning a new language adds aspects of identity to their already complex mix. It is important to consider learning related to culture as a process which is ongoing and not a set of static knowledge to be learned (Ferri, 2018).

7.6.2 Imagined Connections to Language (Imagined Identities)

When students begin learning a new language, they form imagined and real connections to the new language. If taking an intercultural approach, they will also make links to languages already in their repertoire. The concept of 'imagined identities' (Norton, 2014 drawing on Anderson, 1991) indicates how self-perception is a key part of the formation of connections to language communities. Developing a perception of connection is more important than physical connection. Such a perceived connection

can lead learners to view themselves as members of that community and therefore show investment in that language. This is even more important when the language being studied may be geographically distant from the learner. Kramsch (2009) has shown that learners can never become 'native speakers' of another language (and should not be made to feel that this is the aim). Language learning classrooms must therefore be spaces where multilingual identities are legitimate and varied and where multiple languages coexist in different ways for every learner.

7.6.3 Self-concept/Self-awareness

In addition to imagined connections to languages, self-concept and self-awareness play a larger role in the development of multilingual identity as learners begin to view themselves as speakers of a new language. Self-concept and self-awareness are vital within the three spheres of multilingual identity negotiation—investment, sociocultural connection and interaction (Fielding, 2015). It is essential within sociocultural connection that people feel connected to the language and community involved. Similarly, self-concept within investment is crucial for individuals to develop and maintain multilingual identity in order to continue to feel invested in the language learning. Self-concept is also central to what a person brings to their interactions and how that relates to the associated power relations in interaction.

Likewise, we can see self-concept within intercultural stance when we see emphasis on the 'lenses' the learners view the world through (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009). Within Moran's (2001) early work on intercultural stance, 'Knowing oneself' is a key construct. Within multilingual identity work Norton and McKinney say: "Every time learners speak, they are negotiating and renegotiating a sense of self in relation to the larger social world" (Norton & McKinney, 2011, p. 74). In intercultural stance, sense of self is crucial to developing understanding about multiple perspectives (Harbon & Moloney, 2015).

7.6.4 Feelings of Belonging

Closely connected to the notion of imagined connections to language, language learners must develop feelings of belonging to target language communities related to their linguistic repertoire in order to develop an associated multilingual identity. Without a feeling of belonging, multilingual identity may remain elusive.

Feelings of belonging are related to community acceptance, but seen as somewhat separate, in that a learner may feel an affiliation with the language community yet not obtain admittance to a language community. The perception of the group around them may differ from their self-affiliation (Kramsch, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991).

The development of group identity may become a site of struggle and contention within the development of intercultural understanding. For example, if learners do not

perceive their own 'cultural lenses' then they will not be able to consider how these might impact upon their interpretation of other people's group affiliations (Kramsch, 1998). Likewise, within the literature on multilingual identity negotiation, students must explicitly consider their existing language affiliations in order to develop affiliation with additional languages (Fisher et al., 2020). If students are to be encouraged to see themselves as 'emerging' multilinguals (García, 2009), teacher guidance to develop feelings of belonging to all the language groups in their repertoire is needed.

7.6.5   Consideration of Self and Others/Reflexivity

Self-reflection is also referred to as reflexivity in the language learning sphere. Becoming an emerging multilingual means learning to consider and question the ways in which we see the world in an individual way and the ways in which we might or might not share group characteristics assigned to us by others. In critically appraising their own characteristics and uniqueness, learners can then more deeply see how others may be both individuals and members of certain groups, sharing some characteristics, but perhaps not all. This awareness of the complexity of others requires a deep level of reflection on the self in order to engage in something deeper than a labelling of 'others' with particular characteristics, traits or beliefs.

This links with the need for reflexivity which has been argued for in multilingual settings (Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014; Fisher et al., 2020; Norton & McKinney, 2011). Such reflexivity links to the notion that learning a new language changes the learner irrevocably (Kramsch, 1995, 2009). Kramsch has argued that the language learner occupies a new space (third space) which incorporates the two languages but which is different to the two separate language 'spaces' (first and second space) (Kramsch, 2009). This could be framed as a hybrid multilingual space rather than numbered so as not to limit the number of languages a learner may have in their repertoire. When learners occupy the new space, they may also be able to view themselves as emerging multilinguals with their multilingual identities impacted by the process of self-awareness raising within their language learning experiences.

7.7   Participants and Methodology

The three pre-service teachers in this study were all in the final year of their four-year undergraduate education course, in which they take two 12-week units focused on language teaching pedagogy. All language teachers study together in this unit, and the course provides opportunities to work within and across language groups. During each 12-week unit, students generally undertake a placement experience in schools of approximately three to five weeks. For these final year students, this placement requires them to take on significant teaching responsibilities under the guidance of the teacher at the school (the mentor). Due to the COVID pandemic and remote

learning conditions, the teachers who did experience a placement in the first part of 2020 conducted this via online modes. For the second placement in the September–October period, some teachers were also able to spend part of their placement in schools that had returned to on-site teaching.

Data collection involved two phases of semi-structured interviews interspaced with a statement sorting process (Q methodology) in which the participants ranked statements related to language teacher identity. The second set of interviews focused on discussing their ranking of the statements and reflecting on their teaching placement experiences. The data is presented here first with a brief vignette of the three teachers' backgrounds and then an analysis of the semi-structured interview data using selected elements of the multilingual identity approach model (Fielding, 2021).

Following Dewaele (2018), we use the labels L1 user and LX user rather than the problematic dichotomy of 'native speaker/non-native speaker'. L1 user denotes the first language someone learns (to speak or sign), while LX refers to any additional language learnt after the first language to any degree of proficiency.

7.8 Ken—Future Teacher of Japanese

Ken is an L1 user of Vietnamese who learnt English as an L2 from upper primary school level when he transferred to an international school in Vietnam. It was not until he commenced his university studies in Australia that he began studying Japanese as part of his degree. This interest in Japanese was partially sparked by his experiences during a six-month exchange to Japan while he was in high school in Vietnam. From knowing virtually no Japanese, he gradually picked up some conversational language, and although he was not able to continue learning Japanese when he returned to his school in Vietnam, his interest in the language and culture of Japan remained and this motivated him to return to formal language studies in his second year of university. As a double degree student (Bachelor of Education [B.Ed.] and Batchelor of Arts [B.A.]), his first year of the B.Ed. included observational visits (field work) in schools. During one of these visits to a primary school Ken was able to observe and then take on some teaching in a Japanese class. Though he describes those initial lessons as 'horrible' because of his lack of pedagogical knowledge, he was inspired by observing how his mentor teacher was able to encourage the students, and this experience motivated Ken to choose language teaching as one of his teaching methods.

7.8.1 Interrelationship of Language and Culture

All the participants in this study expressed an overall belief that language and culture were inextricably intertwined. When they reflected on their own language learning experiences, whether of the language they were intending to teach (LX) or of another

language if they were teachers of their L1, the discussion often centred around cultural aspects of the language(s) and how this had helped to shape their connection with the language. When asked to explain his view on this, Ken commented that:

> When you study a language, you have to study its culture, its culture [is] made of its language and its people. So, I believe in that, and you cannot have a language lesson without a culture aspect, or it's not language. It's more like learning foreign words, it's not learning a foreign language.

When asked to consider what makes a good language teacher, Ken replied,

> It's a teacher who can teach meaningful culture lessons, and then practical ones so a student can use that. I think again, by being a language teacher you need to teach mannerisms in that specific culture.

Ken went on to emphasise the importance of this with reference to his experiences as an exchange student in Japan. In many ways, this use of one's personal life history is a typical approach by teachers when the learning turns towards intercultural understanding. Teachers will naturally draw on their own personal experiences of intercultural interactions and their understanding of events as seen (often unreflexively) through their 'lenses' (Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009). Issues can arise, however, when this falls into what Cole and Meadows (2013) refer to as the 'essentialist trap'. This dilemma occurs when even though an educator may be aware of the problematic essentialised notions of culture and nation, their attempts to teach about culture can inadvertently reinforce these essentialised stereotypes. This can be further complicated when teaching materials and lesson content tend to reinforce these entrenched notions of homogeneity and uniformity (Bhattacharya, 2020; Matsumoto & Okamoto, 2003). One approach that may be useful to avoid this 'essentialist trap' is to frame this learning as an ongoing, critical act of 'culturing' (Ferri, 2018). Instead of the static learning about culture as though it were akin to "grammars of culture or recipes" (Dervin & Gross, 2016, p. 4), it is reframed as an ongoing critical engagement that sees the learner's multilingual identity as forever evolving.

7.8.2 Imagined Connections to Language (Imagined Identities)

In our interactions with Ken, it was evident that seeing himself as a knowledgeable and proficient teacher of Japanese was an important imagined identity that also carried with it some anxiety about how he appraised his language proficiency. When the discussion turned to the challenges of teaching senior level classes, Ken's response was:

> It's something that I think I'm very scared of… That's why I want to study for N2 or even N1 [highest level of standardized Japanese language exam], to perfect my language knowledge, so that I could teach them. I could reach their expectations, if it's low that's okay. If it's too high, what's going to happen? Will I lift to [meet] their expectations?

To combat this apprehension, Ken regularly reflects on aspects of his language learning and his initial forays into teaching. He explained this process as follows:

> It's just based on experience, and just something I really like to do. Because in a classroom or in any situation whatsoever, people would be there to give you that extra perspective. So just by doing it at the end of the day or the end of the things, you're able to see whatever you're doing in a different dimension, different planes. So, it gives a lot of perspective and it gives a lot of things for me to understand, "Okay, I need to do this in order to improve myself". And, as I told you before in our previous interview, it's that I'm very… how do I say, I'm very insecure about my level of Japanese. So, reflecting on it also helps me to understand like, where should I be able to improve myself? So, I know what I did wrong, so then I write down, reflect on it, and I can bring that forward.

The affective aspects of language learning including language learning anxiety (MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012), emotions and multilingualism (Pavlenko, 2012) and self-esteem (Rubio, 2021) are highly relevant areas of concern for the teaching of languages to children and teenagers. In Ken's reflections on his own complex connections with Japanese, we can see tension between how he wishes to be perceived by others and how he himself judges his own authenticity (Kramsch, 2012). Importantly, Ken has exercised his agency by formulating a way to mitigate this tension. As language teachers seek to support students to develop imagined and real connections to the target language and culture, sharing experiences such as Ken's, whether they be personal ones or of fellow language teachers, can help develop positive multilingual identities.

7.8.3 Feelings of Belonging

During the interviews we were interested in understanding how these pre-service teachers navigate the use of their multiple languages in their professional and personal spaces. For teachers of an LX, it can be challenging to initiate and/or maintain ongoing connections to language communities and sustain regular use of their additional language(s) (Richards et al., 2013). This can also be influenced by how they perceive themselves to be accepted members of physical or virtual language communities. For language teachers such as Ken, who experience some anxiety over their self-assessed language proficiency, acceptance and a sense of belonging can provide important validation. In addition to his ongoing Japanese language lessons with a tutor, Ken spoke of the value he gained from his online networks with the friends in Japan that he had made during his school exchange experience and subsequent volunteering work. Ken described the typical way these interactions unfolded as follows:

> We definitely start by saying [greetings in Japanese], something like that. It depends on the conversation and what's the topic. Sometimes, if it's casual, most of the time it's casual so we definitely talk mostly in English, but then if that week I'm study something about [topic in Japanese] something like that, then I'll try to use it and ask them, is that correct? I'm being aware of what I've learned and I try to use it in these social contexts. I think that's the best way to learn, because you're not being judged by anyone, your friends can fix you

at any time. It's not really who initiates conversation in English or Japanese, if my friends want to start in Japanese, I will reply with Japanese. English, yeah, if it's too difficult then in English.

In this example, Ken has opportunities to not only maintain and develop his language proficiency, but to actively engage in communities of diverse linguistic repertoires. As a future teacher of language students who may also struggle to build a sense of belonging to a new language community, Ken can reflect on and share his own experience of interacting with individuals who are supportive of each other's 'emerging' multilingual identity (García, 2009).

7.9 Natalie—Future Teacher of Spanish

Born in South America, Natalie's first language was Spanish. Her family migrated to Australia when she was young so most of her schooling was done in English. She also took French as a language subject in school and discovered she had an affinity with the language since she could utilise her knowledge of the similarities between French and Spanish. Even though Natalie's home language is Spanish, she does not consider herself a 'native speaker' of Spanish as she feels more fluent when using English.

7.9.1 Interrelationship of Language and Culture

As a speaker of a variety of Spanish, Natalie expressed some conflicts between her cultural connection to the variety of language she grew up with and the standardised language that is typically found in Spanish language textbooks (Padilla & Vana, 2019; Ros i Solé, 2013). She explained her attitude to this as follows:

> That comes from the idea that, for Spanish at least, it's not one culture. It's not something like German, which is very much Germany. And in my French schooling, we only ever learnt French culture. We never touched on Canadian [culture] or anything … And it was really an opportunity that was missed because I know a lot of Spanish programs go directly to Spain when in reality, the language that is spoken in Spain is the least common because most of the language transitioned, and there is kind of a standard in South America, whereas in Spain it's quite different.

Though she acknowledged the challenges in making an inclusive curriculum where all of these varieties of Spanish were present, for Natalie this went to a fundamental recognition of her identity as a speaker of a variety of Spanish. In preparing for her upcoming teaching placement, she had made a point to consult the curriculum documents so she could show her students the document and reassure them that it was acceptable for them to use any variation of the language, with the caveat stated in the document that they were consistent. At one level, this suggests a more inclusive

approach from the curriculum authorities. But it can also be critiqued for reinforcing an unrealistic notion of language purity (Cole & Meadows, 2013), which is particularly relevant to someone like Natalie who is actively immersed in varieties of Spanish in her daily life and through her use of online mainstream and social media sources.

Natalie's own experiences as a student and now as a beginning teacher suggests that reflecting on this aspect of her multilingual identity can serve as a tangible resource she can draw on to support her future students, who may also be navigating diverse interactions of languages and cultures. This applies to not only heritage learners of Spanish (Nieto, 2010) but also other languages such as Chinese (Wong & Xiao, 2010) and Italian (Benatti & Tarantini, 2017; Giampapa, 2001).

7.9.2 Self-concepts/Self-awareness

The complex interactions between language and culture discussed above are also evident in how Natalie negotiates and renegotiates a sense of self across space and time, and with reference to broader relationships that are historically and socially constructed (Norton & McKinney, 2011). As mentioned above, Natalie has multiple connections to diverse language communities that can be distinguished by language and language variety, by modality of communication, and by time and space. Although these are all important components of her multilingual identity, at times she experiences tensions and dissonance between them. When the discussion turned to Natalie's use of Spanish in her daily life, she remarked that:

> I use it regularly, but I'm a bit frustrated cause it's a very limited exposure to the language. So, my parents have the slang of the '80s when they were kids. And their friends, the other families that moved to Australia, are of the same generation. And my generation we just speak English to each other. So, it's very limited exposure to the language. I'm not really involved in a lot of the local community. Because I grew up here, I went to school here all my way through pretty much. So, it is a bit frustrating. I do speak Spanish at home to my parents and to my brother, but I'm frustrated at the lack. I listen to music and I watch movies and shows in Spanish, but it's just not the same.

This frustration was further reinforced after returning to Australia from an extended stay in Spain.

> I found living in Spain was really rewarding and enriching because I've come home and I'm saying like little things very differently. My Dad's like, "That's not how you say it." Yes it is, Dad!, you're just not…

Natalie's truncated response to her father's comment hints to a possible internal conflict between her strong emotional attachment to the language variety of her family and of her childhood, and the language variety she was immersed in while in Spain, the variety that retains its historical (but contested) prestige status (Florez, 2007; García, 2011). These reflections by Natalie are also indicative of her self-concept as a speaker of varieties of Spanish, and how her intellectual and affective engagement

with this experience can become a valuable resource for language teaching that has a social justice grounding in reciprocal meaning-making between teacher and student (Scarino, 2014).

7.9.3 Consideration of Self and Others (Reflexivity)

One aspect of reflexivity is the growing ability to understand the cultural influences that are at play as a result of language learning. Natalie, with her knowledge of three languages, was able to reflect on how she expressed herself in these languages and how this may have influenced how others interacted with her.

> I guess it is quite interesting because I have read a little bit about this and people that are bilingual and multilingual have the ability to express themselves differently. Because every language expression is different. And that's what I've definitely observed within myself. English is a very, it's direct, but it is not as direct as it could be. There's a lot of fluffing around the edges for manners and politeness. Whereas seeing, I don't know, French and Spanish and quite a lot of the romance languages, they're much more descriptive and you can get a high level of description, but they're also much more direct when you ask for things. And I've actually realized that some people might see me as a little bit rude sometimes because [the way] I asked for things; "Tell it to me", "Don't give me all this whiffy whoffy stupid" "Just tell it to me and I'll tell it to you straight back!"

Natalie laughs as she retells these interactions, as though surprising herself by sounding so direct in English with mundane utterances that she would say without thinking twice in Spanish. These moments of reflexivity, where one is aware of the diversity within, and contrasts between, one's multilingual identities can be framed as a hybrid space in which the individual is not only identified by their connections with an L1, an L2 and so on, but also by how these languages and cultures are also merged to create hybridity. For language learners in the classroom, whether they are learning an L2 or are already multilinguals, there is value in teachers being able to draw on such reflections to guide students in critically examining the cultural and linguistic influences that have shaped their perspectives and ways of viewing the world.

7.10 Craig—Future Teacher of Indonesian

Craig, an L1 user of English, began learning Indonesian by chance as his first preferences of French and Japanese were full when he was enrolled late at his high school. Though not knowing anything about the language, and only some basic facts about the country, he found the language learning both easy and enjoyable. A school trip to the capital Jakarta for a week at the age of 16 was the catalyst for his desire to continue with the subject into his senior secondary years. Craig puts this interest down to the success he has achieved in the language, particularly compared to many

of his peers who struggled, and to the influence his teachers had on him as role models.

7.10.1   Interrelationship of Language and Culture

Though Craig had enjoyed his Indonesian studies at school, he commented that it was not until he had the opportunity to visit the country as a young adult that he started to appreciate the diversity of the languages and cultures of Indonesia. Reflecting on his studies at school, he lamented the limited range of cultural content that was brought into the learning. Interestingly, his expanded knowledge of this cultural diversity has had the effect of making him even more conscious of what he willingly concedes as his still limited knowledge of the country. As he notes:

> I haven't explored much beyond Java and Javanese, unfortunately. That's something I'm definitely lacking in my own experience. Of all the times I've been to Indonesia, I've only been to the islands of Java and Bali. And so I am missing out on so much. But one of my last trips there was an exchange program where there were 18 Indonesians from all different provinces. So at least I have some different stories I can tell from different provinces and a couple of different words from different local languages. But other than that, [I have] the national language Indonesian and a fraction of Javanese that I can teach as well.

When we asked Craig what his expectations were in relation to incorporating culture into his language teaching in his upcoming placement, he replied:

> I'm looking forward to the feeling I got when I was in Indonesia and discovering all of Indonesia, really. I hadn't paid enough attention to it prior to high school. But sharing that, sharing Indonesia with all these people for the first time, people who are in my situation, I think will be a really rewarding experience, showing them how diverse it is.

In the follow-up interview, when we asked how this aspect of his teaching placement had turned out, he replied:

> I'd like to think that in the four weeks that I spent at the school, that I included quite a wide range of resources and quite a wide range of views from Indonesia, that I would become aware of only by going there.

As a language learner and now language teacher, Craig's experience highlights the value in not only appreciating the interrelated nature of language and culture, but also maintaining a level of curiosity and willingness to continually engage in the process of 'culturing' (Ferri, 2018). By maintain this stance as a language teacher, the opportunity arises to encourage a similar stance in his students.

7.10.2 Imagined Connections to Language (Imagined Identities)

For many language learners, the problematic concept of 'native speaker' as the standard against which one must be measured has not only been demonstrably shown to be unrealistic (Houghton et al., 2018; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007) but often detrimental to the language learner's sense of being connected with the language. If the language is forever positioned as 'belonging' to only those who were born in certain parts of the world, and 'native-like fluency' the benchmark for measuring their progress, then there will always be an insurmountable barrier to being able to imagine some ownership of a language. As Fisher et al. (2020) state, if a person believes they "need to be fluent in a language in order to identify as a speaker of that language" they may discount their own linguistic repertoire and therefore be less inclined to regard themselves as multilingual (p. 460). For language teachers of an LX, as Ken expressed above when contemplating teaching Japanese to senior level students, this can lead to feelings of self-doubt and inadequacy. In Craig's case, the fact that in his Indonesian classes at school and then in university he had mostly teachers of Indonesian as an LX (and not L1) seems to have had a positive influence on his imagined connections with the language and his imagined identities as an LX user of Indonesian. Reflecting on his LX Indonesian language teachers from school, he comments that:

> And as a student, you're looking at the teacher and you look at them as all-knowing in the language and that they're perfectly fluent, whether that was true or not at the time, and now is unknown still. But that was the goal that you wanted to achieve. And then when you went over, when I had the year 10 trip, she was able to organize everything, she [his teacher] was able to go into deeper conversations with teachers and people over there, that was something that I also strived for.

And then when reflecting on how he approached his teaching placement experience and how he planned to build up a rapport with the students, Craig said:

> In my introduction, I wanted to relate to them, saying "I was a former student at this school. I studied Indonesian just like you, at the school."

In that brief phrase of "I studied Indonesian just like you", it is possible to see not only Craig sharing with these students his multilingual identity and connection with the language, but also an open invitation for them to create their own imagined identities as emerging multilinguals. This is not to suggest that language teachers of their L1 cannot have an equally significant impact on students' imagined connections with their language and cultures. But in countries such as Australia where a pervasive monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2008; Hajek & Slaughter, 2014) has made multilingualism appear to be the exception rather than the norm, there is an ongoing and urgent need to 'unlearn monolingualism' (Scarino, 2014).

7.11   Conclusion

In conceptualising a pedagogical model for the development of student multilingual identity, Fisher et al. (2020) suggest that an overt and fundamentally participatory approach is required so that students are engaged "in the active and conscious process of considering their linguistic and multilingual identities and to become aware of the possibility of change in relation to these identifications" (p. 459). While this pedagogical model has potential value in being practical and logical in its design, we suggest that it may benefit from significant prior work with pre-service and in-service teachers using a framework such as the MIA to engage first with the complexities of the underlying concepts. Pre-service teachers also need to engage critically with the notion of interculturality (see van 't Hooft, this volume and De Mejía & Tejada-Sànchez, this volume). In this chapter, we have explored aspects of the multilingual identity development of three language teachers by using some of the five elements of the multilingual identity approach (Fielding, 2021). We argue that the experiences and connections the language teachers have with their languages and related cultures are rich and complex. In any work that language teachers intend to do with their students around exploring aspects of their multilingual identity, we need to be mindful to avoid what Dervin and Gross (2016, p. 4) warn can result in "*mere reports of experience or discourses on interculturality*". By encouraging pre-service teachers to consider their own identities in depth as part of their intercultural repertoire, as teachers they may then encourage deeper reflection and introspection within their lessons. In this way, they may facilitate and encourage intercultural understanding centred upon individual identity reflection.

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Part III
Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Broader Learning Contexts

Chapter 8
Negotiating Multilingualism and Interculturality in an Elite Language Education Company

Elisabeth Barakos ⓘ

Abstract This chapter explores an Austrian language education company that specialises in intercultural communication and language training. It critically examines the dimensions of multilingualism and interculturality as they play out in institutional stakeholder discourses and ideologies. Informed by critical sociolinguistics, this research explores the politics of language and culture training against the background of a neoliberal system of adult education that nurtures lifelong learning and language and intercultural skills as central for individual success. The study integrates examples from corporate discourse (the language company's website) and interview data with company management and employees to make sense of the understandings of 'multilingualism', the 'intercultural', and 'identity' that underlie a linguistically diverse educational setting. The findings show the reproduction and perspective of monolingual and monocultural norms of speakerhood present amongst the managerial staff of the language company and essentialist ways of selling language and culture training, against an overt multilingual and diversity ethos.

8.1 Introduction

> everybody is MOVING AROUND different countries and nobody is staying in the same place (.) companies want to <2sec> connect with OTHER places and the only way that can happen really successfully in the future is with UNDERSTANDING how things are done DIFFERENTLY (Pia, English language trainer)

This extract from a conversation I had with Pia,[1] a freelance English language trainer at an Austrian language education company, showcases a common entry point

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[1] All names in this research are pseudonyms.

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into understandings of interculturality: one premised on transnational movement, otherness, and difference. Such prevailing perceptions of interculturality are linked to the forces of globalisation that have bestowed new meanings to multilingualism, identity, and culture in society (Kramsch, 2014; Piller, 2017a).

In this chapter, I revisit the interconnection of multilingualism, identity, and interculturality from a critical-sociolinguistic perspective in the exemplary site of an elite Austrian adult education company (referred to here as LanguageBusiness). I use this site as an analytic tool for making sense of the ways the company managers and administrators as well as its trainers *do* and *un-do* 'language', the 'intercultural', and 'identity' through their everyday discourses and ideologies in adult education.

Specifically, I interrogate the ways company stakeholders make sense of the interconnects of language and interculturality in their discursive marketing strategies and their own experiences and perspectives. With this research, I pay attention to private education companies as an under-researched site of linguistic, cultural, and identity-shaping encounters and sites of contesting and reproducing power relations and ideologies circulating in the global language and intercultural communication industry. I situate the changing configurations of language, culture, and identity within neoliberal market logics that have penetrated most domains of social life, and as relevant here, the field of language teaching (see e.g. Gray & Block, 2012; Kubota, 2016). Discourses of lifelong learning (Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017: 7) and celebratory discourses on diversity (Del Percio & Sokolovska, 2016) that promise tangible benefits are exemplary features of neoliberal discourse and practice.

First, I will discuss the concepts of multilingualism, identity, and culture and link them to contemporary sociolinguistic debates about changing conceptualisations of language from system to social practice (cf. Heller, 2007a, b; Byrd Clark & Dervin, 2014) that is interpellated with changing ideas of culture and identity as fluid and permeable. I then chart the critical-sociolinguistic anchoring of the study. Analytically, I map the intercultural diversity agenda of this institution and its different dimensions of multilingualism, culture, and identity as they manifest within the institution and its various stakeholders' discourses. I conclude with a critical outlook of corporate educational institutions as powerful actors in reproducing the norms and orthodoxies of promoting language and interculturality in the current political–economic climate of the knowledge economy.

8.2   Making Sense of Multilingualism, Identity, and Interculturality

This chapter is embedded in and further develops a number of key interdisciplinary concepts and scholarship from the fields of critical sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. First of all, there is the concept of *multilingualism* and particularly its

rethinking in relation to the sociolinguistics of globalisation (Blommaert, 2003); secondly, there is the concept of *identity* in connection to language and thirdly the notion of *interculturality*. I will briefly review each of these concepts to show how this chapter derives from, unites, and expands these notions in the context of private adult education.

One of Heller's (2008: 250) compelling arguments about language is that *multilingualism* is about boundaries. In other words, "it is all about what counts as the difference between two languages, about who counts as a speaker of a particular language, and about how the categorisation of languages and language practices is connected to the categorization of groups of people" (Heller 2008: 252). Underlying this premise is the historical formation of the European nation state with its triad of one-nation, one-culture, one-language, and a modernist understanding of language and culture as a homogenous and bounded entity shaped by hierarchies and differentiation (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Barakos, 2020). Similar critiques that challenge the bounded view of language alongside the ideology of the nation state can be found in ample critical applied linguistic scholarship (e.g. García & Wei, 2014; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). This line of work details in what ways boundaries between languages are tied to language ideologies and how people's linguistic repertoire, their multilingual practices and resources, are deployed situationally, and can work against the colonial and modernist imaginary of language. Suffice to say, then, that any idea about language is never just about language. As Makoni and Pennycook (2007) remind us, languages are socially, politically, and historically constructed. Language is thus a locus of power and a site for the production of social difference and inequality.

One central concept premised on this modernist and colonial understanding of language is the figure of the native speaker. Traditionally, language learning and teaching have operated within the myth of mastering a perfect language (Davies, 2003). This myth is based on people's and institutions' desires to orient to and re(construct) social and linguistic norms, hierarchies and classifications of languages, dialects, accents, skills, and speakers as inferior and superior, as authentic and less authentic. Critical applied sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological work has widely acknowledged and debated the problematics of nativeness and the assigning of legitimacy to the 'ideal' native speaker teacher in a variety of social and cultural contexts (see, e.g. key works of Aneja, 2016; Canagarajah, 1999; Creese et al., 2014; Davies, 2003; Kubota, 2009; Rampton, 1990).

In their critique of global English, Park and Wee (2012) argue for the need to engage with inequalities stemming from the native–non-native distinction and with questions over who owns language. In multilingualism research, growing scholarship (as detailed in Calafato, 2019) also highlights a growing counter-narrative in the native–non-native teacher debate, which centres less on deficit perspectives of the non-native speaker but more on their multilingual proficiency, affordances, and practices. And yet, despite these ongoing scholarly critiques of the native–non-native dichotomy and its attendant "native speaker effects" (e.g. Doerr, 2009), native speakerism (Holliday, 2010) holds sway in the teaching industry and continues to act as

a prevailing model for learners and as an advantageous gatekeeper to seek employment. To make sense of language (practices) and attendant ideologies about language, then, entails looking at how they are socially, politically, and historically anchored in order to make sense of the linguistic and sociocultural processes we encounter in specific sites. The contemporary site of adult language and intercultural education is a prime site for the construction, negotiation, and valuation of multilingualism as a resource with added value (Duchêne, 2016). As Kubota (2016: 467) argues, the quest for becoming multilingual, learning to speak another language or honing language skills, is characterised less and less by romanticised visions but increasingly by economic, material, and instrumental reasons, or what she calls "neoliberal paradoxes" (Kubota, 2016: 469).

Such neoliberal logics of diversity and multilingualism entice people to constantly seek "empowering possibilities" (Darvin & Norton, 2019: 454): to expand their skills and thereby become more marketable, sellable, and mobile on the job market but also more aspiring and successful in their social and private lives, en route to global citizenship. Codó's (2018) study on transnational native English language instructors in Barcelona details their lifestyle trajectories in the English language teaching (ELT) industry. These middle class professionals experience international ELT jobs as a privilege, "where nativeness enables quick access to jobs" (Codó, 2018: 448), whilst at the same time the trainers are compromised by the precarious, insecure, temporal, and low-paid nature of the 'teaching-as-lifestyle' job. Research on multilingual European workplaces further demonstrates how power dimensions operate on the premises of workers' varied language skills. Studies have highlighted the privileged and hegemonic role of English for and in business, but also the value and strategic mobilisation of local linguistic and cultural knowledge and the ways companies embrace a linguistic diversity perspective (cf. Angouri, 2018; Gunnarsson, 2014; Lønsmann, 2014).

Against this background of the juxtaposing global role of English and the valorisation of linguistic and cultural diversity, the corporate industry of language and intercultural communication training has become a key site for selling packaged products such as 'Language Coaching for Executives' or 'Intercultural Conflict Management' courses. Adult learning sits at the heart of skills production for a neoliberal job market, and private education providers cater to the individual citizen–consumer and their 'entrepreneurial self' (Urciuoli, 2008). Such positionings are, however, specific in that they relate to a voluntary type of multilingualism, or what de Mejía (2002: 43) refers to as "optional", "voluntary", or "privileged" multilingualism, which starts out from a position of privilege and choice (people choosing to become multilingual for instrumental/self-advancement reasons). In view of migration-related multilingualism, language learning is mostly not a choice but an obligation for the purposes of citizenship, integration, and access to services and the job market—so often "imposed by circumstances" (de Mejía, 2002: 43). What this shows is underlying power and societal structures that influence language learning and, in turn, learner identity (Fielding, 2021).

Multilingualism, then, entails a practice in which meanings, identities, and trajectories are negotiated. Language (learning) also brings about possible shifts in *identity* (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Whilst definitions of identity abound, I align here with critical scholarship that captures identity as multiple and in flux and as a socially and discursively constructed phenomenon that is inscribed by power (e.g. Darvin & Norton, 2019; Norton, 2014; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Crucially, as Fielding (2021) argues, identities are also multilingual and a "*change of identity is an essential part of the process of learning language, of becoming multilingual and of developing intercultural understanding*" (Fielding, 2021: 2). Identity, then, is not just a 'thing' that we possess but constructed in communicative practice. Identity is also not uniform but permeable and variable, according to how and where we are socialised and what spaces we occupy at different moments of time. To exemplify, the language trainers in this research bring a matrix of identities: they enact the work as a teacher inasmuch as a flexible trainer, an entertainer, and a therapist who listens to their clients' desires and needs (cf. Barakos, 2019, 2022). This matrix of identities is also shaped by the nature of the clients the language trainers teach in this research setting: here, mostly economically privileged business people who are in a more advantageous societal and linguistic position and choose to learn another language for self-improvement and career advancement—so an elite cohort of learners. Whilst definitions of, and approaches to, elites and eliteness abound (see Bar, 2019 for a fuller discussion; also Van Zanten, 2018 for elites in education and de Mejía, 2002 for elite bilingualism in educational contexts), elite captures here the ways that language education companies cater to the desires and needs of an aspirational elite learner: someone for whom "*language serves as an access code to a distinct perceived or aspired elite way of living and being*" (Barakos & Selleck, 2019: 362) and whose language and intercultural skills add value to an existing individualised skill set.

The more recent scholarly conceptualisations of a flexible, shifting, and multiple identity stand in contrast to past scholarship (and training literature) that has tended to reify and essentialise identity, in particular in relation to language and *interculturality*. First, let us briefly problematise the notion of *culture*. Most critical language studies (and related disciplines) have established that language is bound up with culture and identity in multiple complex ways (Fielding, 2021; Kramsch, 1998). And yet, a lot of theorising of culture has done little to combat existing normative assumptions that are grounded in the modernist language-nation-culture triad (Barakos, 2020) and the monolingual habitus of educational institutions (Gogolin, 1994). In fact, "because language and culture are inextricably linked, the recruitment of 'culture' to represent the nation is also part of the legitimating discourse of the nation-state" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010: 70). Blommaert and Verschueren (1998: 17) further discuss the ways that culture is an interactional phenomenon:

> characterised by a high degree of variability (within 'cultures') as much as between them), constant negotiability, and multidirectional adaptability…Yet, the most common presentation of (a) culture is one that denies or underestimates precisely this flexibility and dynamics. People are supposed to have, once and for all, identifiable cultural 'roots'

In the field of language and intercultural training, this debate is particularly acute. Critical language and intercultural communication scholars have problematised the compartmentalisation and bounded treatment of culture (see, amongst others, Angouri, 2010; Barakos, 2019; Dervin & Risager, 2015; Holliday, 2010; Piller, 2017a; Zhu, 2019). As Holmes (2017: x) documents in his overview article, critical research has also provided nuanced understandings of a plethora of terms such as "intercultural communication", "intercultural communication competence", "intercultural dialogue", "intercultural/global citizenship", "Intercultural conflict", and "English as a lingua franca". Inspired by Dervin and Risager (2015: 9), the term I choose to use in this research, *interculturality*, broadly mirrors "discourses of the world that foreground what could most inclusively be referred to as diversity and encounters". As captured here, interculturality is considered changeable, in-flux, and like a process. In sum, I will treat multilingualism, identity, and interculturality as processes that both include and exclude and thus always entail the exercise of power and control.

Why, then, is this framing important when discussing issues that relate to how adult education companies manage, promote, and live out their cultural and linguistic diversity agenda? There is one significant reason and various other contextual ones. The significant reason is to establish the nuanced sociolinguistic dimensions of contemporary globalisation that has accentuated celebratory discourses of diversity (cf. Del Percio & Sokolovska, 2016) whilst at the same time creating differences, contradictions, and tensions. The contextual issues relate to how adult education can be a site for genuine diversity but also a site for its commodification and how these dis- or interconnects can be disentangled. To explore the intersection of these key ideas in adult education in the context of Austria, I will now attend to the methodology and study context.

8.3   Methodology and Study Context

8.3.1   Discourse Ethnography

Grounded in critical discursive understandings of language in society and critical sociolinguistics (Heller et al., 2017), I draw on data from a larger discourse-ethnographic project on language trainers as language workers in elite multilingual settings (see Barakos, 2019, 2022). Discourse-ethnographic work suggests shifting our analytic gaze away from abstract notions of languages, cultures, and identities to how these materialise in ideology, discourse, and practice and through the resources people deploy in their everyday lives. A critical-sociolinguistic approach interrogates the role of language as it relates to social difference and inequality in the political–economic context of capitalism and neoliberalism (Heller et al., 2017).

In the larger study, I collected discourse-ethnographic data via participant observation on the company premises, fieldnotes, promotional and marketing material, informal conversations, semi-structured interviews,[2] and website and social media data from June to September 2015. As a former English language trainer at this company, I was in a privileged position to negotiate access to the field and recruit a variety of interviewees[3] for the study. The participants comprised intercultural trainers, multilingual language trainers teaching English, German, and Spanish, company administrators, and management staff. In total, I conducted 13 interviews (through the medium of English and German as per the participants' choice) on site, with each conversation lasting approximately 60–90 min. As part of the discourse-ethnographic research process, I used an inductive approach starting with on-site observations and informal conversations, then proceeding to the interview stage and taking up observations again, alongside the collection of social media data and promotional material. The data were transcribed, thematically coded, and analysed, which helped to refine emerging patterns and themes as they relate to the negotiation of 'multilingualism', the 'intercultural', and 'identity' in localised discursive processes of the education company.

This chapter draws, in particular, on selected interviews with company management and administrators as well as discursive fragments from the corporate website to document and discuss dominant perceptions and lived experiences of promoting and selling language and intercultural training courses through an institutional lens. Paying attention to institutions such as language education companies through the lens of discourse matters: by focusing on powerful actors and positions, that is, the management and administrative perspectives of this institution, it is the aim to better understand the circulating valuation and de-valuation processes of language, interculturality, and identity and their attendant ideological and power dimensions in the situated social and discursive knowledge production of the language company. In sum, a discourse-ethnographic approach aids in addressing key questions about (educational) institutions, as Heller (2007b: 637) further explains: "*What institutions are supposed to do, what [knowledge, ideologies and practices] they really produce,*

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[2] Transcription conventions key, based on the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English conventions. See http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/documents/VOICE_mark-up_conventions_v2-1.pdf

    CAPS = capital letters for words or phrases with particular prominence and emphasis
    <fast> = speaking mode (e.g. fast, soft)
    I = interviewer
    (.) = brief pause in speech (up to a half second)
    <1sec> = longer pauses
    [pseudonym] = anonymised name of institution
    <@> = laughter
    […] = situational noise.

[3] All interviewees agreed to participate in this study on a voluntary basis. Following ethical procedures, the participants signed consent forms, which ensured them that all data were treated confidentially and anonymously

*what ideologies are relevant to making sense out of and legitimating their work, all
emerge out of discursive processes, some more routinized than others, of course, and
some more consequential than others*".

8.3.2   Study Context

The Austrian adult education landscape is rich in language schools and education
companies that offer standardised and highly individualised language and intercul-
tural communication courses as well as global language and intercultural testing
services. The market for language learning is particularly competitive in Vienna,
Austria's capital and economic and cultural hub. Due to its geographical position,
Vienna subsumes a preferred business location that bridges Central and Eastern
Europe, with Eastern-European languages, Russian and Chinese as popular business
languages to learn. According to the industry, there are an estimated 50 language
schools in Vienna. These cater to an "upwardly mobile population" (De Mejía, 2002:
8) that wants to learn another language for leisure, tourism, travel, entertainment or
business purposes. With more people, goods, and capital on the move due to migra-
tion, work, and tourism, the market for language and intercultural communication
skills has been developing fast and in instrumental ways. The company investi-
gated in this research, LanguageBusiness, certainly falls under the category of an
"edu-business", as described by Ball (2012).

LanguageBusiness is an elite private-sector company and operates differently
from public learning centres. It offers upscale and high-end premises and classrooms
and provides highly individualised courses for business clients in small groups or
on a one-on-one basis (see Barakos, 2019 for a fuller discussion). The company
positions itself as an expert with over 50 years of language teaching experience. It
offers three distinct segments, language training, intercultural training, and manage-
ment consulting, which are kept separate and for which distinct types of trainers
(language trainers, intercultural communication trainers, and external consultants)
are employed. It seems mundane to establish that multilingualism and culture are inti-
mately tied up with LanguageBusiness' corporate identity as an education business.
After all, selling language and culture training is the crux of its business activities.
What I would like to problematise here is the company's explicit diversity agenda
that defines its business approach. Perhaps unlike more traditional language schools,
LanguageBusiness has been keen on promoting diversity in the workplace as part of
its corporate social responsibility agenda. It signed the Diversity Charta, an initiative
of the Austrian and Vienna Chamber of Commerce, in 2011. This Diversity Charta
is part of a European platform of Diversity Chartas, coordinated by the European
Commission (see charta-der-vielfalt.de). It aims to motivate companies to recognise
and utilise the diversity of their stakeholders (employees, customers, and partners).

LanguageBusiness' Charta, which is promoted on its website, is a voluntary commitment to declare their appreciation of the diversity of its people in the workplace, regardless of age, gender, skin colour, sexual orientation, religion, or physical and mental capacities.

With this visible diversity statement, LanguageBusiness not only celebrates diversity, but also turns it into a viable business element (see Urciuoli, 2016). This fits with the broader commercialisation of diversity initiatives that propel the management of a diverse workplace as key to economic success. We can further observe this diversity turn in the company's own production of a YouTube video clip that rejects 'Schubladendenken', that is, stereotypical ways of thinking about language and culture within the workplace. With this diversity context in mind, I now analyse numerous discussions with employees and managers and discourse fragments from the institutional website to shed light on how the company discursively constructs and manages multilingualism, identity, and interculturality and how these discourses sit within the neoliberal logics that underlie and compromise them.

8.4 Findings and Discussion

This section consists of two parts. The first one sheds light on the ways *language* and *multilingualism* get promoted and marketed from an institutional perspective. The second one explicates the ways *interculturality* gets promoted and sold and analyses the ways administrators make sense of what they label 'intercultural competence' and their alignments with such discourses. Within those two sections, I will pay attention to discursive *identity*-shaping processes as they emerge, intersect, and cross over amidst people's experiences and institutional constructions of multilingualism and interculturality.

8.4.1 How 'Language' Gets Promoted and Sold

> we already live uh, in an unbelievably GLOBAL world. From food to travel to LANGUAGES we are already global (Kathrin, Managing Partner)

Language courses are at the heart of LanguageBusiness whose service caters to the needs of increasingly multilingual and globally operating business clients. What languages are offered? In what ways is language learning marketed? The following Example 1 illustrates the language teaching portfolio of LanguageBusiness, as promoted on its website (Fig. 8.1).

Arabisch	Englisch	Kroatisch	Rumänisch	Slowenisch	Vietnamesisch
Bosnisch	Französisch	Nepalesisch	Russisch	Spanisch	
Chinesisch	Holländisch	Norwegisch	Schwedisch	Tschechisch	
Dänisch	Italienisch	Polnisch	Serbisch	Türkisch	
Deutsch	Japanisch	Portugiesisch	Slowakisch	Ungarisch	

Fig. 8.1 Language courses

Example 1: Languages on Offer

As can be seen, the portfolio comprises courses ranging from Arabic to Chinese and Russian to Spanish and Vietnamese. Multilingualism is captured here as a countable and tangible number of languages to be 'purchased' via a language course and to be studied. What stands out is not only the multitude of languages on offer, but also the focus on many languages spoken in neighbouring countries of Austria such as Hungarian and Czech as well as languages spoken in the Balkan region such as Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian, which specifically caters to many clients' needs in Vienna. Surprisingly though, information on these various languages and language courses is available in German only. In fact, the company's web content is mainly in German, which seems at odds with its overall multilingual approach. LanguageBusiness also stresses that "the list keeps growing" and that they would "organise courses for any language". In Example 2, we get an understanding of the company's discourse of language learning and its commodified angle, as promoted on its webpage.

Example 2: How Many Languages Do You Speak?

> How many languages do you speak? **How many languages do you WANT to speak? Which language level do you want to achieve**—let us know which language you would like to learn and we will be happy to organise a language course that is tailored to your needs [own translation].

This discursive example illustrates the ways language learning gets commodified in terms of quantification, that is, how many languages one speaks (and wishes to speak) and what linguistic level one wishes to obtain. Whilst we can see this as a typical strategy of promoting and marketing a product (here language learning), there is another angle that merits closer examination: the orthodox promotion of multilingualism as the sum of a range of monolingual competencies that can be bought and sold. Multilingualism thus gets reduced to static notions of competencies that are clearly countable and measurable—a phenomenon brought about by the processes of neoliberal marketisation and commodification of language education (as discussed widely by, e.g. Gray & Block, 2012; Del Percio & Flubacher, 2017).

Kate, Director of Studies, tells me that Chinese has particularly been in high demand recently. She explains to me that due to globalisation and China's growing economic importance, Chinese language skills are now particularly in demand amongst international companies in Vienna and Austrian clients. I ask Kate about who would actually teach Chinese language courses. Kate tells me that in line with their diversity agenda, LanguageBusiness prides itself in employing a diverse pool

of language trainers, both native and non-native speakers, of different cultures and origins. Kate emphasises that they recruit trainers based on their qualifications and as subject experts, rather than on their native speaker status. They pride themselves in promoting and living what she calls a "multicultural family feeling" as regards their diversity of employees and their cultural and linguistic heritage. Despite this overtly inclusive ethos, in Example 3, she elaborates on the common native–non-native trainer debate that seems to influence trainer choices for specific types of language courses:

Example 3: Kate (Director of Studies)

> All our trainers are qualified (.) and actually the non-native trainers are sometimes a lot BETTER than the native trainers because they've learnt the language TOO and some of the non-native trainers know the GRAMMAR INSIDE OUT because they've learnt it and yeah a NON-native trainer with a qualification is <slow> WAY MORE valuable and qualified to teach than a native speaker without ANYTHING without qualification so in ORDER to grade your language well it would make MORE sense for NON-natives <slow> to teach a lower group because they ARE more able to grade their LANGUAGE.

Kate here clearly counteracts privileging native speakers trainers based on their native speaker bonus. In fact, she affords privileges to the non-native speaker trainers by evaluating their strengths ("they've learnt the language too"; they know the "grammar inside out"). With such discursive constructions of trainers' identities, she reproduces a common narrative in language teaching which claims that native and non-native speakers have essentialised strengths and weaknesses, whereby all native speakers are good at teaching communication skills (so the more advanced groups of learners), whilst on the other hand, all non-native speakers are good at teaching grammar by teaching "the lower groups" (cf. Aneja, 2016; Selvi, 2014 for a fuller discussion of such essentialism of nativeness; also Calafato, 2019). Such arguments are profoundly native speakerist in nature, yet widely accepted as true and objective, especially in the field of English Language Teaching.

Whilst the above privileging of non-native speaker trainers seems laudable, the next Examples 4 and 5 serve as instances of the compromised facets of multilingualism, which gets reduced to a monolingual mindset and somehow contradicts the above viewpoints of a multicultural and inclusive family feeling. They illustrate conversations I had with two company administrators at LanguageBusiness. The first conversation was with Anna, who is British and has been Director for Languages for five years, and is mainly responsible for the recruitment of trainers. In Example 4, Anna brings up the native–non-native dichotomy when responding to my question over how she would allocate a suitable trainer to a specific training course.

Example 4: Anna (Director for Languages)

> I: so you have got a really big pool of trainers. What's the selection process like?
>
> Anna: it's an ENORMOUS issue for me and i CAN't tell you how annoyed i get when people say again and again i mean we HAVE CLIENTS who say we want a native speaker <slow> and this is SO RIDICULOUS <slow> because we have so many NON-natives

yeah whose english is JUST as GOOD yeah < @> as an EDUCATED <slow> ENGLISH
SPEAKER [...] if not sometimes better they have a wider vocabulary and are more ABLE
to grade learners' language (..) so do you understand?

I: Hm I see.

Anna: I mean, this is what makes MY life difficult.

In Anna's narrative, anger and frustration are constituting elements of her decision-
making process, here expressed through a range of negatively connoted adjectives
("annoyed; ridiculous; difficult"). She expresses her stance towards clients who
demand native speaker trainers and thereby create differences in aesthetic taste.
Whilst Anna articulates her frustration of having to meet customer demands for native
speakers, she equally reproduces the hegemonic discourse that native and non-native
speakers come with essentialist qualities and weaknesses (cf. Selvi, 2014), similar to
Kate's discourse in Example 3. That is, she constructs the identity of the non-native
trainer as someone who is "just as good", if not "better" and appraises their qualities
of having a "wider vocabulary" and being more able to "grade" language. So there
are clashes that arise from Anna's perceptions and coordinating work practices. Part
of her work practice is the need to modify her feelings and make rational decisions in
order to meet her customers' demands. Towards the end of this discourse fragment,
she also evokes my empathy ("do you understand") and emphasises the personal
burden of this onerous task of negotiating customer desires for native speaker norms
("this is what makes my life difficult"). Here, Anna's identity as a regimented admin-
istrator exists in tension with customers' demands for native language trainers. Anna
constitutes a professional self that ultimately gives up her own decision-making
agency because of wider institutional expectations of customer service rules. This
sequence demonstrates how fluid, but equally regulated, individual and professional
identities are and how these are negotiated in context and interpellated with power
dimensions in the workplace.

Similarly, Katharina, who is Austrian and works in customer relations, needs to
eventually accommodate customer wants and needs by assigning specific trainers to
specific courses. Here, she explains her decision-making process.

Example 5: Katharina (Customer Relations)

der kunde ist KÖNIG und wenn DA diese voraus voraussetzung kommt dass muss ein
NATIVE SPEAKER sein dann wird ers auch (.) AUCH wenn es manchmal SCHADE ist
aber ist so.

*the customer is king and if there is a requirement for a native speaker, then so be it even
if it's a pity at times.*

Katharina clearly ascribes to the neoliberal business mantra of 'the customer as
king', with an underlying market forces discourse that customers' preferences for
native speaker trainers need to be met, despite acknowledging that it is "a pity".
These narratives by Anna and Katharina show the pervasiveness of native speak-
erism (Holliday, 2010), which holds that the native speaker is the most legitimate or
qualified language teacher in multilingual education landscapes. Language trainers

are hence divided according to an elitist 'us-them' logic, that is, a logic that ultimately shapes people's perception of gradable trainer identities. This, then, opens a terrain for the institutional reproduction of inequalities that rest on elite ideologies of the legitimate speaker. Ironically, this division leads to a clear disadvantage of non-native speaker trainers but an advantage in the form of profit for language companies that use native speakerism as an economic strategy. This points to the way elite educational institutions (Barakos & Selleck, 2019) such as LanguageBusiness are accountable for maintaining such normative linguistic behaviour and language-based discrimination by being complicit in accepting linguistic hegemony and accommodating these neoliberal, ubiquitous market forces of pleasing the customer. In the case of Anna (Example 4), we see though how hard she keeps working to convince clients to choose a non-native speaker trainer.

The examples discussed here show multiple issues at stake. The company administrators' pervasive essentialism in discourse and practice demonstrates how real the native-non-native speaker divide is, despite the multilingual diversity mantra of the company. This, then, somehow masks the inequalities that such an essentialism creates for non-native trainers. Since native speakerism serves as a reference point, which defines groups of speakers (here trainers) on the basis of their linguistic competence, we also see how complicit company administrators are in maintaining a compromised version of multilingualism that draws identity boundaries. So, the type of multilingualism portrayed and marketed at the company relates to ideologies of monolingualism and nurtures a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1994) in educational settings. This also shows us that modernist conceptions of language (cf. Barakos 2020; Kramsch, 2014) have not given way to late modern problematisations over making non-native multilingual speakers count as legitimate language instructors. In this sense, the administrators in this study orient to what Piller (2016: 25) calls "monolingual ways of seeing multilingualism".

8.4.2 How 'Interculturality' Gets Promoted and Sold

> people are learning english at SCHOOL and they're not gonna NEED an english TRAINER so much in the future because it's gonna be more about INTERCULTURAL TRAINING (Katharina, Customer Relations)

Next to language training, intercultural training has been a thriving and steadily growing segment at LanguageBusiness. The company positions itself as a professional partner and an expert in the development of intercultural competence. It provides a range of intercultural competence training, consulting, and coaching on how to make individuals and businesses what they call 'interculturally fit'. What, then, do the company employees make of interculturality at LanguageBusiness? In

Example 6, Sandra, originally from Germany and a certified Intercultural Competence trainer, elaborates on the concept of intercultural competence that features as a key term in her understanding of interculturality.

Example 6: Sandra, Intercultural Competence Trainer

mit interkultureller Kompetenz beschäftige ich mich ca seit einem jahr weil da ist das thema was schreib ich auf meine VISITENkarte drauf […] und DAMIT könntest du eigentlich alle drei monate eine neue visitenkarte drucken <3sec> es ist ein begriff der sich sehr schnell VERÄNDERT. da geht's nicht so sehr um die dos and donts sondern um bewusstseinswerdung deiner EIGENEN kultur und der anderen kultur und wie können wir davon beide miteinander profitieren ja ICH werd mir meiner deutschen kultur mehr bewusst seit ich in Österreich lebe (.) ja? also MERK ich mehr dass ich DEUTSCH bin und WO ich deutsch bin

I've been dealing with intercultural competence for about a year because that's the topic of what do I write on my BUSINESS card […] and with THAT you could actually print a new business card every three months <3sec> it is a term that CHANGES very quickly. It's not so much about the dos and don'ts but about becoming aware of your OWN culture and the other culture and how can we both benefit from this yes I have become more aware of my German culture since I have been living in Austria (.) yes? So I am more aware that I am GERMAN and in WHAT WAYS I am German [own translation]

Sandra first alludes to the fuzziness and changing nature of the concept of intercultural competence. She then goes on to argue that this concept is "not about the dos and don'ts", but about awareness of one's own culture and the other culture, "and how we can both benefit from this". She negotiates her national identity by drawing comparisons between her own culture (German) and her host culture (Austria), thereby emphasising her increased awareness of difference and inhabiting a separate identity. Sandra's deictic language ("I am German", "my German culture") discursively signals her German group membership. Interestingly, whilst Sandra emphasises awareness as key in intercultural competence, she treats and conceptualises culture in a rather uncritical, reductionist, and essentialist way (linked to nationality). This essentialism is surprising, given her expertise as an intercultural trainer, which would allow her to dis-invent and reinvent the ways we talk about culture.

Kathrin, Managing Partner at LanguageBusiness, tells me about the company's approach to intercultural competence teaching. In Example 7, she connects the notion of intercultural competence to third culture as the major orientation for the training courses offered:

Example 7: Kathrin, Managing Partner

We draw a lot on this model by this guy Thomas you probably know him as well […] a psychologist from Germany erm Alexander Thomas and he speaks about cultural standards ok, there is one's own culture and the other culture yeah, and there are culturally overlapping situations (.) but then there are also A LOT OF differences so this model argues that to achieve intercultural competence you have to turn BOTH cultures into a new THIRD one, so each individual has different cultural identities, and this is also the way our training courses orient to.

For Kathrin, intercultural competence is linked to cultural standards and the concept of a "third culture". She intertextually refers to the model by German Psychologist Alexander Thomas, (see Thomas, 2003), whose work has been popular in the German-speaking world. Kathrin chooses to accentuate differentiation within various cultures and the need to morph "both cultures into a new third one", thereby creating a place where one's own and the target culture can meet and interact. She also stresses individual multiculturalism, with individuals possessing "different cultural identities". If we look to Thomas' scholarly work to make sense of Kathrin's explanation of intercultural competence, for Thomas the term captures the ability "to (help) shape the process of intercultural interaction in a way that avoids or contextualises misunderstandings, while creating opportunities for cooperative problem solving in a way that is acceptable and productive for all involved" (Thomas, 2003: 141). So the focus is here on productivity, eradicating misunderstandings, cooperation, and problem-solving that will lead to mutual success for everyone involved.

Shortly thereafter, I asked Kathrin about the company's distinct business segments (language and culture training). She tells me that each trainer only works in one business area, that is, either in language training or in intercultural communication. She justifies the distinction of the 'language work' from the 'culture work' by arguing that each area needs its own training and well-founded expertise in theory, practice, and didactics. In Example 8, she elaborates on why she believes these two types of work need to be separated.

Example 8: Kathrin, Managing Partner

> And WHY NOT use language trainers as intercultural trainers because MOST language trainers are native speakers and have a specific heritage, also ORIGIN from a certain region from a certain COUNTRY and we believe […] especially with intercultural trainings that these are culturally specific <fast> when i grow up in a country in a region i can hardly separate myself from my own culture <slow> and I am very much caught up in my own schemes and patterns and also prejudices and cultural stereotypes.

Kathrin reifies the connections between language trainers and native speakerness, also mobilising discourses encompassing trainers' heritage and origin. The allure to the native speaker is a recurrent element, as discussed earlier in Examples 3 and 4. Here, Kathrin suggests that native language trainers would not be legitimate intercultural trainers because they cannot separate themselves from their own culture and their ways of thinking and being. They would thus reproduce their own "prejudices" and "cultural stereotypes". At a later stage of our conversation, I learn about another argument for keeping language and intercultural training separate:

Example 9: Kathrin, Managing Partner

> BUT the fact is that there are two different MARKETS and that ONE market, the language market, is paid a lot less than the other […] and that's why you HAVE to separate. So we've already discussed whether we offer shared concepts but the risk is then that the prices will go DOWN but in PRINCIPLE that a company offers BOTH is certainly something special and makes us more competitive.

Here, Kathrin's argument is premised on market logics of profit and distinction, with language and culture training as "two different markets" and that the intercultural segment would be more profitable. Multiple issues are at stake here. First,

we see the ways language and culture training get commodified on a scale of profitability. That is, language and culture have become commodified, commercialised, and marketised and are treated as economic resources to be produced, circulated, and valued (Barakos & Selleck, 2019). Second, the profit arguments used here for separating language and culture teaching are premised on an essentialist understanding of language and culture as bounded entities that can be marketed and sold as tangible products.

This essentialism is also exemplified varyingly on the company website. The company offers target country-specific training that should enable people to work in and with specific countries and deal with culture-specific differences. The training covers a selection of geographic areas, ranging from Europe to America, Africa, and Asia. Customers can pick and choose which target country and culture they would like to be trained and coached in. This approach to selling intercultural training resembles the pick-and-choose approach for selling language courses, as discussed earlier in Example 1. To exemplify the target culture-specific approach, Example 10 illustrates a one-day training course, labelled "intercultural business-fit in China" (Fig. 8.2).

Interkulturell business-fit in China

Zielgruppe	Fach- und Führungskräfte mit bestehende oder geplante Verbindungen zu China
Inhalte	China Basics (Menschen, Geografie, Sprache, Trends)
	Vergleich China und Österreich: Essenzielle Grundunterschiede in der Kultur, Mentalität und Geschäftswelt
	Besonderheiten in der Kommunikation und persönlichen Beziehungen mit ChinesInnen
	Umgang mit kulturellen Unterschieden in China: Ausländerbild der ChinesInnen
	Verhaltenstipps: Wesentliche Unterschiede in der Denk- und Handlungsweise
	Organisation und Durchführung chinesischer Geschäftsbesuche in Österreich

Fig. 8.2 Intercultural course description

Example 10: One-Day Intercultural Training Course

> The target group of this course are business executives with ties to China. Core elements comprise what they call "China basics" (people, geography, language, trends), a comparison between Austria and China (basic differences in culture, mentality, and the world of business), special features of communication and interpersonal relations with the Chinese, dealing with cultural differences in China (e.g. the image of foreigners by the Chinese), behavioural tips, major differences in the way people think and act, and the organisation and implementation of Chinese business visits to Austria.

We can thus see from this example that culture gets equated with one national culture and national group (the 'Chinese') that can be compared and studied in a homogenous way from the benchmark culture Austria. The comparisons, notably from a Western-European lens, rest on the presumption of one distinct Austrian and Chinese identity that can be identified and studied through a model of difference. That is, what we can see here is this ubiquitous predisposed cultural difference (in mentality, ways of thinking and behaviour) that assumes intercultural communication can be remedied by acquiring culture-specific knowledge of the target culture through the use of essentialised principles of comparison. As Piller (2017b) suggests, such type of training and orthodox discourse "sustains the nation as a key category […] and constitutes a prime example of banal nationalism" (see also Billig, 1995)—the mundane representation of the nation premised on a shared, homogenous national identity. This, in turn, creates a separate conception of the 'self' and 'other' through national belonging and erases other aspects of identity as fluid and permeable— something that scholars have long criticised (e.g. Holliday, 2010; Piller, 2017b).

These examples demonstrate the material realities of what constitutes language and culture training in the local context of this Viennese language education company. As we have learnt from the company management and administrators, market logics favour the selling of two distinct products (a 'culture' product and a 'language' product), which mirror one typical facet of a neoliberal education industry. Whilst many critical language and intercultural communication scholars have long argued for a closer connection of language and culture teaching (e.g. Kramsch, 2014; Zhu, 2019), data here show that the boundary between these two segments is almost fossilised and undergirded by the economic logics of the education market that demands the offer and marketisation of two separate products. Offering a more integrated approach is a seemingly difficult endeavour to institutionalise here.

8.5 Conclusion: A Compromised Diversity?

In this contribution, I have taken the case of an Austrian language education company as an analytic tool for making sense of the ways the company management and employees do and un-do 'language', the 'intercultural', and 'identity' through their everyday discourses and ideologies in adult education. The critical-sociolinguistic analysis of institutional-level promotional discourse, gleaned from the company's

website, as well as from interviews with company managers and employees, illustrates the reproduction and perspective of a monolingual and monocultural way of selling language and culture training, against a multilingual and diversity turn.

The findings show that when the company speaks about interculturality and multilingualism, at the heart of the debate is a politics of difference and othering, which reproduces an understanding of language, culture, and identity as a fixed and nationally bound concept. So we need to ask: To what extent is the diversity agenda of companies such as LanguageBusiness window dressing or reality? In the company's promotional discourse, diversity indexes good ambitions and intentions for investing in a holistic intercultural diversity agenda in the workplace. This holistic appreciation and valuation of diversity are also materialised in the conversations with administrative and managerial staff. The efforts the language education company takes in embracing a diverse and multilingual ethos, and in making this visible across various channels, are certainly laudable and make this company stand out amongst its local competitors. And yet, as shown across this chapter, the company follows an essentialist path of language and intercultural competence training that is rooted in monolingual and nationalist ways of thinking. One way of making sense of why language businesses fall into the trap of essentialism is the profit-based agenda that defines their operations. That is, even if they wanted to, such businesses probably could not profit from combined language or intercultural communication courses, when customers ultimately demand an either-or option (i.e. either language or intercultural training). We encounter a similar dilemma in terms of the perennial role and status of native speaker instructors in the corporate language teaching industry. The study has shown that there is awareness of, and a certain degree of resistance towards, native speaker preferences, which, in itself, constitutes a first important step towards eradicating native speakerism. At the same time, the participants produce the classic 'native speaker effects' Doerr (2009) speaks of: essentialising the strengths and weaknesses of native–non-native trainers and ultimately giving in to clients' preferences.

What, then, are the implications for adult education in a global sense? Albeit limited, the case study discussed here shows how education companies are in a powerful position to shape the ways multilingualism and interculturality get marketed to the broader public. LanguageBusiness is a site for producing and disseminating linguistic and intercultural knowledge, whilst at the same time this knowledge gets appropriated for marketing and branding purposes. This, then, erases the fact language constitutes a boundary marker and a site for prejudice, discrimination, and stereotypical ways of seeing the world (as I have discussed with respect to native speakerism and target country-specific intercultural training). The way multilingualism gets vested with an undeterred monolingual mindset in the language training industry mirrors what Duchêne (2020: 91) has argued recently: that multilingualism provides "an insufficient answer to sociolinguistic inequalities". The inequalities we have seen across this research mainly rest on linguistic discrimination based on native speakerism and the perpetuation of difference, otherness and a tokenistic, and banal

nationalisation of culture. I have argued that these issues arise from the orthodox handling of intercultural and communication training, which (as we have learnt) is shaped by a growing institutional and individual accountability for safeguarding profit and economic success.

Should education companies continue to follow such an essentialist path, it is likely that the prevailing 'us-them' logic, cultural hierarchies, and boundaries of multilingualism (cf. Heller, 2008) will be exacerbated. This, then, begs a bigger question: In what ways can these banal treatments of language and culture be disrupted? After all, the company adopts a monolingual and monocultural approach to capitalise on multilingualism and interculturality. The need is to reconfigure these training courses and the current marketing approach so that these incorporate a genuine multilingual and multicultural diversity ethos which would better match with our contemporary era of rapid change and the circulation of people, ideas, and things. Such an ethos would embrace language, identity, and culture as situated practices that are highly variant, fluid, permeable, and changeable. Key to improving this is to make this fluidity and changeability part of a wider debate on cultural and linguistic heterogeneity—one that goes beyond academic circles and effectively reaches companies like LanguageBusiness and its stakeholders via a mutual dialogue.

The data discussed here serve as illustrative examples to further debate the continued re-emergence of native speakerism and modernist understandings of the language-nation-culture triad within and across the seemingly diverse and multilingual space of adult education. I hope that this contribution takes us a step closer to developing a more critically oriented engagement not only with the notions of multilingualism, identity, and interculturality, but also with the situated meaning-making processes of powerful private educational institutions such as the one examined here.

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Chapter 9
Trying Harder Than Everyone Else; Examining How Young Former Refugees Reconstruct New Identities and Navigate Belonging

Jonnell Uptin

Abstract Australia has maintained a long history of resettling chosen refugees under the onshore programme. This is in stark contrast to the inhumane treatment of refugees through offshore detention, where social and political discourses surrounding the refugee have become more stigmatising and as a consequence polarised societal attitudes (Sidhu and Naidoo, 2018; Keddie, 2012; Rutter, 2006). As the resettlement programme continues to bring a smaller number of refugees into Australia, it is crucial that their voices are heard. This chapter examines the lived experiences of young former refugees, from African and Asian countries, and examines what it takes to belong. Much of the data looks at their experiences of high school as it is the first place the young people encounter. It highlights how the young former refugees in this study talked of working harder than everyone else to actively reconstruct identities away from deficit and silencing discourses. Of major concern to the young people were the ways in which they could too easily be seen as not having a learner identity. This chapter highlights two distinct ways this occurs, by seeing the multilingual learners without English outside the domains for success in education and by controlling the discourse of 'refugee as victim'. It shows how the young people resist these positionings and try hard to find ways to navigate belonging in Australia.

9.1 Introduction/Context

In this chapter, the lives of young people from refugee backgrounds traversing the landscape of resettlement in their new home of Australia are highlighted. The intersecting themes of identity, interculturality and multilingualism are examined through their narratives providing insight into the intense work that the young people do

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in order to create room to belong within a nation that has grown more intolerant to the refugee. What is found in the narratives are the ways in which the young people actively reconstruct new and evolving identities, moving away from the deficit discourses of 'the refugee'.

While students from refugee backgrounds are met with the same challenges facing other English language learners, the added pressure of experiencing a childhood as a refugee brings with it a further complexity (Alford, 2014; Sidhu & Naidoo, 2018).

Schools play a vital role in the process of belonging to a nation; however, research has found that this depends upon how individual schools work to include students from refugee backgrounds (Alford, 2014; Keddie, 2012). Baak's (2020) research concluded that while education policies aim to enact the inclusion of students from refugee backgrounds, there is a real pressure upon schools and teachers to be accountable to high stakes testing regimes and outcomes. This pressure leaves little room for intercultural dialogue and understanding towards valuing the strengths and skills these students bring to learning nor does it recognise their specific needs. Sidhu and Naidoo's (2018) report on how this tension is experienced by refugee students:

'Freed from the 'abject' spaces of the refugee camp, students from refugee backgrounds look to schooling in Australia as a space of possibility and reinvention, only to experience new barriers, new insecurities which limit their ability to participate in opportunity structures in settlement societies'. (p. 175)

Baak (2020) concludes that education must develop diverse forms of assessment to counter the standardised testing regimes as this would indeed enable students to bring their own cultural and linguistic capital to learning. Sidhu and Naidoo (2018) suggest that learners from refugee backgrounds can be seen as problems in a system that has high stakes testing. This deflects responsibility away from the system and points toward the individual learner as having a deficit and 'at risk' (Marlowe, 2010).

9.1.1 Inscribing a Refugee Identity

The power of inscribing an identity for 'the refugee' has ultimately been in the hands of nation states. Historically, Australia needed refugee resettlement for nation building and thus inscribed notions of humanitarianism towards refugee identity. Yet, according to Bauman (2004), the events of 11 September 2001 saw a sinister discourse of suspicion, equating 'the refugee' away from needing protection to being protected from them, through border security. New discourses created new 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 2010), where suddenly the refugee was inscribed with an identity of the 'ultimate stranger or deviant other' (Bauman, 2004, p. 56). Australia was one of the first nations to move away from the international norms and begin its own refugee status determination 'by domestic patterns of administrative and bureaucratic justice' (Hamlin, 2012, p. 935). This move ensures that refugee migration to Australia is enacted within a discourse determined by Australia.

Australia's movement towards a neoliberal modernity has also seen the rise of a discourse promoting the need for a migrant that is deemed 'useful to society' bringing immediate financial and career capital with them. In contrast, 'the refugee' has been positioned outside usefulness to nation building and seen as an economic drain upon society (Bauman, 2004). Contrary to this positioning, Hugo's (2011) empirical research found that while it takes a longer time to realise any investment, former refugees make significant long-term economic and social contributions to society.

Labelling for those who have endured a refugee experience is not new. The very status of 'refugee' is sought across the globe by millions of asylum seekers. However, how the discourse surrounding 'the refugee' is realised in resettlement countries like Australia is of crucial significance here. The legacy of being a resettlement country for refugees stems from a kinder time in history when our forefathers saw the need to protect the vulnerable and displaced (Hugo, 2011). Today, there is an overwhelming tendency for those in the Global North to view these vulnerable people through a lens of blame and disdain. This has given rise to a discourse of positioning 'the refugee' as 'victim' (Harroll-Bond, 1986). As Rutter (2006) suggests, conscientious educators have used these labels to answer the demonisation of 'the refugee'. This 'compassion speak' (Harroll-Bond, 1986, p. 143) relies heavily upon the 'global north' positioning the 'refugee victim' as a non-threat and in need of our help (Bauman, 2004; Harroll-Bond, 1986) creating a marginalised, homogenised identity that only speaks *about them* (Marlowe, 2010; Rutter, 2006). This appropriation opens what is termed as a 'trauma industry' (Marlowe, 2010; Rutter, 2006) silencing the very important ways refugees themselves have found to make meaning and gain insight into human suffering. While some Australian organisations promote the victim identity in order to counter the discourse of refugees as a threat and to gain social and financial support, this 'engenders an exoticized and idealized narrative which constitutes a disempowering understanding of refugees' (Phillips, 2010, p. 334). Yet, how does the 'refugee victim' who now walks into our schools transform into being a competent learner?

At this point, clarifying my position seems important. I am arguing that having experienced the traumatic events of war, abuse, discrimination, displacement and terror, refugees coming into resettlement have the right to determine their own truths from their experience. Indeed, the young people in this research talked of their many losses and the harm done to them. As with Creagh (2016) 'Children of refugee background enter school in Australia with complex educational and language needs and this has had significant impact on the ways in which school systems, schools and teachers have needed to respond' (p. 253). I am proposing that it is increasingly concerning that the hegemony of 'refugee victim' and 'traumatised refugee' is inscribed upon the refugee without careful consideration of the individual. These reductionist labels leave little room for autonomy and growth.

In this study, all of the participants came to Australia at an age where they joined a high school. Many talked of education being as important to them as family. With this high investment in their place of education, the young people showed a preparedness to work hard at becoming an Australian student. However, there were still barriers to meaningful education that confronted the young people, which although different

to those barriers they had experienced in exile, nevertheless still caused confusion and challenge. The young people used the interviews and focus group processes in this project to reflect and articulate these confusing barriers and to discuss how they negotiated ways to find a place for themselves in their new home.

9.2 Theoretical Framing: Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality

In this chapter, the experiences of the young former refugee participants are examined through identity, interculturality and multilingualism. While these concepts intersect, it is important to understand how each concept is individually conceived. In understanding the identity negotiations of the young participants, I use a post-structural stance, acknowledging that identities are 'the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future' (Norton, 2013, p. 4). Understanding how young former refugees perceive their relationship to their new home in Australia and how they reconstruct new identities to enable a future for themselves is the work of this chapter. As Norton argues identity formation comes with not simply asking 'who am I' but also 'what am I allowed to do'? (2013, p. 48). The question of 'what I am allowed to do' cannot be seen outside of what resources and opportunities are offered to me (Norton, 2013). For the refugee, opportunities can easily be restricted through discourses that position them as deficit. Post-structural theory posits identity construction within discourse (Hall, 2000). Thus, in examining identity, the discourse surrounding the identity of the refugee must too be examined.

Discourses reproduce ideological meanings that are in accordance with the dominant culture and its values (Hall, 2000). Therefore, the discourses surrounding the refugee have been shaped by those with the power and resources to do so, not by 'the refugee'. A clear example of this is when in 2013 the then Minister for Immigration and Prime Minister, Scott Morrison gave a directive that government departments call asylum seekers arriving by boat as 'illegals' (Gregoire, 2020). This discursive positioning of the asylum seeker highlights how power is rendered through discourse. The relationship between identity and discourse is often viewed at the intersection of multiple axes including race, gender and ethnicity. Norton's (2013) research extends these intersections to consider forming a learner identity and becoming an English learner. In this chapter, identity negotiations are at play through the multiple intersections of refugee, citizen, race and ethnicity and forming a learner identity that fits within Australian schools.

Similarly, a post-structural lens is taken in discussions of interculturality. By taking a non-essentialist view towards interculturality, there is an assumption that intercultural communication cannot be accomplished by 'a formula but assumes risk taking and open-ended dialogue' (Ferri, 2018, p. 13). Hoff (2020, p. ?) proposes that there is a dynamic nature to examining 'multiple factors of culture and identity as

well as 'the language-culture nexus". These multiple factors include the exploration 'of ideas from the periphery' (Hoff, 2020, p. 65), that is, the ideas that are not heard in the discourses of power. With this inclusion of the voices of those on the periphery, in this case former refugee youth have representation and valuable input into how interculturality is perceived from their experiences.

Turning to multilingualism, I return to Norton's (2013) ideas of multilingual identity and ask a further question that could be asked by the multilingual learner, and that is 'who am I allowed to become?' This question arises from the unique position that takes place when a multilingual learner enters Australia without English and must begin again in an English-speaking (monolingual) school environment. This question recognises that in order to succeed academically at school restrictions exist, one language reigns supreme, Australian English. 'The monolingual mindset is apparent in Australian policy and curriculum that privileges monolingual constructions of English, including NAPLAN (National Assessment Program—Literacy and Numeracy), the Australian Curriculum, and state curricula' (French, 2020, p. 23). Thus, cultivating and reconstructing an identity that receives benefits in Australia can mean moving away from a multilingual to a monolingual mindset. This would raise identity tensions for all multilingual students.

Again, I examine through a post-structural lens where language can be understood 'as an inherently social phenomenon that is constructive of reality, social relations and identities as well as intimately connected to issues of power and ideology' (Clarke & Morgan, 2011, p. 66). However, what becomes evident through the data is the power of living in a dominant monolingual education system where a students' multilingual identity is devalued and reduced to what can be produced in English. Fielding (2020) suggests that a monolingual policy positions language as an economic resource, through a neoliberal lens, this 'means that only specific languages of immediate economic value are embraced in policy' (p. 2). Thus, many of the languages spoken by the participants are devalued as 'community languages' with less status than a 'foreign language' (Fielding, 2020) and therefore viewed as inconsequential to their education by the wider societal positioning of languages.

9.3 Methodology

9.3.1 Participants

The larger study from which this chapter derives gathered the narratives of 12 former refugees who had been living in Australia between two and five years. The participants' ages ranged from 16 to 22 years, and all participants had attended high school in Australia. The participants' ethnicities included Chin, Karenni, Burmese, Congolese, Sudanese (Dhinka), Sierra Leonean, Togolese and Burundian. However, the young people had spent most of their lives in the host countries of Thailand, Malaysia, Kenya, Zambia, Benin, South Africa and Ghana. Eight of the twelve participants'

voices are heard in this chapter. The table below shows the journeys of the individuals featured in this chapter.

Pseudonym	Origin and escape	Displacement	Age Arrived in Australia	Languages spoken
Hannah	Born in Freetown, Sierra Leone Escaped with mother and father on a boat to Guinea at 4 years old	Stayed in Guinea refugee camp—1 year. Moved to Ghana refugee camp until her mother went missing. Moved to Accra with father. Went to an English-speaking school	15	English, Kriol and some Fante
Gabriella	Born in The Democratic Republic of Congo. Escaped in a truck at 7 years old with family	Lived in South Africa with her family. Went to private English-speaking school for 7 years	14	Swahili, French, English and Kikongo
Jacqueline	Lived with parents in Togo until the age of four	Moved with her mother and brother to a refugee camp in Benin. Found father in the camp. Lived there for 15 years	19	French, Kaiya and English
Joseph	Born in South Sudan Escaped with his father's second wife and brother at 2 or 3 years old walking	Lived in Kakuma refugee camp for 10 years	12 or 13	'the language of his people' and English
Jai	Born in Meiktila Myanmar. Escaped with his mother and brother to Thailand. Walking and crossing the river border in Mae Sot	Lived in Mae Sot—3 years Moved to Mae Hong Song. Attended Christian boarding school with his brother	14	Burmese and English
Sing Me	Born in Karenni State, Myanmar Escaped with mother and father as a baby	Lived in refugee camp on Thai/Myanmar border Song for 17 years	17	Karenni and English
Matinda	Born in Togo. Lived with grandmother	Moved to Benin refugee camp with father	17	French, Kaiye, English

(continued)

Pseudonym	Origin and escape	Displacement	Age Arrived in Australia	Languages spoken
Peta	Parents escaped Burundi and went to DR Congo	Family went to Zambia at 2 years old stayed 13 years. Went to English-speaking private school	15	English, Nyanja, some French

9.3.2 Researcher Role

Recruitment for the project began slowly, and I encountered many intercultural learnings in this process. My first was in communicating the concept of research as this was not understood by participants nor their families. After discussing what this meant with Gabriella, she reinterpreted this to the girls from African countries, 'she just wants you to talk about yourself. We can do that!' Thus, a snowball effect was employed.

My next lesson was in trying to recruit the young men. I had approached four boys and all very quickly and definitely said 'no' along with expressions like 'there is nothing wrong with me'. After asking advice from a Sudanese case worker, I learnt that a lot of terror was attached to interviews which were used as interrogations of truthfulness. As my intention was to hear their stories and their own interpretations of meaning, I followed the case worker's advice and used words such as 'storytelling' rather than 'interview' when explaining the research.

Finally, even though two of the female participants were over 18 years old and keen to participate, they asked if I would speak to their parents to explain their role in the research. I did and through this I became aware of the delicate and intricate ways these traditional family roles played out. The fathers, in particular, were firstly fearful of their daughter being interrogated but as we talked about the motive for the research, they became enthusiastic offering their own stories (sadly, not included in the research).

I was deeply moved by the trust that the participants placed upon me to listen to and retell these stories. I was known by all the participants and their families as I had been a resettlement youth worker in the previous year, coaching basketball, netball and learn to swim. I had also spent eight years in Northern Thailand and had volunteered in a refugee camp, teaching English and Singing on the Thai/Myanmar border. This experience gave me a slight insider status with the participants.

9.3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Semi-structured interviews were first carried out. Participants chose the place of interviews, and this included coffee shops, library and at the University of Wollongong. Each of the interviews lasted an hour. Two focus groups were then conducted, the first was with the African-Australian girls. This group included the sister of Gabriella who joined the study at this stage. The second focus group involved the participants from Myanmar. The focus groups were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The research was approved by The University of Wollongong Human Research Ethics Committee. Analysis of the data was thematic seeking out the social aspects and academic aspects of school.

9.4 Findings

The data is divided into three sections. The first section looks at how the participants navigate the dominance of one language, English. Responses to taking up English vary but show that there is little room in Australian schooling for their multilingual/multicultural identities. The second section examines students who came to Australia with English. The third section examines how family expectations impact upon the young people. All of their identity negotiations are seen 'through not outside difference' (Hall, 2000 , p. 17).

9.4.1 Acquiring an English-Speaking Identity

> For those participants that came to Australia without English, finding their way in a monolingual society meant that they needed to be very strategic to form an identity that still assisted their belonging.

In Matinda's interview, she talked of trying hard to catch up with the rest of her class, but she felt it was impossible, she said:

> Ahhhh English – it flies like a bird away. If only I could catch it. I would put it in a cage. And like a bird, it would sing to me all night and I just sleep. And when I wake up in the morning, I open my mouth and there, out of my mouth, come English.

Matinda's desire to capture English reflects the aims of many EAL students. It also shows how her cultural identity influences the way in which she expresses herself in English by taking up the rich storytelling medium from her own cultural background.

Joseph also talked of trying to catch up to his age group. He said:

> It's just so fast. The teacher talks bla bla bla, so fast. I just go 'yo bro' and kids like me.

Joseph has etched a place for himself beyond traditional school learning. He had decided that academic English is unachievable but finds another place, drawing from a cool African–American identity. With his afro hair, cap on backwards, jeans pulled down and basketball under his arm, Joseph works hard at speaking the English used by rappers. The benefits of this new identity enable new friendships and a place to belong on the peripheries of school.

Sing Me has judged her ability to achieve in the education system as untenable. She said:

> Before, I think maybe I can go to study (and) be a nurse. But I feel like my eyes go crazy. I not a good student, I (am) very bad student. Sometimes I feel I want older sister, she can help me. Now I see my family need money. I must stop (school) and get a job. My little brother, he is only nine but already he is good at English. We think maybe it is for him to study. I am old so I can work, all of us work and he can go (and study).

Sing Me has made strategic decisions about the future with her family. There is no sense of an individual pursuit but rather that the family must collectively pull together to create a pathway that will benefit all.

Jacqueline has always desired an education. She told of attending a school in Benin where those from the refugee camp had to sit at the back and suffered discrimination, many gave up, but she went every day. Now, in Australia, she was free to pursue her education, but her disappointment was that only English mattered. Jacqueline takes her frustration out by questioning the UNHCR's decision to send her to Australia.

> Why not France, I speak, I write my poems in French and my language. If they send me to this place, I am free, I can give. Now my poems are locked in the home. Now I must start again, like a baby in a big body. Ahhh (Shaking her head).

Jacqueline persisted with learning English, insisting that at times it was humiliating. When it came to choosing subjects for the Higher School Certificate, Jacqueline advocated for herself to join a French class in a neighbouring school. She spoke of pursuing a future in studying French and international relations at university.

9.4.2 Being Assigned a Deficit Identity

The participants who came to Australia with English were highly invested in learning and moving forward into a bright future. This expectation contrasted with what they encountered when trying to demonstrate their learner identities. They talked of the restrictions placed upon them by mainstream Australia. Gabriella described her interaction with the volunteers at a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) assisting in the resettlement process in Australia. She said:

> In their minds, they still feel sorry, pity, they start thinking about wars. And in my mind, I feel that word [refugee] diminishes me and my ability. For example; I was once applying for a job and they urged me to put the word 'refugee'. They say, 'once they see this word girl, you will get a job, it's easy for you'. I was just soooo angry. I have to use that word! I have to carry that word with me, for me to receive something. This is a job I'm applying

for! They will base it on my ability. Not feel sorry for me! Oh, it really got to me. For me I think it lowers people's ability, because a refugee is someone who needs help, someone who is displaced in the middle of nowhere. But here people have Australian citizenship. They have homes to sleep, food to eat. I don't know where the refugee word fits in, it's useless. But they still use it. That hurts me.

Gabriella resisted the entrenched, inscribed identity markers of the refugee as 'the victim'. She indicated how this positioning can reconstruct a false identity of hopelessness and dependency upon those who have settled in Australia. She continuously resists this positioning seeing herself as an Australian citizen who has a home and plenty of food.

In the focus group, one discussion centred on being seen as different and the young women agonised over whether they were seen as refugees or as Black African. They concluded that it was both. I then asked 'what does this mean'?

Alli: Yeh, It means knowing that you're different, you have to try harder to, you know, not meet the standards but for others to recognise what you're doing. Let's say at school you always have to try harder than most other people so you know -.

Hannah: So they can see *you.* Yeh—not see you as-aaww poor thing.

Gabriella described how the intersection of being a Black African and a refugee plays out for her in Australian society. She said:

Once an African refugee, always a refugee. The reason is that label, that title, doesn't go away for people with black skin. 'Cause many people, if you look at that part of the world, even when you look at ads of refugees, they mostly have African faces. They kind of symbolise suffering and many people they come with that image and they don't get away from the word 'refugee'. I have my friends from Serbia and all those countries, for goodness sake, as soon as they've entered here, they've landed in straight away. No one ever calls them refugee again. But people, even I'm five years in Australia, some people I know are here for 10 years and they still hear the word 'refugee'. And they even accept it. That's the problem. … It's a different story for us and people still call us refugee and we are here with Australian citizenship. I don't understand that concept.

The discourse that essentialises the 'refugee' with 'African' indicates the unique lack of intercultural and political awareness in mainstream Australia. This misidentification was also mentioned in the focus group with the participants from Myanmar but being a refugee was used to stand away from other Asian identities:

Jai: Sometime they say, 'You Chinese'. And I say 'No I am refugee'.
Researcher: Why do you say this?
Sing Me: Ummm. If we say refugee, they can help or they stop and talk slow.
Jai: If we are Chinese they think we have money (they all laugh).

The young African – Australian women told stories of, as Gabriella expressed it, 'getting suppressed' at school. They employed a type of self-reflexivity to understand how to traverse the structural discrimination at school. They asked themselves questions like 'how do others get out of this bottom class?', 'how can I get more out of my education?' All, in their own way, resisted being positioned as 'refugee

victim'. Peta told of designing a science experiment for entering a science fair, 'I was measuring how music effects your endurance when you exercise'. She said:

> She was the worst teacher. She didn't help us with anything, most teachers show you how to write your experiment out, nothing. We did it all ourselves. But they expected us to do well at the science fair. So, I was going to make a poster to explain the experiment and she told me not to put anything on the poster. She told us not to display anything, we didn't need to. And then we went to the science fair and I saw that my experiment was really good but because we didn't display anything. All the other students there had really good displays and you could tell they got help because they were displayed so well. We had nothing! No help and no display and I know my idea and my experiment was good but I was still learning English and I didn't know how to show properly what I had done and the teacher said I didn't do well because **I was a refugee still learning English** (shouting these words).

Due to similar experiences, Hannah, Ali and Peta sought out a private school that required an entrance exam. Upon sitting the exam first, Peta and then the following year Hannah and Ali all received scholarships. All three reported pride in gaining entrance due to their academic merit. This, they reported, enabled them to move away from the stigma of 'refugee as victim' and take up strong learner identities.

9.4.3 Resisting Families' Unrealistic Expectations

Ironically, what the participants experienced in school and wider society was the opposite to parental expectations. Those who lived in refugee camps told of elders declaring that they would return as doctors and engineers to assist their respective country's rehabilitation. Prescribed as 'the lucky ones' who get to study in Australia, elders are reported at overlooking how hard it is to succeed in their new home. Again, it was the young women in the focus group who verbalised a resistance to the unrelenting expectation put upon them;

Ali: They (parents) are with you but they are not alongside, they don't want to help you.

Gabriella: You just bring the mark and when you do,—I get 80 here and he (dad) says to me, 'I used to get 90!'

Peta: My dad is like 'When I was at school I used to get 100 or 99'. I say, 'Dad, you finished school at the end of year 6, what are you talking about?' (all laugh).

Hannah: It is soooo different here, they don't understand. My dad told me that his dad did not go to school. So his dad sends him to school to a level he can reach—form 7. So he's telling me 'If you don't go to uni you're a failure'.

Peta: Ah—Me, my dad says to me 'if you don't go to uni you are dead!' (shouting)

9.5 Discussion

What is evident from these students' narratives are the multiple discourses of power that position the students in deficit ways. The first was the power of the monolingual mindset upon the participants with little English, and the second was being positioned as 'refugee victim' when they saw themselves as capable and confident in English. The third was the family's demand for success alongside a lack of awareness about the complexities that children face in Australian education. Each of the discourses of power had similar effects upon each participant as they placed boundaries around what the young people could and couldn't do and also what they could and couldn't become.

To shed a language is to leave a life, and the data shows just how painful leaving their home languages to learn lingua franca can be. By becoming enmeshed in a monolingual education system, the power of their own languages and culture was relegated to the periphery (Fielding, 2020). Beginning again is not unfamiliar territory for former refugees. All had lived their childhoods in host countries and had become adept at negotiating new cultures and languages giving them a depth of intercultural understandings. Yet, what was hard to navigate was the discourse of superiority English held associating success with one language alone. Fielding (2020) observes that success in learning a language 'has been positioned as primarily under the control of the learner. Within such a positioning, the failure of language learning is therefore enacted as a failure of the individual rather than a problem related to the context, programme or system' (p. 3). What we hear in the narratives are the challenges of escaping deficit positioning in the school. Indeed, Matinda's figurative storytelling of English being a bird and trying to capture it describes how fragile she feels under the ubiquitous power of English and how this bird eludes her. Her expressive storytelling displays the depth of her multicultural identity and how she views the world.

There was a mixture of acceptance and resistance to the linguistic hierarchy amongst participants learning English, but all found ways to position themselves for a better future. As Norton (2013) suggests 'It is the importance of the future that is central to the lives of many language learners, and is integral to an understanding of both identity and investment' (p. 4). Joseph and Sing Me saw this journey as far too arduous, and the investment in education, through English, was out of their reach. Joseph found an alternative way to get along and to find his own place in society by using his physicality to project a new image and by identifying with American rappers.

Alternatively, Jacqueline grieved the loss of her French-speaking identity as it gave her agency to be seen as a competent learner. The reality of having no autonomy over her life and where she is sent brings with it the frustration of what could have been if authorities might have thought about what would benefit the individual refugee. Now, with English being the only language of power, Jacqueline starts again realising that her dreams for freedom and success can only be actualised if she learns English.

9.5.1 Resisting the Label of Refugee Victim

The findings indicate that the participants came to Australia prepared to move on with their lives and access the benefits of living as a citizen and of learning in schools in a Western democratic country. However, their accounts suggest that they are trying very hard to access these benefits. In reflecting upon why it is so hard, those who have English proficiency articulated that they must work hard to resist the stigmas attached to being positioned as 'refugee'. Gabriella first alerted us to the dominance of the discourse that positions her as 'refugee as victim'. This pervasive discourse is evident in everyday conversations on how to get a job and at school.

The homogenised identity construction surrounding former refugees leaves little room for individual pathways into society and learning to be persued. The imposition of this stigmatising positioning demands that they walk in Australian society as victims. Yet, crucially, some of the participants, the young African Australian women in particular, did not see themselves as many in mainstream society saw them and actively resisted this positioning. Gabriella gives very good reasons why she cannot live with this positioning, as the power of this deficit discourse will control what she is allowed to achieve. She describes the victim positioning as a trap, creating a dependency upon others that is not needed and keeping former refugees locked in the past. She reflects upon how many former refugees internalise this labelling, eroding their own agency. Resisting this identity construction, Gabriella fights to take up a new identity where she can be seen and valued for what she can do and achieve in the future.

Similar sentiments arose with Hannah, Ali and Peta as they reflected upon their experiences at school. All tell of teachers having low expectations of them and affecting what they could achieve. They understood the power of this positioning, and this is where they see they must fight. They fight to be recognised as competent learners. Peta's story of going to the science fair and seeing what other students have access to convince her that she must move away from being seen as a refugee to be seen as an equal learner to her peers. Several students strategically took an entrance exam where they proved their abilities through a test. These results divorce the students from the refugee identity, and they are enabled to construct a learner identity that assists their future (Norton, 2013).

9.5.2 The Intersections of Race, Ethnicity and Refugee Identity

Elements of race and ethnicity are also raised in the findings. The intersectionality between race, ethnicity and refugee impact upon the everyday experiences of the young people in different ways. The discursive construction in mainstream Australia imposes other identities upon the participants. These constructions manifest in two different ways. Firstly, the participants from Myanmar must explain that they are

refugees to resist the biased construction that all Asians are Chinese, smart and wealthy. By taking up a refugee identity, they endeavour to explain their difference. It is interesting that the young people chose 'refugee' over Burmese or Karenni. This might be because they have encountered a lack of intercultural and geopolitical awareness in mainstream Australia. It could be that the young people could invoke a victim persona that allows for grace and patience to be extended. What is evident is that they had collectively reflected upon the benefits of this label and were willing to accept the label.

The second discursive construction that intersects race with refugee identity is suggested by Gabriella with *'Once an African refugee always a refugee. The reason is that label, that title, doesn't go away for people with black skin'*. Gabriella explains how the objectification of her black skin equates with the suffering refugee. The aligning of the two characterisations show the powerful process of being Othered (Uptin, 2020). It also engenders a narrative that places these young people far beyond being different to 'the ultimate outsider' (Bauman, 2004). Gabriella is indignant and angered by this positioning seeing it as racist. She validates her argument by pointing towards the refugees from Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia. Their white skins have the power to erase their past, and they can take up new identities never being positioned as refugees again.

Gabriella's intelligent argument reveals a deeper understanding of how Australia imagines itself to be. By constructing a dominant discourse of a normative white Anglo-Celtic Australia, it moves further away from multicultural perspectives and interculturality. Instead, the marginalising discourse results in seeing African Australians as a homogenous group that are seen as problematic. Udah and Singh (2018) found that, 'As a lived reality, the participants' skin colour (Blackness) played a role in defining them as inferior, less intelligent and lower-class in Australia and negatively impacted their life chances and opportunities' (p. 39). The longing to escape all the deficit discourses placed upon former refugees is pertinent in these findings. But for the Black African Australians, this escape is not evident. The narratives provide a timely message that alerts us to the idea that labels can operate as a prison shutting out those who do not fit the national imagination of who belongs in Australia and who can have full access to its resources.

9.5.3   Resistance to Family Demands

If resisting the deficit positioning of a refugee identity was the only front, the young people faced then retreating to home would see them gather strength. However, this is not a reported reality for the African Australian women participants. Congruent with the literature on former refugee families, it is the young people who take up English at a faster rate and therefore are relied upon to fulfil the dreams of creating a better life for the whole family (Alford, 2014; Sidhu & Naidoo, 2018). The young women report that their parents value the opportunity for higher education, but they have no understanding of the challenges the students face in their daily experiences at school

and the barriers to academic achievement. The young people walk alone in this quest, and they must negotiate all of the cultural nuances of the education system on their own (Alford, 2014). The mismatch between the cultural expectations of family and the outside world weighs heavily upon their shoulders. While parents believed that just by being in Australia, doors would open, the young people told of doors closing due to being positioned as 'refugee victim' and 'African refugee'. Both positions hurt the young people striving for academic success.

9.6 Conclusion

The labels that control former refugees limit the possibilities for these students when they enter school in their new country. This research found that indeed the young former refugees needed to try much harder than everyone else to be seen with individual strengths and needs and to be viewed just like every other learner. The blanketing terms of 'refugee victim' and 'African refugee' positioned them within a homogenised, deficit identity. The impacts of these deficit discourses were not merely academic but had real-life consequences upon what the young people were allowed to achieve.

Confinement also extended to the loss of enacting their multilingual and multicultural identities as the participants who came to Australia without English renegotiated places for themselves on the periphery of learning. Their voices gave raw insights into the quest to be seen as a unique human being rather than with deficit and racist positionings.

The challenge, therefore, to researchers and educators is to make room for broader discourses and conversations around learners from refugee backgrounds. These discourses need to display an awareness of the diversity of strengths former refugees bring to their learning experiences. They must recognise multilingualism as a strength and open opportunities for multiple linguistic pathways. And they must see that in order to take an authentic intercultural stance, effort to learn about the intricacies of other cultures must come from the dominant monolingual culture who hold the linguistic and intercultural power.

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Part IV
Conclusion

Chapter 10
Future Directions for Multilingualism, Identity and Interculturality in Education

Ruth Fielding

Abstract This volume has brought together research from a range of contexts in six countries and four continents. Each chapter explores notions of multilingualism, identity and interculturality. Yet as the chapters highlight, there are an array of approaches and ideologies underpinning this work, drawing on different traditions and underlying beliefs. We can see that the nuance in every context is essential as it leads to a different relationship between the intersecting elements of multilingualism, identity and interculturality. Most notably the intersection can be seen in the need to elaborate and expand the ways that all three elements are viewed and approached in teaching and learning. There is a need to diversify the meaning of all three terms, and to draw on de-essentialising work in each strand to further de-construct and individualise approaches to all three elements. Most notably there is a need to amplify voices and theorisation from locations and languages formerly not recognised within academic discourse. Teaching about interculturality has the potential to be a positive step in the support of all languages and identities. It can be more inclusively explored in classrooms by building interculturality upon a multilingual identity approach, using a broader and more inclusive conceptualisation of multilingualism and by amplifying identities which have been (and continue to be) suppressed in educational contexts. By considering how to do interculturality differently, we might begin to redress some of the inequities in relation to language, identity and interculturality, and to open up the conversation to a wider set of participants.

This volume has brought together research from a range of contexts in six countries and four continents. Each chapter explores notions of multilingualism, identity and interculturality. Yet as the chapters highlight, there are an array of approaches and ideologies underpinning this work, drawing on different traditions and underlying beliefs. We can see that the nuance in every context is essential as it leads to a different relationship between the intersecting elements of multilingualism, identity and interculturality. Yet there is an intersection. Most notably the intersection can be

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Fig. 10.1 Intersection of
multilingualism, identity and
interculturality
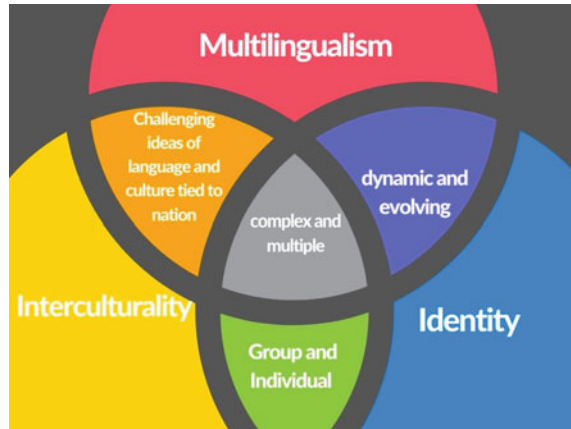
seen in the need to elaborate and expand the ways that all three elements are viewed
and approached in teaching and learning. There is a need to diversify the meaning
of all three terms, and to draw on de-essentialising work in each strand to further
de-construct and individualise approaches to all three elements. Most notably there
is a need to amplify voices and theorisation from locations and languages formerly
not recognised within academic discourse.

The chapters indicate that there is a need to further unpack, question and critique
how the three ideas: multilingualism, interculturality and identity, interrelate across
and within different contexts and explore where there is a tension between the
elements or potential for intersection. We also see there is a need to embrace a range of
views on identity, multilingualism and interculturality as the dominant voices heard
and published in this area represent privileged and powerful communities rather than
a fuller range of communities, identities and languages.

The diagram below shows that the three intersecting ideas of multilingualism,
identity and interculturality share certain assumptions in the dominant theorisation
to date. Multilingualism and identity share the characteristic of being dynamic and
evolving; identity and interculturality share that there is interplay between group and
individual which may be coexisting or may be in tension with each other; Intercultur-
ality and multilingualism share the challenge of breaking down language and culture
as tied to nation-state and other colonial impacts upon language ideology. All three
key notions share that they involve complexity and multiplicity (Fig. 10.1).

The chapters in the volume have highlighted a range of tensions between iden-
tity, multilingualism and interculturality, in some contexts showing deep injustices
encountered in relation to language and identity and showing hypocrisy within
educational contexts, where interculturality is lauded, and yet key communities are
oppressed by the system. This signals the need for further consideration of the rela-
tionship between multilingualism, identity and interculturality, to better understand

how such a theoretical exploration might support more socially just education and policies in relation to language, identity and interculturality.

One key point highlighted through Barakos's chapter (Chap. 8) is the clash of ideologies between the marketisation of intercultural understanding as a learnable skill and how this view ignores theoretical understandings of ICU. A second point illustrated in the volume is the different value placed upon languages and multilingualism dependent upon which language is being considered and its wider consideration as valuable or not in the wider society or community it is positioned within. A further point is that when we see the ways that identity is embedded within language we encounter challenges in translating ideas which may not exist in one language, we specifically see the challenge when seeking to translate modern ideas in a way which does not further damage identity. In bringing together scholarly work from a range of contexts we have also seen the need to develop, share and draw on a wider range of academic work from contexts that are overlooked in the global academic discourse. In terms of teacher education, we note the challenge set to teachers to self-critique as part of their teaching process as they explore identities within their classroom contexts. We see that for some school students there is a clash when they are constrained by an assigned identity, which they have moved away from and no longer fits with their self-identity. Underpinning these themes is the need to broaden the conceptualisation of ICU in a similar manner to the need to challenge monolingual bias in societies.

Drawing together these different contexts, we highlight the fluidity needed in approaching ideas of interculturality. We suggest that in educational contexts that presuppose a monolingual or monocultural "norm" that this must be challenged, with learners in all classrooms being encouraged to unpack their own linguistic identities, and to consider their existing and emerging multilingualism whenever they encounter a new language. This might be extended to considering different genres of language within the same named language as a form of multilingualism, as learners traverse different linguistic styles and expectations and consider language in social contexts as a range of linguistic skill within their linguistic repertoire. In this way, students and teachers might challenge the monolingual bias often embedded within conceptions of multilingualism. For example in dominant English-speaking contexts, we often encounter the pervasive and enduring beliefs that languages are separate and only valuable when they are "fully" developed according to monolingual norms. If teachers and learners can co-construct a more inclusive view of multilingualism, where languages intersect, are unbalanced and incomplete and yet valuable, then multilingualism can become a notion which is more familiar to learners rather than something "foreign", irrelevant or unattainable. Viewing such linguistic diversity through a multilingual lens can broaden the public conception of what it means to engage with language and develop a broader picture of languaging as a process. Small steps taken throughout education might serve to challenge some of the dominant discourses around language, identity and what it is to be intercultural.

10.1 Multilingualism

What do we consider still important to question within studies of multilingualism? Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) developed the term "metrolingualism" to attempt to unpack linguistic patterns without the monolingual pre-suppositions which bound much language work. Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) critique the term multilingualism for reproducing monolingual notions of language, by being set up in counterpoint to monolingualism. They argue:

> Multilingualism is all too often viewed in all-or-nothing terms. From this monological point of view, there are speakers and there are languages, and either a person speaks only one language, in which case they are 'monolingual', or they speak more than one, in which case they are bi- or multilingual. Either one speaks several languages or one does not (p. 16).

They quite rightly point out this dichotomy, and the ongoing challenge of approaching multilingualism in ways that do not replicate monolingualism as the norm. They argue that multilingualism has developed as a term which still has a monolingual ideology underpinning the counting of languages and the ways of distinguishing one language from another. This compelling argument presents and critiques some enduring challenges for people working against monolingual bias. Those of us working in the "multilingual" space would be loath to think we are inadvertently reinforcing the very boundaries we wish to counter. Yet it is entirely probable that we still inadvertently replicate boundaries from time to time in spite of "good" intentions. I would suggest, however, that rather than discard or replace the term multilingual, it is possible to approach multilingualism in a broader manner, while acknowledging that it may run as a counterpoint to monolingualism, it certainly does not seek to show monolingualism as the norm for human interaction. In broadening the meaning of the term multilingual, it is possible to encourage monolingual speakers (of whom there are many particularly in the Australian and other dominant English-speaking contexts) to consider themselves as more diverse users of language than they may previously have considered.

Considering language use in a variety of social contexts broadens understandings of linguistic repertoires. By using an identity approach to multilingualism in school classrooms (Norton, 2013), we can draw on theory which "*integrates the individual learner and the larger social world*" (p. 2). In so doing, considering multilingual identities can challenge many of the binary constructions around language—native speaker vs non-native speaker, motivated or unmotivated etc.—enabling learners to take on the identity positions that best suit them in the classroom and beyond the classroom and in so doing also challenging some of the issues raised by Otsuji and Pennycook (2015).

One way in which I seek to foster broader conceptualisations of multilingualism within my university classes is through identity-based activities, where students are asked to think about how they use language in different contexts. I encourage students to then consider how "outsiders" in any of those contexts might hear/understand/misunderstand the language used in that setting. I ask them to consider different settings where they are part of an in-group and contexts where they

feel they are an outsider and to consider how language is used in each of those settings. In this way, I encourage the learners to consider that they have forms of multilingualism within their one language, that is multiple skills which suit and work within different contexts in which they work, socialise and interact. They may feel they have some of the linguistic skills needed in some contexts but not others. By broadening how we think of multilingualism, we can seek to remove the "foreign" positioning of multilingualism, which is commonly encountered in contexts which have dominant monolingual education policies. By encouraging students to see themselves as more linguistically complex than they may previously have, so their judgement of others may alter and a more nuanced notion of intercultural understanding might be possible, fostered through language education.

The move towards development of new ways of conceptualising languages in use is compelling and important work which has set us on a path to break down some of the traditional boundaries around languages which are related closely to ideas of nation-state and norms of language associated with location. Yet the term metrolingual does have a focus (from the use of *metro*) upon language practices of urban areas which are, to some extent, more readily accepted as multilingual spaces. We need to move further in breaking down ongoing barriers to the conception of multilingualism in all contexts—rural, urban, regional and suburban. This will enable us to move towards developing a shared understanding of the human experience as naturally multilingual. My work in the outer suburbs of an Australian city highlighted the hidden, or ignored, multilingualism in areas presumed by wider society and policy makers to be monolingual and relatively monocultural spaces (Fielding, 2015). Yet this is not the case. There is further overlooked and under-valued multilingualism in the rural and regional spaces of Australia in which colonialism has devalued and erased many of the Indigenous languages; yet there are speakers and communities who seek to revitalise their languages to maintain their identities and further ensure that future generations can access the languages. There is a need for us all to consider how we can support and develop further revitalisation projects (Simpson et al., 2019; Walsh, 2005, 2010). As those working to decolonise the curriculum have shown us, the powerful in society need to do the "work" in this process to redress the inequities from positions of power, rather than expecting people who have been marginalised to undertake al of the work (Rosa & Flores, 2017). Phipps refers to this as being allies or, as she prefers, co-conspirators (2019). Taking on a co-conspirator role can indicate that we do not claim to have the answers, or to know the best path in undoing the linguistic, identity and intercultural damage of previous generations, but that we hope to work alongside the linguistically oppressed to redress what we can. The linguistic spaces in which Indigenous languages coexist with English are vastly under-valued and under-represented in considerations of education, particularly in Australia (Dickson et al., 2020). More work is needed in Indigenous language revitalisation. As Chaps. 4 and 6 show us, we need to begin listening to and promoting the work of researchers and teachers in more varied contexts which to date have been relatively overlooked in academic discussion.

It has been argued for some time that monolingualism is a social construct which served the colonial era and shaped the way languages continue to be labelled and

viewed as distinct and representative of national boundaries (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015):

> The idea of monolingualism is an unfortunate historical myth that grew up in an age of nations and monocultures. Noting that it is 'monolingualism, not multilingualism, that is the result of a relatively recent, albeit highly successful, development', Yildiz (2012, p. 3) points out that 'monolingualism is much more than a simple quantitative term designating the presence of just one language'. Rather, it has become 'a key structuring principle that organizes the entire range of modern social life. (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, p. 18)

As we push for multilingualism to be viewed as the norm, we see highlighted in this book the need to ensure that all forms of multilingualism are valued. Haukås and Tiurikova (Chap. 3) point out that in Norway, the term multilingual tends to refer only to immigrant multilinguals and not to the speakers of the majority and Indigenous languages of Norway (Chap. 3). It is important that we work on addressing deficit uses of the term multilingual. Similarly, van 't Hooft (Chap. 4) shows how the Intercultural Bilingual Education model for Indigenous languages in Mexico, ultimately, sends a message of the lower prestige and social value of Indigenous languages. This further illustrates the need to work on the meaning of multilingualism to represent more equity for all languages.

As researchers and teachers attempting to disrupt many of the myths about languages upon which our education systems are built, it is timely to re-consider this argument, and to ponder on what we can do as individuals to enact change which may have an impact on the way multilingualism and associated identities and interculturality are positioned in education.

10.2   Interculturality

Consideration of the critique of the notion of monolingualism within multilingualism is also helpful to consider when we think about the way in which intercultural understanding has been constructed. We can see how the development of interculturality replicates existing binary relationships and cultural divisions in a similar manner to the conceptualisation of monolingualism. That is, intercultural understanding has, in many cases, required a clearly separate "us" and "them" to serve as points of comparison, contention and sources of similarity and difference. Yet this is based on false assumptions that individuals are shaped primarily in their beliefs, views and actions by group membership linked to their nationality and/or one related single language and associated 'culture". It overlooks the individual nature of identity construction in which individuals might accept or resist aspects of group identity to varying extents. As Norton (2013) argues, identity, language practices and linguistic resources are "*mutually constitutive*" (p. 2); they influence each other and form part of the production and negotiation of identities. This more comprehensive approach to identity requires us to consider individuals as complex, negotiated within any time

and context and therefore evolving and fluid in nature. To view individuals as merely representative of one fixed aspect of group identity is to disregard many other aspects of who people are, and to overlook both agency and societal power relations in the construction of identity (Norton, 2013). We also need to acknowledge that individuals may seek, at times, to strategically ally themselves with group (and national) identities (Clément & Norton, 2021). Therefore, there is a need to consider more complex identity influences on interculturality than existing conceptualisations allow for. By using a more comprehensive theory of identity within interculturality, we can expand and amplify the ways in which we approach intercultural understanding. Indeed, critical approaches to intercultural understanding emphasise that we need to step away from noticing, comparing and therefore reinforcing prior fixed ideas about nationality as culture (Borghetti, 2019; Dervin & Gross, 2016; Ferri, 2018; Harbon & Moloney, 2013; Hoff 2014, 2020; Moloney et al., 2016). Rather we need to view intercultural understanding from an individual identity perspective (Fielding, 2021) in which we first consider ourselves, our connections with languages, genres of language, language use in different contexts and develop a more complex view of our own language use. Ideally, this may take place alongside beginning or continuing to learn an additional language to enable the next set of considerations to be a more detailed, nuanced and complex engagement with the new language and speakers of the new language as more complex than simply representatives of one (or more) nations. The traditional boundaries are problematic.

There is a substantial amount of work challenging the attempts at interculturality which inadvertently over-emphasise points of difference and reinforce traditional historic boundaries between languages and speakers (Borghetti, 2019; Dervin & Gross, 2016; Ferri, 2018; Fielding, 2021; Hoff 2014, 2020; Moloney et al., 2016). The COVID-19 pandemic has also served to prompt further consideration of interculturality and who it serves (Dervin et al., 2020, 2022).

10.3 Identity

The chapters in this volume offer us much food for thought about identities associated with multilingualism and interculturality. In the context of Indigenous languages in Mexico, van 't Hooft (Chap. 4) highlights for us the harrowing tensions for Indigenous peoples whose Indigenous language use is a stigmatised practice in a society that discriminates against Indigenous peoples. We see from this, that taking a "Western" approach to identity devalues and ignores the tensions experienced by people for whom their linguistic identity is a source of daily oppression. In considering how identity is treated in different contexts, it has been shown that the development of terms such as "interculturality" have been used to further neoliberal agendas and maintain status quo where oppression of certain groups is beneficial to the powerful. van 't Hooft shows us that:

According to Walsh (2010), who studies Indigenous education in the Latin American context, interculturality as a political strategy is still conceptualized as one-way-street in which institutions attend minority groups who have "other" philosophies and "other" knowledges. In education, the concept is normally used to refer to the need for Indigenous children to function in the wider society. This "functional" view of interculturality does not question the causes of asymmetry or social and cultural inequalities. It obeys the logic of the neoliberal model in which recognition and respect for cultural diversity has become part of a strategy to control ethnic conflicts and maintain social stability.

van 't Hooft thus challenges us to consider how we can make the approaches to identity and interculturality a truly two-way street in which the oppressed are empowered to speak their languages and enact their identities without this marginalising them further. We must also recognise that the empowerment to choose and represent our identities is tied also to the possibility that individuals may choose a safe identity option in their contexts. Agency and freedom of identity are, in many (or most) contexts, an elite privilege. There is much to be learnt from van 't Hooft's discussion of Indigenous language and identity oppression under the guise of interculturality, and Australia must heed some lessons from this context as we seek to make reparations to the damage done to Indigenous languages and identities in the Australian context.

de Mejía and Tejada-Sánchez (Chap. 6) further highlight the intricate relationship between identity and language in the Maya language. They highlight the delicate journey of translation between languages that needs to be navigated as an ancient language requires new terms to be created when the language intersects with the modern digital learning experience. These terms need to be developed without injuring the essence of the language and identity. It is essential to pay due respect to the identities of owners and speakers of language and to empower speakers to develop language in ways that are true to their communities. We also particularly see the need for this sort of dialogue in Australia where Indigenous languages must be supported towards revitalisation as part of ongoing processes of reconciliation. de Mejía and Tejada-Sánchez's chapter also highlights the potential danger for minoritised languages in embracing new technologies. There is concern that colonisation processes may be renewed and given even more strength through digitisation of languages, and it is essential to work towards avoiding such a danger. Indeed, de Mejía and Tejada-Sánchez show us how the process of language revitalisation for Indigenous languages can also be a process of identity reclamation and restoration. In this way, it is a potentially powerful tool in the process of validating identity within post-colonial language work.

Only a small portion of academic work is promoted in and through the dominant language of English, and it is essential in considering ideas of identity and intercultural understanding that we begin to hear a wider range of voices on this topic to deepen, broaden and extend the understanding of all. In the process of writing and editing this book I now have identified a wider array of literature to engage with and continue my own intercultural journey. For me, this process highlights further challenges and questions rather than finding answers to those questions. I feel discomfort

at the role played by my ancestors as I read the chapters of my colleagues which high-light the damage done to identities and languages through colonisation. It is essential to engage with this discomfort, and we must challenge ourselves to feel this, to face the uncomfortable questions if we are to support the disruption of previous ways of treating languages and seek restorative revitalisation of identities, languages and ultimately meaningful interculturality which, as van 't Hooft has shown us within this volume, can otherwise merely be used for further neoliberal replications of power.

10.4   The Way Forward?

So how might consideration of this intersection between multilingualism, identity and interculturality help us move forward with the challenge of dispelling long-held damaging traditions in regard to multilingualism, interculturality and iden-tity? We can see theorists and advocates across all three bodies of work seeking to change the status quo, to challenge long-held ideas, to disrupt power structures that ignore languages, identities and communities and in so doing to empower groups, languages and identities which have been downtrodden, overlooked, disempowered. In exploring the intersections between these bodies of work, we can form a stronger alliance, and build upon the advocacy already taking place to further challenge learners in all contexts to develop a more open-minded, understanding and empathic approach to our fellow humans. We must acknowledge the past and present that we are a part of, in order to move forward. Such conversations are, and must be, uncomfortable for the groups who have been powerful. Disrupting the status quo will inevitably be a difficult process, and one which requires determination in the face of challenges. As I am learning, it is the role of the privileged and powerful to use that power to dismantle systems designed to maintain and replicate existing power structures. Drawing on Phipps (2019), we also need to acknowledge that we will undoubtedly undertake messy, imperfect work in our attempts to change how language, identity and interculturality are viewed, but to try nevertheless.

   We also see, throughout the chapters in this volume, hints of the ways in which teachers may be challenged to grapple with the theoretical notions underpinning iden-tity, multilingualism and interculturality and may be floundering with how to apply these ideas in their practice. Therefore, further consideration of the applied nature of these concepts is needed to guide teachers in how to best foster identity negotiation, multilingualism and intercultural understanding in their classrooms. Teachers need guidance in how to challenge and dispel problematic notions, and this is an area of future need in terms of applied research. De Mejía and Tejada-Sànchez (Chap. 6) show us that interculturality must also relate to peace building, and they advocate for the incorporation of a critical agenda in language teacher education programmes. One can argue that the language classroom is the ideal place for intercultural under-standings to develop as students move between languages and inhabit various iden-tities (or aspects of their identities) in doing so. This is an ideal context in which to consider, critique and challenge a range of perspectives and views, yet teachers

have so much to contend with in their busy curricula that we must develop accessible ways of engaging with multilingualism, identity and interculturality that will appeal to teachers as tangible and achievable. We must also shape teacher education to assist teachers to be confident in this work (see Bonar et al., Chap. 7).

We therefore need to pursue further work which explores the intersection of the theoretical and pedagogical aspects of multilingualism, identity and interculturality. The chapters brought together in this volume identify the need for ongoing exploration of the theoretical and pedagogical intersection and also the tensions between multilingual practices and intercultural understanding. The volume indicates that there is a need for future research in a range of contexts to understand more deeply how a change of mindset and accompanying identity change might facilitate deeper intercultural understanding. From the premise that the language classroom is the ideal location for a change of identity to incorporate a move from viewing oneself as monolingual (or emerging multilingual) to embracing a more fluid version of a multilingual identity, we might also argue that the language classroom is the ideal context through which to develop meaningful and lasting intercultural understanding which includes a change of identity. As Kramsch (1998) has argued, language learners are forever changed by their experience of adding a new language to their repertoire and can never again occupy the first space they did once. This implied identity change can be more deeply understood if we explore it as a form of multilingual identity development with a related influence upon intercultural understanding. It is therefore the ideal context within which to make a lasting impact in terms of intercultural understanding. As Norton (2013) has argued:

> essentialist notions of language learners are untenable, and … it is only by acknowledging the complexity of identity that we can gain greater insight into the myriad challenges and possibilities of language learning and language teaching (p. 191).

Given the need to disrupt the enduring impacts of coloniality upon language, culture and identity, we need to continue the ongoing challenge to acknowledge complexity and diversity of views within the literature. We need to take this even further in questioning ourselves and others and opening up our own work to be influenced by theorisation from a much wider range of contexts. We must ensure that our work on interculturality does not lead to new forms of colonisation (see van 't Hooft, Chap. 4) or reinforcement of current power systems (see Galante et al., Chap. 5; Uptin, Chap. 9). As the chapters here show, only a small sub-set of research is subsequently embraced further afield, thus replicating the power of understandings developed in only a small sector of global society. If we are to truly expand dialogues about language, identity and interculturality, we need to disrupt the academic discourse and amplify less commonly heard voices in those discussions. I have made a small attempt to do this within this volume, but acknowledge as Phipps (2019) indicates that attempts to disrupt the status quo are messy and often fall short of their intent. I can only hope to raise some questions through this volume and provoke further thought and discussion on how we view multilingualism, identity and interculturality. I hope this is the start of an ongoing conversation, and that more teachers, researchers and speakers of oppressed languages will join the conversation.

Teaching about interculturality has the potential to be a positive step in the support of all languages and identities. It can be more inclusively explored in classrooms by building interculturality upon a multilingual identity approach, using a broader and more inclusive conceptualisation of multilingualism and by amplifying identities which have been (and continue to be) suppressed in educational contexts. A critical interculturality needs to become "*a tool, a process and a project from within society*" (van 't Hooft, Chap. 4). By considering how to do interculturality differently, we might begin to redress some of the inequities in relation to language, identity and interculturality, and to open up the conversation to a wider set of participants. I look forward to hearing from anyone interested in continuing the conversation with me and helping me on my journey with interculturality.

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