

THE MULTILINGUAL EDGE OF EDUCATION

Edited by

Piet Van Avermaet

Stef Slembrouck

Koen Van Gorp

Sven Sierens

Katrijn Maryns



The Multilingual Edge of Education

Piet Van Avermaet • Stef Slembrouck
Koen Van Gorp • Sven Sierens
Katrijn Maryns
Editors

The Multilingual Edge of Education

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Piet Van Avermaet
Ghent University
Gent, Belgium

Stef Slembrouck
Ghent University
Gent, Belgium

Koen Van Gorp
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI, USA

Sven Sierens
Ghent University
Gent, Belgium

Katrijn Maryns
Ghent University
Gent, Belgium

ISBN 978-1-137-54855-9 ISBN 978-1-137-54856-6 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54856-6>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017956088

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Cover image © We-Ge / iStock / Getty Images Plus
Cover design by Fatima Jamadar

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

Contents

Introduction: The Multilingual Edge of Education	1
<i>Piet Van Avermaet, Stef Slembrouck, Koen Van Gorp, Sven Sierens, and Katrijn Maryns</i>	
Part I Multilingualism in Education in a Context of Globalisation: A Status Quaestionis	7
Strategies of Multilingualism in Education for Minority Children	9
<i>Stef Slembrouck, Piet Van Avermaet, and Koen Van Gorp</i>	
Disrupting Linguistic Inequalities in US Urban Classrooms: The Role of Translanguaging	41
<i>Ofelia García, Kate Seltzer, and Daria Witt</i>	
Urban Multilingualism and Educational Achievement: Identifying and Implementing Evidence-Based Strategies for School Improvement	67
<i>Jim Cummins</i>	

Part II Linguistic Diversity in the Home Context and the Normative Discourses of Educational Institutions	91
Teaching in Two Languages: The Pedagogical Value of Code-Switching in Multilingual Classroom Settings	93
<i>Sithembele Marawu</i>	
Multilingualism and Translanguaging as a Resource for Teaching and Learning in French Guiana	115
<i>Sophie Alby and Isabelle Léglise</i>	
Migration and Plurilingualism in Southern European Homes and Schools	139
<i>Stefania Scaglione and Sandro Caruana</i>	
Translanguaging: A Matter of Sociolinguistics, Pedagogics and Interaction?	165
<i>Stef Slembrouck and Kirsten Rosiers</i>	
Part III Perception, Experiential Voice and Narrative in Accounts of Multilingualism	189
Double-Edged Valorizations of Urban Heteroglossia	191
<i>Jürgen Jaspers</i>	
From the Margins to the Centre: Multilingual Teachers in a Monolingual System: Professional Identities, Skills and Knowledge	211
<i>Jean Conteh</i>	

Children’s Bilingualism: An Inspiration for Multilingual Educational Practices	235
<i>Anastasia Gkaintartzi, Roula Tsokalidou, Evi Kompiadou, and Evi Markou</i>	
Teaching African Languages the <i>Ubuntu</i> Way: The Effects of Translanguaging Among Pre-Service Teachers in South Africa	261
<i>Leketi Makalela</i>	
Part IV The Added Value of Plurilingual Repertoires	283
Breaking Out of L2-Exclusive Pedagogies: Teachers Valorizing Immigrant Pupils’ Multilingual Repertoire in Urban Dutch-Medium Classrooms	285
<i>Sven Sierens and Griet Ramaut</i>	
Translanguaging as a Key to Educational Success: The Experience of One Irish Primary School	313
<i>David Little and Déirdre Kirwan</i>	
Conclusion: Multilingualism, Diversity and Equitable Learning: Towards Crossing the ‘Abyss’	341
<i>Kathleen Heugh</i>	
Index	369

List of Contributors

Sophie Alby is a lecturer at the Université de Guyane (University of French Guiana) and a member of SEDYL - Structure et Dynamique des Langues. Her research focuses on the multilingual context of French Guiana and on interactions in different fields such as education and social work. In the field of education, she works on contact situations involving different languages, on the teachers' strategies regarding the use of the children's languages, on the children's strategies when their language is not the school language, and more specifically on the phenomenon such as translanguaging. She is also interested in linguistic policies in these contexts and in bridging the gap between official discourses and practices.

Sandro Caruana is Professor of Italian Language Teaching Methodology. He is Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Malta. He holds courses on Italian language teaching and learning, Italian linguistics, sociolinguistics and intercultural communication. Besides teaching language and sociolinguistics, his other areas of interest include multilingualism, language attitudes, second language acquisition and the romance element in Maltese. He has participated in international projects on intercultural communication and on language teaching, presented his works at several international conferences and was invited as keynote speaker on a number of occasions.

Jean Conteh is a senior lecturer in the School of Education at the University of Leeds, UK. She has enjoyed a long career as a primary teacher and teacher educator, and her research over many years has focused on issues of equality and

social justice in multilingual classrooms. She is the author of *The EAL Teaching Book* (2nd edition, 2015), *Teaching Bilingual and EAL Learners in Primary Schools* (2012) and *Succeeding in Diversity* (2003). She also co-edited *The Multilingual Turn in Languages Education* (2014), *Multilingual Learning Stories in Schools and Communities in Britain* (2007) and *On Writing Education Ethnographies: The Art of Collusion* (2005).

Jim Cummins is a professor emeritus at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. His research explores the nature of language proficiency and its relationship to literacy development with particular emphasis on the intersections of societal power relations, teacher-student identity negotiation, and literacy attainment.

Ofelia García is a professor in the PhD program of Urban Education at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY). She has been Professor of Bilingual Education at Columbia University's Teachers College and at the City College of New York, and has been Dean of the School of Education at the Brooklyn Campus of Long Island University. García has published widely in the areas of sociology of language, language policy, bilingualism and bilingual education. She is the general editor of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* and the co-editor of *Language Policy* (with H. Kelly-Holmes). Among her best-known books are *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective* and *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education* (with Li Wei), which received the 2015 British Association of Applied Linguistics Award. García has an official website, www.ofeliagarcia.org, which can be visited for more information on her.

Anastasia Gkaintartzi holds a PhD in Sociolinguistics from the School of Early Childhood Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (2007–2012), specializing in bilingualism and education. She also holds an MA in Teaching Methodology and Syllabus Development from the Department of Primary Education, University of Thessaly (2003–2005). She graduated from the School of English Language and Literature, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 2000. Since 2001 she has been working as a state English language teacher in primary education. She has also worked as a researcher in various research projects since 2009 in the fields of multilingualism and education and taught as a lecturer at the Department of Primary Education, University of Thessaly (2015–2016). She is an active member of “Polydromo: Group for bilingualism and multiculturalism in education and society.” Her publications and interests focus on bi/multilingualism, language contact, intercultural education, language teaching and sociolinguistic research.

Kathleen Heugh is a socio-applied linguist based in the Research Centre for Languages and Cultures at the University of South Australia. Her research focuses on multilingual education policies and practices in southern contexts, particularly sub-Saharan Africa. She has undertaken system-wide and multi-country evaluation and assessment research in several African countries for governments and international development agencies, including UNESCO. She uses multilingual pedagogies in her teaching of students of English and linguistics. Together with Christopher Stroud and Piet Van Avermaet, she is editor of the Bloomsbury Series *Multilingualisms and Diversities in Education*.

Jürgen Jaspers is Associate Professor of Dutch Linguistics at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), Belgium. He publishes widely on classroom interaction, linguistic standardisation and urban multilingualism. His recent works can be found in *Language in Society*, *Language Policy*, *Science Communication*, *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*, *Applied Linguistics Review*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, and *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, apart from various chapters in edited volumes.

Déirdre Kirwan is the former principal of a Dublin primary school where 80% of pupils came from a broad range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. During her tenure (1987–2015), she led the development of innovative approaches to language teaching and learning, exploiting the linguistic diversity of the pupils to the benefit of all learners. In 2009 she received a PhD from Trinity College Dublin for her research in this area.

Evdoxia Kompiadou is a PhD candidate in Sociolinguistics in the School of Early Childhood Education of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki since 2014. She holds an MSc in Multicultural Education, and she attended the Inter-Disciplinary, Inter-Departmental Postgraduate Programme (IIPP) entitled “Inclusive Education: a school for all” at the School of Early Childhood Education of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (2010–2013). She also attended a teacher training programme in the School of Early Childhood Education of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (2005–2007). She graduated from the Department of Pre-School in the Democritus University of Thrace in 1991. Since 2001, she has been working as an early childhood teacher. Her publications and interests focus on intercultural education, cross-cultural communication, multiculturalism and sociolinguistic research.

Isabelle Léglise is a senior researcher in Linguistics at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS, Paris) where she heads programmes on Multilingualism, Language Variation and Contact at the *Structure et Dynamique des Langues* (SeDyL), CNRS. Since 2000 she is engaged in research projects in French Guiana, Suriname and Brazil, with a special focus on multilingualism related to migration and educational issues. She published widely on language variation and contact-induced changes, translanguaging and heterogeneous corpora, discourse analysis and language policy related to education and health. Her last publications include *Exploring Language in a Multilingual Context: Variation, Interaction and Ideology in language documentation* (2013) with B. Migge, and the co-edition of books such as *The Interplay of Variation and Change in Contact Settings* (2013) and *In and out of Suriname: language, mobility and identity* (2015).

David Little retired in 2008 as Associate Professor of Applied Linguistics at Trinity College Dublin. His principal research interests are the theory and practice of learner autonomy in language education, the exploitation of linguistic diversity in schools and classrooms and the application of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* to the design of L2 curricula, teaching and assessment.

Leketi Makalela is the Head of the Division of Languages, Literacies and Literatures at the Wits School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand. He currently serves as the editor-in-chief of the journal *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*. His research interests include multilingualism, literacy and World Englishes. He is rated by South Africa's National Research Foundation as one of the leading scholars on language and literacy education. His most recent book is *New Directions in Language and Literacy Education for Multilingual Classrooms* (2015).

Sithembele Marawu is a PhD candidate at Rhodes University in South Africa. His research is on how teachers and learners use code-switching as a pedagogical resource in multilingual classroom settings. He holds the degree of Master of Education in English as a Second Language (ESL) from Rhodes University as well as the degree of Master of Social Science from the University of Fort Hare in South Africa. His research interest focuses on classroom code switching, multilingual education and ESL teaching and learning. He is currently the Language Coordinator in the Faculty of Business and Management Sciences at Cape Peninsula University of Technology in South Africa. He has taught ESL in a number of South African institutions of higher learning.

Evi Markou holds a PhD in Sociology of Education from the UCL Institute of Education, London. She has worked in various educational programmes relating to intercultural, bilingual and migrant education. She was awarded her MA in Education, Culture, Language and Identity by Goldsmiths College, University of London. She always seeks ways to combine work within and outside the academia by actively bridging these two worlds. She is currently teaching on the MA programme “Language Education for Refugees and Migrants” at the Hellenic Open University, together with working as a Learning Support teacher at an international school in Stockholm, Sweden. She is one of the founding members of “Polydromo: Group for bilingualism and multiculturalism in education and society”. Her academic interests are in the field of ethnic, racial, linguistic and social inequalities at school and their relation to school policies and everyday practice.

Griet Ramaut worked for 18 years as a researcher at the Centre for Language of Education (Catholic University of Leuven). She was involved in various research projects and in the development of learning materials for primary and secondary education concerning second language acquisition, multilingualism, newly arrived migrants (NAM’s) and powerful learning environments. Since 2013 she is a pedagogical consultant in the city of Antwerp.

Kirsten Rosiers is a postdoctoral researcher at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB). Her research focus is on multilingualism in education. As a former teacher, she is interested in teacher-pupil interaction in multilingual environments. Her PhD research at Ghent University focused on multilingual interaction in superdiverse classrooms in two Belgian cities, Ghent and Brussels. She investigated how pupils and teachers in a multilingual and superdiverse classroom context engage interactionally with their total linguistic repertoire.

Stefania Scaglione is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University for Foreigners, Perugia. She holds courses on Sociolinguistics and Language Policy and Planning. Her main areas of research include language attrition in migration contexts, sociolinguistics of migration, language policies and education, language legislation and linguistic rights. On these topics, she has written books titled *Lingue e diritti umani* (2011, edited with Stefania Giannini) and *Migration, Multilingualism and Schooling in Southern Europe* (2013, edited with S. Caruana and L. Copoulos). She has coordinated “Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration—Dialogue Initiative Among the Universities of the Mediterranean (MERIDIUM),” a three-year (2009–2011) network project financed by the European Commission as part of the Lifelong Learning Program

(LLP), key-action 2 (Languages), aimed at providing active support for the promotion of the European policy of pluri-/multilingualism in Southern European countries.

Kate Seltzer earned her PhD in Urban Education from the Graduate Center, CUNY. A former high school English Language Arts teacher in New York City, Seltzer is the current Director of the City University of New York - New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals (CUNY-NYSIEB) project, where she works with administrators and teachers to shift their approaches to educating bilingual students. She is the co-author of the recent book *The Translanguaging Classroom: Leveraging Student Bilingualism for Learning* with Ofelia García and Susana Ibarra Johnson and *Translanguaging: A CUNY-NYSIEB Guide for Educators* with Christina Celic, as well as of several other publications on translanguaging in schools.

Roula Tsokalidou holds a PhD in Linguistics from Monash University, Australia, specialising in sociolinguistics and language contact. She has taught English at Khon Kaen University, Thailand; linguistics, sociolinguistics, bilingualism and language teaching at Deakin and Monash Universities (1993–1995); and has worked as a researcher at the Centre for the Greek Language (1996–2001). Since 2001 she has been teaching at the Department of Primary School Education of the University of Thessaly and at the School of Early Childhood Education, Faculty of Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, where she is Associate Professor of Sociolinguistics and Teaching of Language. Her publications and research interests lie mainly in the area of language contact, bilingualism, immigrant languages, translanguaging, language and gender and their educational dimensions. Since 2009 she is the editor of the periodical *Polydromo* and Head of the Scientific Committee of the group ‘Polydromo’ for bilingualism and multiculturalism in education and society.

Daria Witt is currently a partner of ElevatED Learning Services, an organization providing professional development to schools and districts working with Emergent Bilingual Students. She previously served as Director of Professional Development for the Internationals Network for Public Schools, a non-profit organization that develops and networks small public high schools serving recent immigrant students. She oversaw the development of workshops and resources, conferences and institutes for teachers and school leaders, model documentation, and other academic programs and services for the Internationals Network. Prior to working at Internationals, She was a Humanities teacher at The Brooklyn International High School and a middle school English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher. Prior to teaching, She worked as a research associate for Kenji

Hakuta at Stanford University and for the Stanford Center for the Study on Race and Ethnicity on various projects related to the educational needs of language and racial minority students. Before working at Stanford, She worked as a project coordinator for the New York Immigration Coalition, an advocacy organization for immigrants. She received her BA degree in Social Anthropology from Harvard University and MA degree in Education from Stanford University.

Piet Van Avermaet is Professor in ‘Language and Diversity’ in the Linguistics Department of Ghent University, Belgium. He is also Director of the Centre for Diversity & Learning at the same university. He has a long-standing expertise in the field of diversity, language and social inequality in education. He is series a co-editor (with Kathleen Heugh and Christopher Stroud) of the book series ‘Multilingualisms and Diversities in Education’, Bloomsbury. He is a member of the editorial advisory board of ‘Language Policy’ and ‘Ethnicities’. His expertise and research interests cover topics related to multilingualism in education, social inequality in education, language policy and practice in education, language policy and practice in contexts of (social) inclusion, language assessment, diversity and inclusion, integration and participation, discrimination in education, migration. He has published widely on these topics (<https://biblio.ugent.be/person/801001947838>).

Koen Van Gorp is Head of Foreign Language Assessment at the Center for Language Teaching Advancement (CeLTA) at Michigan State University, USA. He teaches language assessment courses in the Master of Arts in Foreign Language Teaching (MAFLT) Program and the Second Language Studies PhD Program. He is the Curriculum and Assessment Director of the LCTL Partnership (2016–2019), a Mellon Foundation sponsored project to improve the teaching of less commonly taught languages (LCTL) and advanced strategic cooperation within the Big Ten Academic Alliance. He is also a research fellow at the Centre for Language and Education (CLE), University of Leuven, Belgium. From 1991 until 2015, he worked at the CLE. Key interests include task-based language teaching and assessment, curriculum development, language awareness and multilingual education.

Katrijn Maryns (PhD from Ghent University 2004) is an assistant professor in the Department of Translation, Interpreting and Communication at Ghent University. She is a member of the MULTIPLES research Centre for Multilingual Practices and Language Learning in Society and of the CESSMIR interfaculty research Centre for the Social Study of Migration and Refugees. Her research examines multilingualism and

interpreting in institutional contexts of globalization, with a focus on asylum and migration. She did linguistic-ethnographic work on multilingual practices and analyses the role of discourse in the construction of legal-institutional identities in asylum settings. She also examines the implications of migration-related multilingualism, diversity and performance in criminal trials. She has published on diverse aspects of the Belgian asylum procedure, including the role of narrative construction, credibility assessment and the effects of interpreting and lingua franca use. She is the author of *The Asylum Speaker: Language in the Belgian Asylum Procedure* (2006) and her works have been published in *Language in Society* (2013), *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (2013), *Language and Communication* (2014) and *Applied Linguistics* (2017).

Sven Sierens (MA in Communication Science, Special Diploma in Social and Cultural Anthropology) is a senior researcher at the Centre for Diversity Learning in the Linguistics Department at Ghent University. He is a member of the MULTIPLES research Centre for Multilingual Practices and Language Learning in Society. His research examines linguistic diversity and multilingualism in formal education settings in a context of migration and globalization, focusing on classroom practices and school policies in primary schools. His research interests also concern language awareness, diversity and social inequality in education, and intercultural education. He has long-standing experience in qualitative (ethnographic) and quantitative research methods, mixed-method designs, and evaluation and policy-oriented studies.

Stef Slembrouck is Senior Full Professor in English Linguistics at Ghent University. He is also Director of the University Language Centre and holds an honorary appointment in the Department of Linguistics of the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. He has published widely on the role of interaction and communicative practices in a range of institutional and professional contexts (incl. administrative practices, social welfare, education and health). Among his key interests are the implications of globalization-related and migration-affected multilingualism for the functioning of institutions and the construction of social categories and realities. His list of book publications includes *Globalisation and Language in Contact. Scale, Migration and Communicative Practices* (with Jim Collins & Mike Baynham).

List of Figures

Strategies of Multilingualism in Education for Minority Children

- Fig. 1 Teachers' monolingual beliefs 13
Fig. 2 Monolingual perceptions and trust in learners 15

Multilingualism and Translanguaging as a Resource for Teaching and Learning in French Guiana

- Fig. 1 Languages in the children's repertoires and their status (Léglise 2013) 119
Fig. 2 The French space and the Creole space in a bilingual classroom 125

Migration and Plurilingualism in Southern European Homes and Schools

- Fig. 1 Use of non-autochthonous languages in interactions with parents by pupils' birthplace and background (%) 148
Fig. 2 Parents' answers to the question 'In general, do you think that in the country where you live schools create an interest among children towards people from different cultures and who speak other languages?' showing positive and negative orientations and 'don't know' by national sub-sample (%) 151
Fig. 3 Parents' answers to the question 'In general, do you think that in the country where you live schools create an interest among children towards people from different cultures and who speak other languages?' showing positive and negative

	orientations and ‘don’t know’ (%) by birthplace in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese sub-samples	153
Fig. 4	Parents’ answers to the question ‘Do you think that children of immigrant families should be given the opportunity to learn their own language(s) in the schools they attend?’ showing positive and negative orientations, and ‘don’t know’ by national sub-sample (%)	155
Fig. 5	Parents’ answers to the question ‘Do you think that children of immigrant families should be given the opportunity to learn their own language(s) in the schools they attend?’ showing positive and negative orientations and ‘don’t know’ by birthplace in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese sub-samples (%)	155

Translanguaging: A Matter of Sociolinguistics, Pedagogics and Interaction?

Fig. 1	S (<i>right</i>) instructs M (<i>left</i>)	178
Fig. 2	T relies on touch to accomplish impact	179
Fig. 3	T secures eye contact with S to secure comprehension	179
Fig. 4	B translates into Dutch	180
Fig. 5	T maintains focal gaze directed at S	182

Children’s Bilingualism: An Inspiration for Multilingual Educational Practices

Fig. 1	Children’s drawings	250
Fig. 2	Children’s drawings	251
Fig. 3	Children’s drawings	252
Fig. 4	Children’s drawings	253
Fig. 5	Sample pages of my first book on bilingualism: <i>Between the Greek and Arab Worlds</i>	255

Breaking Out of L2-Exclusive Pedagogies: Teachers Valorizing Immigrant Pupils’ Multilingual Repertoire in Urban Dutch-Medium Classrooms

Fig. 1	The three circles of powerful language learning environments	294
--------	--	-----

Translanguaging as a Key to Educational Success: The Experience of One Irish Primary School

Fig. 1	Example of a dual-language text written by an Albanian pupil in Third Class	325
Fig. 2	Multilingual workbook produced collaboratively by pupils in Third Class	326

Fig. 3	Multilingual text written in Irish, Tagalog, French and English by a Filipino pupil in Sixth Class	327
Fig. 4	Texts in English, Irish, French and Mandarin written by a pupil in Sixth Class as part of a multilingual fashion show project	328
Fig. 5	Our root languages	330
Fig. 6	Our language tree	331

**Conclusion: Multilingualism, Diversity and Equitable Learning:
Towards Crossing the ‘Abyss’**

Fig. 1	A functional view of multilingualism in education	360
--------	---	-----

List of Tables

Urban Multilingualism and Educational Achievement: Identifying and Implementing Evidence-Based Strategies for School Improvement

Table 1	PISA reading scores 2003 and 2006	68
Table 2	High-impact instructional responses to sources of potential academic disadvantage	79

Multilingualism and Translanguaging as a Resource for Teaching and Learning in French Guiana

Table 1	Languages spoken by more than 1 per cent of the population	119
Table 2	Educational models for languages other than French	121

Migration and Plurilingualism in Southern European Homes and Schools

Table 1	International migrant stock as a percentage of the total population by selected European regions and countries (1990–2013)	140
Table 2	Annual rate of change of the migrant stock in selected European regions and countries (1990–2013)	141
Table 3	Sample size of the MERIDIUM survey (school year 2009–2010)	145
Table 4	Non-autochthonous languages spoken by pupils at home (by survey country)	147

Table 5	Autochthonous/non-autochthonous languages spoken at home (by pupils' birthplace)	147
Table 6	Assessment of the integration policies in Malta, Spain, Romania, Slovenia, Italy and Portugal by means of the Migrant Integration Policy Index III (score/100). Reference year 2010	158

Children's Bilingualism: An Inspiration for Multilingual Educational Practices

Table 1	Profile of bilingual children born in Albania	242
Table 2	Profile of bilingual children born in Greece	242

Breaking Out of L2-Exclusive Pedagogies: Teachers Valorizing Immigrant Pupils' Multilingual Repertoire in Urban Dutch-Medium Classrooms

Table 1	Powerful task-based language learning environment: Observed/reported multilingual teacher practices (qualitative)	296
---------	---	-----

Introduction: The Multilingual Edge of Education

Piet Van Avermaet, Stef Slembrouck, Koen Van Gorp,
Sven Sierens, and Katrijn Maryns

In this volume, we raise the need to invest in new educational perspectives in which multilingualism is valorized and used strategically in settings and contexts of instruction and learning. While the title of the book, ‘The multilingual edge of education’, undeniably alludes to the way in which the multilingual repertoires of pupils in mainstream classrooms are often perceived as an insurmountable problem, it equally underlines more current perspectives in which multilingualism is viewed as possessing cutting-edge

P. Van Avermaet (✉) • S. Sierens

Centre for Diversity & Learning, Linguistics Department, Ghent University,
Ghent, Belgium

S. Slembrouck

Linguistics Department, MULTIPLES, Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

K. Van Gorp

Center for Language Teaching Advancement, Michigan State University,
East Lansing, MI, USA

K. Maryns

Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

potential for transforming linguistically heterogeneous classrooms into more inhabitable, more equitable and more efficiently organized spaces for teaching and learning. Is the multilingual edge an abyss, or do we look to multilingualism for giving learners the edge over the challenges faced by the educational contexts in which they participate today? The chapters in this book are written by an international group of contributors who present findings from empirical studies on different educational approaches which draw on students' multilingual repertoires as a pedagogical resource for learning and teaching. The authors document a variety of classroom practices, while engaging with students' and teachers' experiential voices, local and national policy contexts and so on, so as to explore the potential of multilingualism as learning capital, which, once capitalized upon, can enrich and support educational processes in diverse sociolinguistic contexts.

Education systems have mostly responded to the present climate of heightened linguistic diversity in polarized ways, which have left little room to negotiate and engage more fully with what it means to be a multilingual speaker in today's globalized world. The prevailing tendency has been to present assimilation as a civic ideal, with proficiency in the dominant language as its single and most important language learning outcome. Political debate has tended to slip rather easily into a deficit view on the real and potential effects of linguistic and sociocultural diversity on educational achievement, in general and language learning, more particularly. In addition, advocacies in favour of models of bilingual education have been hampered by political, legal and organizational constraints, and where implemented, for example 'pockets' of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in some Western European contexts, such initiatives have been restricted to socioeconomically prestigious languages which are already represented well in educational systems. Instruction in less prestigious minority languages has been disregarded. How the language use of multilingual minority pupils relates to learning processes and whether there can be any room for the multilingual learner's first language as a resource remain outside the picture.

Furthermore, educational programmes in general continue to be based on traditional, more static, notions of 'bounded languages', notions that have been called into question by a growing body of sociolinguistic research into practices that have been identified as characteristic for youth

growing up in the rapidly changing urban multilingual landscapes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The need for a new socio-linguistic vocabulary has resulted in the introduction of terms such as ‘crossing’, ‘translanguaging’ and ‘polylinguaging’. The provision of monolingual education in mainstream schools and classrooms is therefore ever more challenged by pupils and students who make fluid and creative use of increasingly complex linguistic repertoires as they navigate through the multiple environments in their everyday lives. While these uses have been noted in detail in recent multilingualism research, the implications of such insights about multilingual practices for instruction and learning deserve a fuller treatment in the language educational literature than has been the case so far. In more than one respect, the debate is still to be conducted, as we are only beginning to document the results of educational implementations which seek to valorize the range of communicative resources which pupils may bring to a classroom context.

The chapters in this book offer a selection of papers from the International Conference on Urban Multilingualism and Education (UME), which was organized at Ghent University in March 2013 (<http://www.smo-ume.org/>). It was one of the first conferences which was dedicated exclusively to bringing together research lines in urban multilingualism with those in urban education. Together, the chapters form a thematically coherent set of research papers which focus on various aspects of the ‘multilingual edge’ of education. The book falls into four parts. At the end, there is a concluding commentary by an invited expert.

The three chapters in **Part I** set the scene and offer a *status quaestionis* on multilingual education in a context of globalization and with particular references to the challenges presented by ethnic and national diversity in mainstream classroom contexts around the world. Each of the chapters in Part I is based on large-scale empirical research which is detailed in the chapter and provides the basis for critiquing a number of received ideas about language, multilingualism, language difference, language learning and educational achievement. The three chapters in this section also expound multiple histories of public and professional debate on monolingual, bilingual and multilingual orientations in education. *Slembrouck*, *Van Avermaet* and *Van Gorp* build a case for ‘functional multilingual learning’ in a monolingualism-dominated environment. Their chapter

deals with the challenges posed by evidence-based policy developments. It covers the design, scientific assessment and policy outcomes of a longitudinal pedagogical intervention which was implemented by a local education authority in the Flemish city of Ghent. The experiment in four primary schools involved the introduction of home language use in class and a cycle of early literacy/numeracy instruction in the first language. Next, *Garcia*, *Seltzer* and *Witt* thematize the educational significance and value of a translanguaging approach by gauging its cognitive and affective effects in two school contexts in New York, an elementary and a secondary classroom. Adding theoretical support for translanguaged classrooms, the chapter covers the sociolinguistic situation of the classroom and school community and focuses more specifically on the actions of two teachers to redress the linguistic inequality that exists in most urban classrooms with a diverse student body. The chapter by *Cummins*, finally, focuses on what we know about the causes of underachievement among immigrant-background and socially marginalized students and how schools can respond to these causal factors. It will be argued that in order to be successful in educating students from socially marginalized minority groups, schools must be willing to challenge the devaluation of minority group identities in the wider society. Cummins draws on accumulated research insights from North America and Europe.

Part II offers a set of four chapters which document various ‘gaps’ between diversity in the home context, the normative discourses of educational institutions and the sanctioning of code-switching and resource-crossing practices in a classroom environment when the pupils’ first language is relied upon as a communicative resource. *Marawu* concentrates on the code-switching behaviour of bilingual teachers in South African schools as exemplifying both identity practice and educational strategy. Code-switching serves as a communicative resource which moderates the effects of the disparities between the pupils’ home background and the specific linguistic demands of the school. *Alby* and *Léglise* concentrate on the gaps between doing and talking about code-switching in the context of French Guianan schools. While education policy generally dissuades teachers from using other languages than French in the classroom, the authors’ ethnographic data reveal how code-switching and translanguaging are common practices in everyday classroom interaction.

Caruana and *Scaglione's* chapter adds a cross-national perspective by concentrating on how schools attend to and invest in the linguistic diversity that comes with populations of children and schools. The project covered six Southern European countries, all regular destinations for immigrants. Finally, *Slembrouck* and *Rosiers* concentrate on the socio-linguistic, interactional and pedagogical determinants of a successful approach to learning founded on translanguaging. They do so through close examination of two video-recorded interactional sequences in one of the schools which participated in the Ghent 'Home Language in Education' project.

Part III thematizes perception, experiential voice and narrative in accounts of multilingualism, from the point of view of teachers (*Conteh*, *Makalela*) and pupils (*Jaspers*, *Gkaintartzi et al.*). These chapters address the question of heterogeneity in emerging forms of sociolinguistic awareness and their pedagogical value when it is exploited more systematically. *Jaspers's* chapter studies mixed-ethnicity classrooms in Dutch-defined schools in Belgium's bilingual capital and discusses how teachers and pupils interactionally manage the daily complexities of linguistic friction and contradiction when they evoke and exploit linguistic rules and regulations, so as to contribute to the creation of a 'cosmopolitan conviviality'. *Conteh* shows how the education system in England lacks expertise to professionalize teachers to exploit pupils' language repertoires and undervalues the skills of multilingual practitioners. She details in her chapter how the insights of a small group of multilingual teachers into their own English as an additional language (EAL) practices with multilingual pupils can be used to suggest possibilities for what could constitute 'multilingual pedagogies' which turn a 'problem' into an 'asset'. Such an approach is more than a matter of training packages with 'tips and tricks'. A central role can be assigned to multilingual professionals in a bottom-up approach based on research evidence and a theoretical framework for professionalizing teachers. *Gkaintartzi et al.* present the language views and practices of 19 bilingual students of Albanian immigrant descent who attend a mainstream Greek primary school and kindergarten. Their chapter also details the results of a language project that enables teachers to connect with the multilingual realities of their migrant pupils and their families. Concluding the third part, *Makalela* reports on

alternative approaches in post-apartheid South Africa which valorize plural, versatile and fluid educational spaces for integrated multilingual development. The focus is on gauging the effects of multilingual pedagogies on pre-service teachers, more specifically on how these practices lay bare the artificial arbitrariness of apartheid-imposed boundaries between languages and hence contribute in the current South African context to the creation of an 'Ubuntu'-inspired pluralism.

The two chapters in **Part IV** of the book seek to chart the added value of plurilingual repertoires. The ethnographic case studies presented here derive from contexts where schools have been investing actively in a multilingual policy. In the first chapter, *Sierens* and *Ramaut* address the influence of locally monitored multilingual education policies which challenge a national monolingual ideology on the sociolinguistic and educational practices of the teachers involved in a four-year experiment in Flanders. To what extent did the mainstream teachers draw on pupils' home languages as a resource for rendering learning environments more powerful? Next, *Little* and *Kirwan* discuss how a Dublin-based school with almost 80 per cent of non-native speakers of English lifted the barriers against the use of home languages. The school developed an open-language policy and an inclusive pedagogical practice with a strong emphasis on the development of literacy skills, a reflective approach to learning and respect for teachers' professional autonomy.

Finally, the book is concluded with a commentary by an invited expert, *Kathleen Heugh*. In it, she revisits the volume's main themes, while raising the question of possible and plausible scenarios for future research on urban educational multilingualism. Her concluding discussion also includes a listed set of recommendations for school policy and classroom practice.

Part I

Multilingualism in Education in a Context of Globalisation: A Status Questionis

Strategies of Multilingualism in Education for Minority Children

Stef Slembrouck, Piet Van Avermaet, and
Koen Van Gorp

The research reported here was funded by the Municipality of Ghent. The PIs were Piet Van Avermaet, Stef Slembrouck, Koen Van Gorp and Machteld Verhelst. We are especially grateful to Luc Heyerick, the then Director of the Local Education Department. He initiated the conversations and remained the driving force behind the Home Language in Education project during its implementation. We are also grateful to Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen for her detailed comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

When working on this project Van Gorp was affiliated to the Centre for Language and Education, KU Leuven – University of Leuven.

S. Slembrouck (✉)

MULTIPLES, Linguistics Department, Ghent University,
Ghent, Belgium

P. Van Avermaet

Centre for Diversity and Learning & MULTIPLES, Linguistics Department,
Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

K. Van Gorp

Center for Language Teaching Advancement, Michigan State University,
East Lansing, MI, USA

Introduction

Across Western Europe, policy in the context of education for minority children has in the past 20 years increasingly stressed proficiency in and use of the dominant language as a condition for school success (in most cases, this has meant the ‘national’ language). The use of the children’s first language or home language(s) has been valued by policy makers as a cultural marker of identity, but not pedagogically as a didactic asset for learning, or as a ‘scaffold’ for the acquisition of the dominant language (Cummins 2011, 2013; Van Avermaet 2009; Extra and Spotti 2009).

A monolingual ideology is at the basis of such policies. The occurrence of monolingual ideologies is neither recent nor incidental. They are the result of specific social, historical and political contexts. Linguistic ideologies can be defined as ‘systems of belief’, collectively or individually held ideas about the role, function and value of (a) language in a societal context (Woolard 1998; Spolsky 2004). However, language ideologies are also related to interactional moments of identity construction and reflect power relations in a given society (Kroskrity 2000; Pavlenko 2002). As Woolard (1998: 3) puts it, ‘ideologies of language are rarely about language alone’. Perceived as common sense, inherent contradictions often remain implicit, while the continuation of language ideologies is assured in official documents, through policy actions, media debate, national curricula and so on, and implemented in practice by principals, teachers and so on, and via mission statements, learning materials, language tests and so on. (Shohamy 2006; Gkaintartzi et al. 2015). Creese (2010) stresses how language ideologies in educational contexts always interact with local school contexts and the beliefs and convictions of teachers.

The multilingual make-up of today’s schools and classes is a topical theme for many schools and teachers, and in society more generally. Many schools in Flanders struggle with the multilingual constitution of their student population. On the one hand, there is a strong historically rooted belief in the European context that knowledge of more than one language results in surplus value, and this has been especially the case in countries like Belgium and the Netherlands and in Northern Europe.

Hence, young people are generally encouraged to learn and actively use French, English, Spanish or Italian, for professional and economic reasons or for holiday purposes. Yet, at the same time the multilingualism of minority children and their parents is seen as an obstacle to learning and school success. Parents are encouraged to use their first or home language as little as possible with their children, and the use of other languages than Dutch is mostly banned from school settings. Local school policies are not necessarily informed by negative perceptions of the children's mother tongue, as school measures often originate in a genuine concern with learning opportunities. Immersion is held to be the most optimal response and one and only route to learning the dominant language well enough to guarantee school success. In such an educational universe, there is no room for the children's first languages.

While this chapter addresses some of the consequences of monolingual policies, it raises the question whether it is sensible to continue to ignore the multilingual realities of today's diverse school populations. If this question is answered negatively, schools are still saddled with the question of how best to respond to the challenges posed by the educational environment. In this chapter, we engage with these issues by reporting on the results of a longitudinal pedagogical intervention in four primary schools in Ghent, the so-called Home Language in Education project (HLiE), which ran from January 2009 to the end of 2012. The HLiE project was funded by the municipality of Ghent. Its implementation followed the local education authority's decision to both try out and assess the learning potential of an alternative sociolinguistic climate which is more positively oriented to the multilingual resources which minority children bring to school and in which home language use is encouraged as an asset for learning. The scientific part of the project consisted of a mixed-method pre/post-design intervention study. We will discuss the research findings and critically reflect on both the design of the project and the dynamic relationships with the local policy makers and other stakeholders. Before we turn to the details of the implementation and its accompanying research project, it is important to first discuss some of the effects of monolingual language policies as a background for a discussion of possible alternatives.

The Effects of Monolingual Thinking

Social inequality and educational underachievement are among the most persistent problems in education. Successive PISA results (OESO) have revealed the relative failure of national educational responses in meeting these challenges. Above and beyond socioeconomic variables (e.g., socioeconomic status [SES]), the PISA results show that children who speak another language at home than the dominant language perform less well in school. The PISA data, however, show that the effect size of this variable is much smaller than the effect size of SES. In most other studies, the correlation between language spoken at home and school success disappears when controlled for SES. Moreover, we should caution against easy causal interpretations of the connections between home language use and school success. A statistical correlation does not necessarily point to a straightforward causal connection. In addition, Cummins (2018, this volume) compares the PISA results in a number of national contexts and notes that there are success stories to be found of bilingual learning trajectories and educational achievement. Other studies do show, however, that the negative impact of low SES is fed by language difference (see also Van Avermaet et al. 2015). A second consequence of a negative causal reading of the relationship between school success and home language use is that conditions for success crystalize exclusively around pupils' knowledge of Dutch, the dominant language. This, however, goes against the state-of-the-art knowledge about processes of second language learning (e.g., The Douglas Fir Group 2016). It reinforces the monolingual ideology. Yildiz (2012) notes the contradictions in the continued pursuit of and belief in monolingual responses with its values of civic inclusion and national language, despite intensive and widespread 'on the ground' experiences of multilingualism. It is important to gauge how the back-and-forth between the two tendencies plays out in practice. One noted dimension is the continued belief in monolingualism as a recipe for school success and the perception of minority multilingualism as detrimental to educational success. Pulinx et al. (2014) report how the two sides of monolingual thinking prevail in Flemish teacher populations. Monolingual belief is deeply rooted.

In a questionnaire, 700 teachers in 16 Flemish schools (see Fig. 1) were asked to rate a list of propositions on a five-point scale of (dis)agreement.

Eight out of ten teachers agreed that pupils should not be allowed to speak another language than Dutch at school. A similar segment of the examined population identified lack of knowledge of the dominant language as the main cause of lack of progress in learning. This contrasts with other research which identifies low SES as the most important cause (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Vorming 2014; Van de gaer et al. 2006). For every ten teachers, there are three who agreed with the claim that

Item	Description	(Completely) Agree
1	Non-Dutch speaking pupils should not be allowed to speak their home language at school.	77.3%
2	The most important cause of academic failure of non-Dutch speaking pupils is their insufficient proficiency in Dutch.	78.2%
3	The school library (classroom library, media library) should also include books in the different home languages of the pupils.	12.8%
4	Non-Dutch speaking pupils should be offered the opportunity to learn their home language at school.	6.8%
5	By speaking their home language at school, non-Dutch speaking pupils do not learn Dutch sufficiently.	72.1%
6	Non-Dutch speaking pupils should be offered regular subjects in their home language.	3.2%
7	It is more important that non-Dutch speaking pupils obtain a high level of proficiency in Dutch than in their home language.	44.7%
8	It is in the interest of the pupils when they are punished for speaking their home language at school.	29.1%

Fig. 1 Teachers' monolingual beliefs

pupils should be penalized for speaking their mother tongue in school. Less than 13% of the teacher population who participated in the research felt that school libraries should also hold a collection of books in the pupils' home languages. The latter point needs further qualification, as this finding contrasts rather starkly with the observation that secondary school libraries in Flanders typically harbour a collection of books in French, German, English and so on—the languages taught as second, third and fourth language, respectively, in secondary education. When it comes to the perception of negative effects that multilingualism would have on learning, there appear to be double standards. A distinction is clearly made between (economically viable, prestigious) 'good' multilingualism and (educationally counterproductive) 'bad' multilingualism (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008). Slembrouck (forthcoming) makes a comparable analysis of the unequal distribution of opportunities for learning particular foreign languages in the Flemish context and points to the existence of a spatio-temporal scale of relative proximity/distance. 'Closer' are the languages of neighbouring countries learnt for purposes of trade, tourism and cultural exchange with widely available and long-established 'mainstream' opportunities of learning, while more 'distant' are the minority languages, for example, Turkish, Arabic and so on, with more recent and more scarcely resourced 'niche' opportunities for learning. While English and French are very much taken-for-granted competencies presupposed in the secondary school diplomas of prospective teachers as they enter into higher education, a strategic investment in the learning of a minority language is not even an available option in teacher training today.

Common opinion identifies multilingualism in a minority language as a problem and a cause of learning deficit. Youngsters who speak another language at home than the language of instruction are easily classified as 'pupils with a language problem'. Sometimes they are perceived as not very proficient, and even as 'not having much language' (even in their home language). The monolingual response is fraught with various other difficulties. Pulinx et al. (2014) point to a negative correlation between the strength of monolingual beliefs and confidence in learners (see Fig. 2). The vertical axis represents confidence in the learners (from '1 = low confidence' to '5 = high confidence'), whereas the horizontal axis

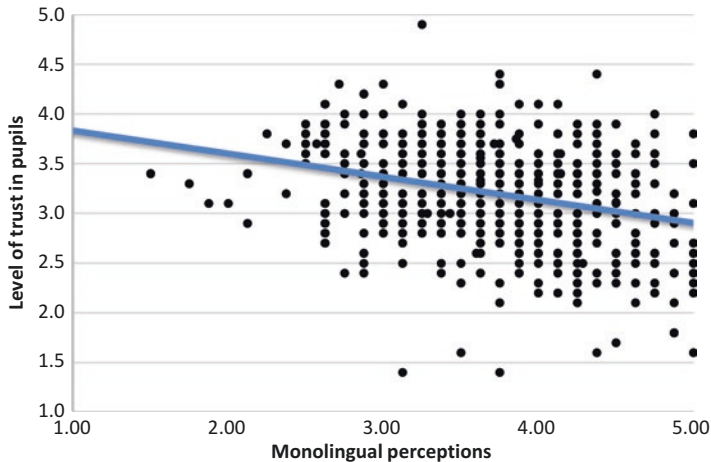


Fig. 2 Monolingual perceptions and trust in learners

represents the degree of monolingual belief (from ‘1 = mainly multilingual’ to ‘5 = mainly monolingual’).

The blue line in the figure denotes the negative correlation between the two dimensions. Strong monolingual beliefs appear to go together with less confidence in the multilingual learner. Research in educational sociology will add to this observation that low confidence in a learner’s abilities tends to result in lower expectations and impacts on the behaviour of both teachers and learners, who adjust their self-expectations to the teacher’s authoritative judgements. The Pygmalion/Golem-effect (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968) in its turn results in diminished cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes for learners. Well-intended as the belief in a monolingual approach based on immersion into the dominant language may be, the question must be faced if it does not result in exactly the opposite: low success fostered by low self-expectations.

Monolingual Versus Multilingual Education

Bilingual teaching models are often put forward as a viable alternative to a monolingual approach. Certainly in the Flemish context, the debate about this predates the current situation in which urban school contexts

are deeply affected by migration-linked diversity. With these more recent developments, questions have shifted essentially in the direction of the most suitable form of language education for pupils with a migration background: monolingual teaching or bi/multilingual teaching?

Advocates of bilingual or multilingual education argue that learners with a migrant background stand to benefit more from education in the first language, in addition to or in combination with education in the second language (García 2009; Cummins 2000). Bilingual teaching models come with the use of more than one language of instruction, as well as the teaching of non-linguistic subjects in another language (e.g., mathematics, world orientation, etc.). Mainstream and specialist opinion in Flanders is mostly in favour of monolingual education, and often common sense is invoked that the locally dominant language is learned more easily through complete immersion. The so-called L2-submersion model is based on three negative assumptions about bilingual education: (i) there is competition between the two languages, (ii) there will be negative transfer ('interference') from L1 to L2 and (iii) time spent on one language will be at the cost of learning the other language (cf. 'time on task'). See for instance Leseman (2000), Scheele et al. (2010) and Verhallen and Schoonen (1998).

The immersion model, referred to locally as *het taalbadmodel*, the 'language bath' model, a metaphoric representation akin to that of being thrown into the ocean in order to learn how to swim, has for more than two decades dominated educational debate in Flanders and has been widely implemented. It has not produced the success hoped for. Inequality in education remains a persistent problem. Yet, few appear to entertain the possibility of an alternative approach. Belief in the immersion model has remained strong, and many responses to immigration-related language differences advocate an even earlier start for parents and their children and with this, 'optimal' conditions of complete immersion.¹ Much of this has been at the expense of any positive value being attributed to the home languages of the students. Within such a framework, there is no place for the use of home language(s), let alone that they would feature explicitly in the curriculum. It is also assumed that their use by low SES learners will hinder progress in the acquisition of the dominant language. Linguistic diversity has largely stayed outside the scope of a recognized

investment in the well-being, self-confidence and motivation of young people, despite publicly articulated opinion of the need to value social and cultural diversity.

Does this mean that we should opt for a bilingual education model? There is strong empirical evidence in support of such a choice (see Butler and Hakuta 2004; Cummins 1979; Hamers and Blanc 2000). Linguistic interdependence and positive transfer between languages have been noted as central arguments. Yet, a more traditional bilingual model does not always result in a miracle solution, as Sierens and Van Avermaet (2014) discuss in their review of the literature. In addition, there are practical limitations to be considered. Today's student population in urban schools in Flanders turns out to be quite diverse and heterogeneous, often with 10 or 20 different languages represented. Traditional bilingual education is not feasible in such contexts. Practical limitations aside, the most important criticism of the classic bilingual model is that the current landscapes of multilingual communication in today's complex social worlds have resulted in fundamental challenges to more traditional and more static sociolinguistic assumptions about language and community (Rampton 1995) and the attendant understanding of multilingualism as 'parallel monolingualisms' (Heller 1999) or 'separate linguistics' (cf. 'the two solitudes assumption', Cummins 2008, which stresses connections in learning effort and gain). As a result of this, bilingual education was organized around principles of spatial and temporal segregation (language homogenous classes and language-specific sessions). Assumptions of this kind clash with more recent empirical observations about multilingual language use (Creese and Blackledge 2010, on 'flexible bilingualism') and insights into the real-time dynamics of multilingual learning. The notion of 'translanguaging' (García 2009) further stresses the flexible ways in which learners move between and freely combine elements from different named languages in everyday communication. Any attempt to bring language use in schools closer to that of the children's lifeworld should take account of the complexities and flexibilities afforded by today's multilingual repertoires. The challenge is therefore just as much theoretical as it is practical, and it touches on more ontological questions about the nature of language and multilingualism.

Functional Multilingual Learning

The ‘language bath’ response to the contemporary multilingual context of education has not produced the expected results and more traditional bilingual approaches come with limitations, as linguistic diversity continues to increase, and with this, the need for on-the-ground recognition of the many forms of translanguaging which are characteristic of today’s multilingual spaces. In contrast with this, public debate has been heavily polarized, with a one-sided belief in L2-submersion and negative causalities attached to the use of other languages in schools. Our advocacy is to transcend the limitations of a binary debate between advocacy for exclusive L2-submersion and traditional bilingual education and to move in the direction of a new multilingual approach to learning in schools which embraces current sociolinguistic realities. Pupils with an immigrant or national or ethnic minority background come to schools equipped with multilingual repertoires. It is better to put these to good use, instead of ignoring them or banning their use. Part of this involves re-framing the factor ‘home language’ from a negative one (‘a problem for learning’) into a more positive one (‘a resource of learning’). This is possible in an approach which integrates L2-learning with the strengths of multilingual interaction. The cultivation of spaces of translanguaging forms part of this.

Expressed differently, the aim is to bring about a multilingual model of social interaction for learning into the classroom. This includes that we assign a positive value to the languages and varieties in pupils’ linguistic repertoires and seek to unlock the learning potential of the translanguaging practices which they bring to the school context, extending their range and fostering their scope for learning. This comes with an active investment in building learners’ self-confidence, increased well-being and strengthening commitment to what goes on in school and in the classroom. Given these aims, functional multilingual learning (FML) is about more than admitting translanguaging into the classroom. It is about turning multilingualism into a powerful didactic tool. The languages and language varieties which children bring to school can be treated as didactic capital which can be invested in real-time learning processes, so as to increase children’s chances of development and education. In such an

approach, children's multilingual repertoires form a scaffold for supporting the learning of and learning in a second language, as well as learning more generally (van Lier 1996; Saxena 2010; Swain and Lapkin 2013; Rosiers et al. 2015, more specifically in the Flemish context).

Let us discuss one or two examples of this in more detail. A teacher may encourage the pupils to support one another in the home language when performing or preparing a task or during work in small groups. Such a move presupposes that the teacher organizes the interactional environment in a way so as to create opportunities for peer interaction. It involves a temporary relinquishing of teacher control to enable pupils to invest their linguistic resources in the service of a particular assignment (see also Slembrouck and Rosiers 2018, this volume, for an interactional analysis of examples from a kindergarten context). The teacher's role as a mediator is crucial in such a process. Often teachers express concern about the use of L1 in the classroom. They are worried that they cannot check whether a task is performed adequately and whether learning content is exchanged correctly. The negative frame of lack of control can be changed into a more positive one, for instance, when the teacher joins a subgroup of learners, provides feedback on the work done by the group, formulates suggestions to undo an impasse or provides instructions needed for the next stage. As the teachers do not speak the minority language(s), they are likely to do so in the dominant language. Added value will be that learning processes are steered in a particular direction or insight is fostered into the adoption of problem-solving protocols. In doing so, a teacher is likely to depend on an L2-paraphrase of information exchanged among the pupils in L1. The latter will strengthen what has been learned, while providing an indirect instrument for monitoring learning conduct in the L1. In these examples of FML, different linguistic routes are adopted for learning specific competencies. Learners make use of their full linguistic repertoire, with language learning gains for both L1 and L2.

One of the major advantages of FML is that the pupils' multilingual repertoires become a constant factor in the learning process, without having to construe a parallel curriculum in the home language(s). At the same time, it is not necessary for the teacher to master the minority languages represented in the classroom, though the construction of parallel tools can be considered via digital means. As Van Laere et al. (2016) propose,

a further step can be the integration of a multilingual digital learning tool to provide learners with the opportunity to access academic registers in the L2 and the L1 at the same time. However, the most important gain undoubtedly is that, in a context of FML, diversity is no longer viewed as a problem which results in underachievement or cognitive delay. Instead, it is viewed as an asset which produces surplus value in learning. Diversity deserves a chance, so as to maximize young people's opportunities for learning.

The *Home Language in Education* Project as a Case Study

The Ghent Home Language in Education project (2009–2012) entailed a pedagogical intervention in four primary schools based on a combination of selective bilingual teaching and FML. Funded by the education department of Ghent city council, it combined a pedagogical implementation with research assessing its impact.

First, the pedagogical implementation. Two of the four participating schools introduced a limited L1 curricular component of initial reading and writing in Turkish (for newcomers and first-, second- and third-generation children of Turkish ancestry). The curricular component spanned the first and second years of primary school, with the introduction of literacy in the L2 being delayed for a couple of months. The 'Turkish' children in the group first received initial L1-literacy. The hypothesis behind this decision is these children would obtain better results for reading and writing in the L2 (Cummins 2000) and, in the longer term, obtain higher proficiency in both languages, compared to children whose L1 is banned from the spaces of school instruction and learning. Simultaneously, the four participating schools introduced a trajectory of FML (spanning the three years of kindergarten and six years of primary education). This came with an investment in sociolinguistic awareness and the fostering of a more positive climate of multiple, multilingual routes to learning. The hypothesis here was that formally welcoming and encouraging the use of the home languages in

the classrooms would result in an increase in well-being and would produce better results for learning Dutch. The implementation was monitored by three coaches from the local educational support service, and it received support from five pedagogic advisors who work for national educational networks. The teachers also received support from project coordinators in the schools (staff capacity drawn from special needs and bridging programmes). Turkish teachers provided the initial L1-literacy, while some schools, which already had a teacher with a Turkish background on their list of staff, could draw on extra support in the activation of forms of FML.

In addition to the pedagogic implementation, the city authorities funded a four-year research project with two research officers to document and detail the process of the pedagogical intervention and examine its results. The methodology was mixed, with quantitative instruments (pre- and post-tests for proficiency in reading L1/L2 and surveys for social-affective effects), as well as qualitative instruments (interviews, participant observation and classroom recordings). The city also invested politically in the project, as is illustrated by the following anecdote. When the local education authority in 2008 concluded, on the basis of the recommendations of a small-scale preliminary investigation (Bultynck et al. 2008), that it was worth investing in the envisaged four-year pedagogical intervention sketched above, the Alderman for Education was summoned by the then Minister of Education. Even though they were members of the same political party, the minister suggested the idea should be dropped, convinced as he was that ‘multilingualism leads to zerolingualism’. The Ghent city council ignored the government’s advice and decided to proceed nevertheless. In return, the Minister of Education asked for the project to be kept under the media radar, and this low profile was maintained until the very end of the project when the results were reported in some of the national media. The local coalition had a point to prove. The political pressures on the project were never far away, as was clearly felt by the researchers in the various reporting back stages. Managing the project became in some respects a highly reflexive process permeated by tactical considerations which anticipated political reception.

The Results and Implementation of the HLiE Project

The results of the HLiE project can be summarized briefly, while at the same time, they invite a considerable degree of nuanced understanding and insight. For an exhaustive account, we refer to the research report (Ramaut et al. 2013) which was adopted by the city council and can be consulted online.

On the basis of the pre- and post-test findings for Dutch and Turkish proficiency and those for social-affective effects (well-being, self-confidence, involvement, etc.), no hard-and-fast effects were noted for the two schools which had adopted both implementations (L1-literacy initiation and FML), nor for the two schools which had only adopted the FML model. Under the heading of well-being, involvement and socio-affective variables, only one measure was found to be nearly significant ($p = 0.056$), for example, an increase in self-confidence in the learner population of the two schools with FML goals only, compared to the control schools. Also for the language-learning goals (effects on L2-proficiency), no significant differences could be noted between the schools which participated in the experiment and the control groups. The school populations had shifted in the course of the implementation, and this had resulted in a sample that was too small for a statistical analysis of progress in L1-proficiency (reading skills). On the basis of the remaining population, it was not possible to draw any reliable conclusions.

The 'hard' effects provide one side of the coin. The picture is much more nuanced and becomes more complex when we turn to the qualitative side of the coin, with an emphasis on the findings for process evaluation. In the survey at the end of the four-year intervention, teachers were quasi-unanimous in their statements about the impact on the children's proficiency in Dutch: according to the teachers in kindergarten, the impact was limited; for the primary school teachers, it was almost non-existent. However, when we examine the findings of the semi-structured interviews with a smaller section of the surveyed population, we see that the teachers offer a more positive picture.

'I think they [the children] are much more engaged with language'. (T, 3rd year of kindergarten)

'They [the children] can now use their home language, but I don't have the impression that they use less Dutch as a result. No, certainly not'. (T, 1st year of primary school)

'Well, I do think that they feel more self-confident, that they are more at ease, but does this effectively improve their Dutch, I'm not sure. I have doubts about this'. (T, 2nd year of primary school)

The Turkish teachers who conducted the L1-literacy modules noted positive effects in their interviews on L1-proficiency in Turkish. They mention enriched vocabulary and an improvement in the use of standard Turkish (vocabulary and pronunciation).

'At first, and it did take quite a bit to get to the time they had mastered the system [of sounds and letters]. So I couldn't do much for comprehensive reading. It's only seven and a half hours [per week] and you invest a lot of time in this. But for the pupils it's really ... they really learn to read and write well in Turkish. It's a pity that after January I'll have to stop, because then it's all in Dutch'. (T, Turkish, 1st year of primary school)

For the social-affective effects of the HLiE project, the stance of the teachers who participated in the questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews was more explicitly positive. The questionnaire results included a general positive effect on learner well-being. This was confirmed in the interviews, while teachers mentioned an increase in commitment to what goes on in the classroom and improved personal relations between teachers and pupils. Moreover, the teachers also noted an increase in self-confidence to speak up in class.

'I feel that some children have truly opened up. The fear to speak up is gone'. (T, 2nd and 3rd year of kindergarten)

'It's great to see children like that, you see them, they show respect and feel at ease. That you pay attention to their language. Personally I think that makes them flourish'. (T, transition year kindergarten-primary school)

'Whether they feel better in class? I think so yes. Well, yes, they can now just be themselves'. (T, 1st and 2nd year of primary school)

‘They are really interacting in a task-oriented way and helping each other’. (T, 2nd year of primary school)

‘I think the relationship is closer, perhaps I should say more bonding’. (T, 2nd year of primary school)

The Turkish teachers, on the other hand, noted the pupils’ increased motivation to read Turkish.

‘Now they are all interested in reading. They are more motivated to do so. I think it’s wonderful to see how children flourish by learning to read in Turkish first, really’. (T, Turkish, 1st year of primary school)

Teachers also reported that openness towards the pupils’ home languages had resulted in a change in their own pedagogical–didactic approach. All teachers reported that they had accepted the use of the home language during informal moments in the classroom and outside the classroom. The teachers in kindergarten responded more positively to the spontaneous use of the children’s home language in interaction, compared to the primary school teachers. Further reporting included that language awareness activities now also featured in their lessons (again, the adoption in kindergarten being more systematic than in primary education), and some teachers consciously adopted the use of the home languages during peer-tutoring as a principle.

Most teachers in the sample report positive change in their attitudes and perceptions, that is, an increased awareness of linguistic diversity and more appreciation of their pupils’ multilingualism.

‘I’ve grown in the use of multiple languages in class. My appreciation of the children’s language use has increased’. (T, primary education, newcomers)

Classroom observations over the four-year period indicate there has been an evolution in the presence and use of home languages in the classrooms, for teachers in both kindergarten and primary education. During the preliminary enquiry (in 2008, before the start of the implementation), the researchers observed how use of the home language in kindergarten was ‘tolerated’ and in some cases actively stimulated in order to

facilitate mutual comprehension or during work in small groups. In primary education, home language use had been admitted only in some cases, but not given any further attention. It was 'tolerated' during more informal moments, but it was not talked about. There were also a few teachers who drew upon a child's home language occasionally, for example, during counting routines or to sing a song. In contrast, four years later, variation in practice was noted in kindergarten, ranging from use of the home language in isolated occurrences, detached from the topic of the lesson, to more extended uses, for example, by inviting parents to tell a story in the L1 or by encouraging the children to use their home language when performing a task. In the primary school contexts, there were still a few teachers who, after its introduction, didn't pay much further attention to it, while others had made a leap forward by integrating their use in classroom activities, for example, stimulating its use during group work or peer support exchanges.

Most teachers changed their behaviour. Granted a few exceptions in the primary school contexts, most were now willing to strategically rely on home language use in instances where pupils helped each other and some teachers had also taken more firm steps in the direction of forms of FML with an active constructive role for home language use in the learning process.

'It's no longer new, it's become a part of their [= the children's] daily behaviour. It's normal. For instance, helping each other in the home language: it is no longer considered unusual. We [= the teachers] no longer pay attention to this. And the children's fear to use one's own language has disappeared. Children who come from another school still experience difficulties taking this step. I also think that it's more important in kindergarten than in early primary education, because they really need this a lot more. Their Dutch is still insufficiently developed to express themselves'. (T, 1st year of primary education, commenting on an observation)

'A Turkish pupil is telling us about a wedding party she attended last weekend. She tells us what she's eaten at the party, but she can't name a certain ingredient in Dutch. The teacher asks her to draw it on the blackboard and also asks for the colour of the vegetable. The pupil points to the colour of her sweater and says it is light. The teacher continues: *could it be a pea? Who can help?* The pupil responds spontaneously: *in Turkish we say*

fasulye. The teacher asks the other pupils whether they are familiar with this. One pupil knows what it is, but she doesn't know the word in Dutch: *it's green*, and she draws it on the board. The teacher asks: *could it be string beans?* There is some discussion about the colour (green, yellow). One of the Turkish pupils asks if she can look up the translation on the computer. The teacher gives permission and the Turkish pupil continues with her story of the wedding'. (observation, T, 3rd and 4th year of primary school).

The positive results must be understood within the context of school-specific trajectories of implementation. The initial literacy modules in Turkish required a considerable investment in time, coordination and logistics. There were considerable differences in the trajectories of the two schools who participated in this part of the intervention: closer guidance and more depth in one case, and a slow and more difficult process that was moreover hindered by lapses in communication and coordination in the other case. As to the goal of developing a practice based on FML, we can equally note that there were wide-ranging activities in three of the four schools, while the fourth school limited its actions. Differences in the amount of internal coaching contributed to these developments: very intensive in one school, diminishing in the course of the project in the second school and altogether weak and minimal in the third school (more or less comparable to what was happening in the least active school). The differences at school level correspond in part with differences between classrooms, while, like Hattie (2009), we also observed considerable differences among teachers who participated in the intervention.

Some Reflections on the Research Project's Evolving Relationships with National and Local Educational Policy Makers

Where did the HLiE project and its results take us policy-wise, as a local initiative and as an intervention-driven project of a particular type? Looked at internationally, the HLiE project is certainly not unique as a longitudinal project funded by a local educational authority. Nor is the specific combination of a pedagogical experiment which is twinned with

a separate scientific assessment of its effects (e.g., Head Start—see US Department of Health and Human Services; Administration for Children and Families 2010). In the Flemish context, however, both were unusual, and the point is indeed worth stressing that the HLiE project was a local municipal initiative. A local education authority had made available funds to pursue a pedagogically innovative approach and, at the same time, it wanted to assess impact so as to inform future policy. As a research team, we were sympathetic to such an approach. As a marked departure from the one-size-fits-all formulations characteristic of national policy directives, part of the attraction resided in a scale of intervention and research that was manageable ethnographically. The intervention was context-specific by being informed by a local understanding of policy issues which were widely debated at a national level ('what can the city schools do to address the challenges posed by linguistic diversity and educational underachievement?'). The research design which accompanied the pedagogical intervention enabled close and sustained observation of a limited number of sites (four schools only), while also allowing pre- and post-measurements on the basis of representative samples that would allow necessary generalization to the city's primary schools. A major role in this was played by the city council's own aspirations to develop a small-scale alternative and an assessment of its impact as a basis for an implementation across the schools in its network, should the results prove to be encouraging. At the same time, the council set high expectations by insisting that reliable research findings should be presented in a way which settled political debate.

As noted above, although originating in local policy considerations, the project and the city council's decision did not pass unnoticed. Even before the actual start of the project, local decision-making was implicated in national debate, resulting in friction between national and local levels of decision-making. Did the implementation entail a violation of the federal/regional language laws? And, although the Flemish framework did foresee the possibility of limited educational provisions, partly by way of 'experiments' and partly by making use of financial resources earmarked for minority pupils, this did not stop the then national education minister from publicly voicing doubts about the feasibility of the planned intervention. Following his 'gut feeling' con-

viction that ‘multilingualism leads to zerolingualism’ and his insistence that the project could proceed if a low profile was kept, political debate was never out of sight in the four-year period that followed it.

In early 2013, the presentation of the project results to the local Education Committee was preceded by an informal stage of reporting to the Alderman for Educational Affairs. The timing of the informal report was shortly before that year’s local elections, and everyone in the room was aware that the committee meeting itself would come after the election date, yet before the start of the incoming coalition. The coalition moved from a social democrat-liberal one to social democrat-liberal-green one, with responsibility for the Education Department being handed over from the social democratic party to an alderman of the green party. Of course, we can only speculate how the successive stages of reporting would have fared, had the political landscape been completely redrawn and a radically different coalition had come into power. Our most salient recollection of the report preparation stage was that re-entry into the world of political debate came with a narrowed interest. Initially at least, the question ‘What do the figures of the pre- and post-language tests tell us?’ was uppermost on the minds of the education authority, and undoubtedly, this was also due to the order in which we had presented the findings. In the foreground were the apparently pessimistic conclusions that initial literacy in the home language (two schools) and the creation of a sociolinguistic environment in which the home language can be used (all four schools) did not result in better scores for L2-learning or for social-affective effects (with the exception of a noted increase in learner self-confidence). In the meetings, it took quite a bit of discussion to rescue the more positive findings of the qualitative part of the research from disappearing into the background. Eventually, research team and alderman settled on an overarching picture which answered the wider question, ‘What do the research findings tell us?’ with equal attention paid to qualitative research findings. While the figures did not show a positive effect, they did not show a negative impact either, and the qualitative findings indicated a more positive experience. Needless to add, considerations of political pragmatism had by that point entered into the conversations. For social scientists, this may be a difficult balance to maintain, but it is certainly naive to think that, as scientists executing policy-driven funded research, one does not get implicated in pragmatic, political considerations of strategic representation.

Our cautiously formulated recommendation to the education committee became that we advocated in favour of the ‘A’-goals (a sociolinguistic climate which is positively oriented to multilingualism and stimulates FML), and less in favour of the ‘B’-goals (bearing in mind that the implementation of a parallel literacy trajectory in the home language had been too short and limited in scope, to expect any real success from it). It was a refreshing experience to note that the local education committee as a whole responded positively, across the coalition–opposition divide. (This included representatives from political parties that would traditionally draw a more legalistic or nationalist ‘Dutch only’-card.) Was this because we had voiced modest aspirations for the future? Perhaps so. Our experience in the committee stage certainly underlined that with a realistic message it is possible to secure a broad consensus. Shortly after the new coalition came into power, an active local policy around multilingualism in schools was implemented across the schools in the city’s own network, including the adoption of FML (see also the published manual by Gielen and Isçi 2015). We were not part of the conversation leading to this particular decision. Sometimes, social scientists are in the conversation with the politicians, and sometimes they are the topic of the conversation. Sometimes, decisions with considerable impact are taken without consulting the scientists. This is part of the experience of being in an expert role. When in the conversations with the political world of local authority decision-making, social scientists are not necessarily comfortable with all aspects of the roles which they have to take up, nor do they necessarily see themselves as well-prepared and well-equipped for this, partly because of the way in which the world of ‘scientific truth’ competes with that of ‘political adversity’.

Some Reflections on a ‘Mixed Design’

We noted above how the policy makers spontaneously expressed a more immediate interest in quantitative results and how they needed to be persuaded to engage with the more qualitative insights. In retrospect, this was a somewhat remarkable development, because at the onset of the project, the mixed design had been carefully negotiated with the education department. It is worth reflecting on how the separate qualitative and quantitative parts were managed during the four-year project,

including the role which they played in shaping the project and the representation of its results. Is the conclusion to be drawn here that, in a number of respects, a quantitative logic took over?

First, it must be noted that it is still true that, in managing a research project over a longer period of time, the quantitative parts are more predictable in scope and easier to manage in terms of task schedules. Qualitative research is more open-ended. It is more unpredictable in terms of how much and what kind of data will be yielded. It is more time consuming in the analysis stage and more vulnerable in terms of managing deadlines within allotted time frames.

Secondly, having concluded the four-year project, masses of qualitative data (especially recorded classroom sessions) still await detailed analysis. Despite best possible planning and time management practices, there hadn't been sufficient time within the four-year period to do this.

A third relevant observation is that it continues to be a serious challenge to convince non-academic audiences and some academic audiences of the value and merits of qualitative insights. Figures do not tend to be disputed: their aura is one of objectivity and absoluteness, whereas qualitative observations, even when systematically and carefully sampled and processed, tend to be much more easily dismissed as 'opinion' or 'anecdote', and emblematic accounts are often countered without a blush by the receiver's own personal anecdotes of one-off experience. In the case of the HLiE project, the figures were inconclusive (admittedly, with a number of methodological caveats), but the assessment from the teachers, apparent in interview data and field observations, was positive overall. How does one weigh the strategic importance of quantitative results against qualitatively obtained and strongly expressed convictions across a population of teachers?² It is a question that continues to occupy us.

Some Reflections on a Channelled Conceptualization of Multilingualism

The question must also be asked where the HLiE project is taking us as an enquiry of the dynamics of contemporary urban multilingualism. A further series of observations therefore concerns the conceptual construal

of 'multilingualism' and how this manifested itself in the project's lifespan. The project team started out with strong initial concerns which included questions such as, do we need to re-think bilingualism and multilingual education in the light of conditions of linguistically heterogeneous populations, often with a high number of different home languages represented in a single classroom? And, if so, how do we go about this? Moreover, recent work on the nature of multilingualism in contexts of globalization and immigration has come with a fundamental critique of the idea of multilingualism as 'separate monolingualisms'. Yet, when we look at how the contemporary diversity of multilingual classrooms featured in the implementation and the parallel research project, two points must be noted which are arguably subject to this critique: (i) a selection to concentrate only on Turkish as a home language and (ii) a reliance on existing test materials for the two languages involved. Both were pragmatic choices made in response to a set of practical considerations of time, scope and manageability. As a consequence, linguistically heterogeneous classroom populations were only selectively included in the quantitative part of the research project and in the implementation of the 'B'-goals of the pedagogical intervention.

A continued concern therefore remains: did we actually test 'multilingual proficiencies'? For instance, the reading comprehension tests that we used do not tell us anything about the test takers' capacity to switch or move between named languages. The test situations did not come with a potential for pupils to translanguage while taking the test. We tested reading comprehension in Turkish and Dutch, and we did so separately following the logic and practice of large-scale standardized testing. The larger realization is that we still appear to be quite a few steps removed from adequately conceptualizing an assessment of multilingual proficiency. As the 'two solitudes' assumption is more strongly present in the world of testing than it is in the interactional arenas of classrooms, the quantitative part of our research continued to be largely informed by a similar, possibly questionable, baseline, viz., that multilingual proficiency can be captured adequately by conducting tests in two languages, on separate occasions and with separate instruments for each language. As a result, language-specific proficiency is tested rather than multilingual competence. While sociolinguistic regimes, as the

HLE project testifies, are perhaps more open and amenable to change-inducing interventions than is often assumed, it is also true that existing sociolinguistic regimes may well be reproduced in the shaping of sociolinguistic research. Moreover, some of this reproduction may come ‘sneaking in through the backdoor’, for instance, as a result of practical constraints and a reliance on existing instruments. Somewhat paradoxically, while the HLE intervention sought to change teachers’ perceptions in relation to multilingualism, the use of monolingual tests steered things in the opposite direction when it came to assessing their impact. A more global methodological approach which invites attention to all aspects of project management is being invited, and this must come with more detailed scrutiny and careful consideration of the choices that are being made ‘en route’.

Some Reflections on Intervention Research

A fourth and final set of notes concerns the implications of a situation in which a pedagogical implementation is accompanied by a scientific project running parallel to it. The HLE project is an instance of ‘action research’ (Reason and Bradbury 2001), and this also comes with a set of ethical considerations: ethics vis-à-vis the world of science versus ethics vis-à-vis the world out there. This is a field of tension between ‘scientific integrity’ and ‘social accountability’. While the adequacy of observations is premised on refraining from any interventions which shape the conditions of what is being researched, moral citizenship comes with a duty not to deny expertise in situations where they can make a real difference. In the HLE context, the teams struck a middle course, and we would like to think that we did not compromise ourselves. As for the two research officers, we insisted on a strict separation between the research project and the pedagogical implementation, but as principal investigators, we nevertheless positioned ourselves as ‘open’ to consultation requests relevant to the implementation. For the two researcher officers, the remit of their activities excluded any involvement in the pedagogical intervention. The principal investigators, on the other hand, were frequently consulted for their pedagogical expertise. Crossing the boundaries

between implementation and research project is in the run of a four-year project at times inevitable (e.g., the PI's held presentations for an audience of school advisors which was also attended by HLiE stakeholders; general advice was given to the Director of the Local Education Department on the sociolinguistic management of a pedagogical intervention). The question which must be raised remains a difficult one to answer: what are justifiable forms of boundary crossing? Any answer must also recognize—in line with current work in education—the potential and strengths of close partnerships between practitioners and researchers (Coburn et al. 2013).

Conclusion

Politicians, education experts and other stakeholders may be disappointed about the lack of 'hard' evidence pointing at a positive effect of home language use or parallel literacy instruction in the home language on the pupils' reading skills in Dutch. Is 'disappointment' in order here? There is a tendency with researchers and recipients to be disappointed when research fails to register direct and significant effects. However, the absence of effects can be important, too. In schools, the widespread assumption is that the use of multilingual resources negatively impacts on the acquisition of the dominant language or the language of instruction. Hence, the fact that both factors do not impact negatively is in this case highly significant: active multilingualism in schools does not occur at the expense of cognitive and linguistic advancement in the dominant language. The other question one must address is whether significant positive effects could have been noted in such a short period of time. In today's world, intervention-driven research must quickly come up with significant positive effects. If it doesn't, the intervention is quickly dismissed as ineffectual. In the context of intervention-led research programmes such as the HLiE project, how much of the four-year period of its run is effectively spent on the intervention itself? Was it realistic to expect demonstrable positive effects over such a period of time, especially as we know that processes of language learning are longitudinal processes with considerable individual variation and often characterized

by an irregular trajectory of achievements (Levin et al. 2003; Verheyden et al. 2012). Often we note the effects at the level of individual learners only many years later. We also need to consider the role of intervening variables such as well-being, commitment, self-confidence and how these contribute to school success, as well as teacher dispositions. In the case of the HLiE project, the quantitative findings showed a growth in self-confidence among the learners. The qualitative findings point to enhanced well-being, an increase in commitment and the development of more interactive learning environments. Moreover, the qualitative findings in which the teachers' evolving responses to the pedagogical intervention were mapped are more explicitly positive and hint at an experience which radically changed their perceptions of multilingual pupils and their functioning in a school environment, including a new way of looking at the difficulties and challenges which pupils and teachers experience. The implication is that it may be worth investing more in the registration of the processes of change that need to be situated somewhere in between intervention and measured effects.

The HLiE experience has also raised fundamental issues about project planning and management in a context of policy development. One central question remains: how to develop leverage in the context of a national framework for the provision and development of multilingual approaches which—paradoxically—need to be developed in a more local and context-sensitive way. More than language planning, today's multilingual and multicultural context calls for language policy management which is process-oriented, involves cycles of analysis, intervention and assessment, and attends both to macro dimensions of national and institutional policy and to micro dimensions of local agency (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987; see also Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012: 33ff.). In the HLiE project, processual insights were very much at the forefront, because in each of the four participating schools, the implementation of the intervention had followed its own trajectory, with considerable variation in the extent to which the HLiE project's goals had been explicitly adopted and embraced by the school. Further work is needed on how to translate awareness of the context-specificity of processes and their outcomes into a practical contribution to national policy making.

Notes

1. Some historical context is necessary here. Originally, the immersion model presented itself as a fast-track model for foreign language learning, which was at no point assumed to threaten functioning in a learner's first language (cf. early immersion programmes for military personnel in the USA in the 1950s). In the present Flemish context, the idea of immersion for purposes of learning has been caught up in a rhetoric of fast-track integration through the use of the local, national language. As a result, immersion as a model of language learning became ideologically 'cloaked' and its many possible variants were lost sight of, for example, selective immersion (only some subjects), two-way immersion with mixed populations of L1 and L2 users of the two languages involved and so on. Immersion became a matter of 'politics' rather than of 'pedagogy'.
2. In passing, it must be added that we did not interview the children. Given the ages involved, it wasn't easy to do this, but (admittedly) it is a gap in the research design.

References

- Blommaert, J., & Van Avermaet, P. (2008). *Taal, onderwijs en samenleving. De kloof tussen beleid en realiteit*. Berchem: EPO.
- Bultynck, K., Sierens, S., Slembrouck, S., Van Avermaet, P., & Verhelst, M. (2008). *Vooronderzoek m.b.t. de plaats van de thuistalen van de allochtone kinderen binnen onderwijs en opvang in vier scholen van het project 'Thuistaal in onderwijs'*. Gent: Steunpunt Diversiteit & Leren.
- Butler, Y. G., & Hakuta, K. (2004). Bilingualism and second language acquisition. In T. K. Bhatia & W. C. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism* (pp. 114–144). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Coburn, C. E., Penuel, W. R., & Geil, K. E. (2013). *Research-practice partnerships: A strategy for leveraging research for educational improvement in school districts*. New York: William T. Grant Foundation.
- Creese, A. (2010). Two-teacher classrooms, personalized learning and the inclusion paradigm in the United Kingdom: What's in it for learners of EAL? In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policy makers* (pp. 32–51). New York: Routledge.

- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103–115.
- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49, 222–251.
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2008). Teaching for transfer: Challenging the two solitudes assumption in bilingual education. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and education. Volume 5, Bilingual Education* (2nd ed., pp. 65–75). New York: Springer.
- Cummins, J. (2011). *Putting the evidence back into evidence-based policies for underachieving students*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Cummins, J. (2013). Language and identity in multilingual schools: Constructing evidence based instructional policies. In D. Little, C. Leung, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Managing diversity in education: Languages, policies, pedagogies* (pp. 3–26). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. (2018, this volume). Urban multilingualism and educational achievement: Identifying and implementing evidence-based strategies for school improvement. In P. Van Avermaet, S. Slembrouck, K. Van Gorp, S. Sierens, & K. Maryns (Eds.), *The multilingual edge of education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Extra, G., & Spotti, M. (2009). Testing regimes for newcomers to the Netherlands. In G. Extra, M. Spotti, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Language testing, migration and citizenship: Cross-national perspectives on integration regimes* (pp. 125–147). London: Continuum.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Gielen, S., & Işçi, A. (2015). *Meertaligheid: een troef? Inspirerend werken met meertalige kinderen op school en in de buitenschoolse opvang*. Sint-Niklaas: Abimo.
- Gkaintartzi, A., Kiliari, A., & Tsokolidou, R. (2015). “Invisible” bilingualism – “invisible” language ideologies: Greek teachers’ attitudes towards immigrant pupils’ heritage languages. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(1), 60–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2013.877418>.
- Hamers, J. F., & Blanc, M. H. A. (2000). *Bilinguality and bilingualism* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hattie, J. A. C. (2009). *Visible learning: A synthesis of over 800 meta-analyses relating to achievement*. London/New York: Routledge.

- Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. London: Longman.
- Jernudd, B. H., & Nekvapil, J. (2012). History of the field: A sketch. In B. Spolsky (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of language policy* (pp. 16–36). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jernudd, B. H., & Neustupný, J. V. (1987). Language planning for whom? In L. Laforge (Ed.), *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Language Planning* (pp. 69–84). Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Kroskrity, P. V. (Ed.). (2000). *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics and identities*. Santa Fe/New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Leseman, P. P. M. (2000). Bilingual vocabulary development of Turkish preschoolers in the Netherlands. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 21(2), 93–112.
- Levin, T., Shohamy, E., & Spolsky B. (2003) *Academic achievement of immigrant children in Israel*. Report submitted to the Ministry of Education.
- Ministerie van Onderwijs en Vorming. (2014). *Peiling Nederlands. Lezen en luisteren in het basisonderwijs*. Brussel: Agentschap voor Kwaliteitszorg in Onderwijs & Vorming.
- Pavlenko, A. (2002). We have room for but one language here: Language and national identity in the US at the turn of the 20th century. *Multilingua*, 21(2–3), 163–196.
- Pulinx, R., Agirdag, O., & Van Avermaet, P. (2014). 'Taal en onderwijs: Percepties en praktijken in de klas' [Language and education: Perceptions and practices in the classroom]. In N. Clycq, C. Timmerman, P. Van Avermaet, J. Wets, & P. Hermans (Eds.), *Oprit 14: Naar een schooltraject zonder snelheidsbeperkingen*. Ghent: Academia Press.
- Ramaut, G., Sierens, S., Bultynck, K., Van Avermaet, P., Van Gorp, K., Slembrouck, S., & Verhelst, M. (2013). *Evaluatieonderzoek van het project 'Thuistaal in onderwijs' (2009–2012): Eindrapport maart 2013 [Evaluation study into the 'Home Language in Education' project (2009–2012): Final report March 2013]*. Ghent/Leuven: Ghent University and University of Leuven. <http://www.diversiteitleren.be/nl/onderzoek> and http://www.cteno.be/?idMenu=119&id_project=90
- Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Longman.
- Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (2001). *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice*. London: Sage.
- Rosenthal, R., & Jacobson, L. (1968). *Pygmalion in the classroom: Teacher expectation and pupils' intellectual development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

- Rosiers, K., Willaert, E., Van Avermaet, P., & Slembrouck, S. (2015). Interaction for transfer: Flexible approaches to multilingualism and their pedagogical implications for classroom interaction in linguistically diverse mainstream classroom. *Language and Education, 30*(3), 267–280.
- Saxena, M. (2010). Reconceptualising teachers' directive and supportive scaffolding in bilingual classrooms within the neo-Vygotskian approach. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice, 7*(2), 169–190.
- Scheele, A. F., Leseman, P. P. M., & Mayo, A. Y. (2010). The home language environment of monolingual and bilingual children and their language proficiency. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 31*(1), 117–140.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Sierens, S., & Van Avermaet, P. (2014). Language diversity in education: Evolving from multilingual education to functional multilingual learning. In D. Little, C. Leung, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Managing diversity in education: Languages, policies, pedagogies* (pp. 204–222). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Slembrouck, S. (forthcoming). The dynamics of “scale”: A workable perspective on policies and practices of language support in an era of globalisation? In G. Caliendo, R. Janssens, S. Slembrouck, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Urban multilingualism in the European Union: Bridging the gap between language policies and language practices*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Slembrouck, S., & Rosiers, K. (2018, this volume). Translanguaging: A matter of sociolinguistics, pedagogics and interaction? In P. Van Avermaet, S. Slembrouck, K. Van Gorp, S. Sierens, & K. Maryns (Eds.), *The multilingual edge of education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swain, M., & Lapkin, S. (2013). A Vygotskian sociocultural perspective on immersion education: The L1/L2 debate. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education, 1*(1), 101–129.
- The Douglas Fir Group. (2016). A transdisciplinary framework for SLA in a multilingual world. *The Modern Language Journal, 100*(1), 19–47.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services; Administration for Children and Families. (2010). *Head start impact study. Final report. Executive summary*. Washington, DC.
- Van Avermaet, P. (2009). Fortress Europe? Language policy regimes for immigration and citizenship. In G. Hogan-Brun, C. Mar-Molinero, & P. Stevenson (Eds.), *Discourses on language and integration: Critical perspectives on language testing regimes in Europe* (pp. 15–44). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Van Avermaet, P., Slembrouck, S., & Simon-Vandenbergen, A.-M. (2015). *Talige diversiteit in het Vlaamse onderwijs: Problematiek en oplossingen*. Standpunten, 30. Brussel: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten.
- Van de gaer, E., Verhaeghe, J. P., Reynders, T., & Van Damme, J. (2006). *Longitudinaal onderzoek in het basisonderwijs. GOK-leerlingen in het eerste leerjaar: achterstand en evolutie voor het leergebied technisch lezen* (LOA-rapport nr. 43). Leuven: Steunpunt 'Loopbanen doorheen Onderwijs naar Arbeidsmarkt', Cel 'Schoolloopbanen in het basisonderwijs' (SiBO).
- Van Laere, E., Rosiers, K., Van Avermaet, P., Slembrouck, S., & Van Braak, J. (2016). What can technology offer to linguistically diverse classrooms? Using multilingual content in a computer-based learning environment for primary education. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 38(2), 97–112. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01434632.2016.1171871>.
- van Lier, L. (1996). *Interaction in the language curriculum: Awareness, autonomy and authenticity*. London: Longman.
- Verhallen, M., & Schoonen, R. (1998). Lexical knowledge in L1 and L2 of third and fifth graders. *Applied Linguistics*, 19(4), 452–470.
- Verheyden, L., Van den Branden, K., Rijlaarsdam, G., van den Bergh, H., & De Maeijer, S. (2012). Translation skills and trade-off in young L2 learners' written narrations. In M. Fayol, D. Alamargot, & V. W. Berninger (Eds.), *Translation of thought to written text while composing: Advancing theory, knowledge, research methods, tools, and applications* (pp. 181–210). New York: Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Woolard, K. A. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. A. Woolard, & P. V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory* (pp. 3–47). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yildiz, Y. (2012). *Beyond the mother tongue: The postmonolingual condition*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Disrupting Linguistic Inequalities in US Urban Classrooms: The Role of Translanguaging

Ofelia García, Kate Seltzer, and Daria Witt

Introduction: Context

The population of the United States has always been superdiverse, the result of its imperial designs and policies of ‘Manifest Destiny’ which required the enslavement of Africans, the submission of Native American communities and of the Mexican population of the southwest, and the attraction of white European immigrants to come to its shores, populate the growing territory, and work the land and its industries. But historically, the linguistic diversity of the United States has been mostly hidden from public view. Although the diverse sounds of African, Native

O. García (✉)

The Graduate Center, City University of New York, New York, NY, USA

K. Seltzer

CUNY-New York State Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals Project, The Graduate Center, City University of New York, New York, NY, USA

D. Witt

Internationals Network for Public Schools, New York, NY, USA

© The Author(s) 2018

P. Van Avermaet et al. (eds.), *The Multilingual Edge of Education*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54856-6_3

American, Spanish, and immigrant languages have been present in plantations, different territories, and especially urban centers for a long time, these languages rarely exist in the social imaginary of the United States. With very few exceptions (e.g., the late-eighteenth-century up to the mid-nineteenth-century bilingual schools in English and German in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and the use of Spanish in schools in the southwest territories in the nineteenth century), languages other than English have been excluded from schools. At times, this exclusion has been carried out with legislation that has prohibited the use of languages other than English in education. But at least since 1923, when the US Supreme Court struck down state language-restrictive laws in 34 states and declared that understanding English ‘cannot be coerced with methods which conflict with the Constitution’ (as cited in Del Valle 2003, p. 37), more tolerant language education policies have been in effect (for more on the history of language education policies in the United States, see Wiley 2005; see also chapter 8 in García 2009).

The more tolerant language education policies of the twentieth century focused on the linguistic assimilation of all immigrants through English-only schools while paying little attention to the linguistic diversity of the children. Minoritized communities’ language practices were simply ignored until the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s created an impetus for these communities to claim a voice in society, one that could be expressed only with diverse language practices. Federal support for bilingual education came in 1968, when the Bilingual Education Act was passed. But spaces to educate using the diverse language practices of language-minoritized populations started to shut down as the United States became enthralled in the globalization of political and economic practices that accompanied the neoliberalism of the turn of the century. In supporting strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (see Harvey 2005), neoliberalism has left some spaces to educate for bilingualism, but only in the form of a ‘model’ called ‘dual language’ that does not name bilingualism, that always insists on separating English from the ‘language other than English’ (LOTE) and prefers to have half of the student population be speakers of English and half be ‘English language learners.’

We argue here for an alternative education practice that privileges language diversity and brings back the voices of communities and children,

whatever those may be, in an attempt to ‘do bilingualism from the bottom-up’ (García and Sylvan 2011). In so doing, this practice, which we here call *translanguaging* (see Creese and Blackledge 2010; García and Li Wei 2014; Hornberger and Link 2012; Lewis et al. 2012a, b; Li Wei 2011; Otheguy et al. 2015), opens up spaces for diverse voices and content to be heard, advances social justice, and disrupts the privileging of English over other language practices. By translanguaging practices, we mean here the use of the learner’s full language repertoire in teaching and learning.

Translanguaging rests on the theoretical position that a bilingual speaker does not simply have two separate languages, since the concept of language does not have linguistic reality, although it exists in the world (and especially in schools) as a social and political reality. Instead, translanguaging poses that bilingual speakers have a language repertoire from which they select features to construct a discourse that fits the demands of the social reality, for example, the accepted languaging practice in schools (see García 2009; García and Li Wei 2014; Li Wei 2011; Otheguy et al. 2015). Thus, students are not simply ‘learners’ of a whole ‘second language’ but ‘emergent bilinguals’ who dynamically incorporate new features to their single linguistic system (for more on the use of ‘emergent bilingual,’ see García and Kleifgen 2010). As a pedagogical practice, translanguaging has the potential to open up multilingual and multidialectal spaces where the diverse voices of children are leveraged to learn, both within what are considered ‘monolingual’ classrooms and in spaces that are considered ‘bilingual,’ including those presently viewed in the United States as ‘dual language’ classrooms (see especially Palmer et al. 2014; and also Sayer 2013). Translanguaging is not a substitute for bilingual education but a disruption of the privileging of two standard languages at the expense of not leveraging the diverse language practices of children and communities to teach and learn.

This chapter focuses on two case studies of superdiverse classrooms with immigrant students who are considered emergent bilinguals. We first describe what happens in the two classrooms—one a primary classroom where students are mostly Karen speakers (a Sino-Tibetan language from Burma/Myanmar), the other, a secondary classroom that has a large number of recently arrived immigrant students from diverse countries.

That is, we focus here on two cases that are prevalent throughout the world and where bilingual education, as implemented in most contexts (see García 2009), may not be a possibility. Education in Karen has not been prevalent in the students' rural communities of Burma or in the refugee camps of Thailand; therefore, bilingual education for the Karen speakers in the US primary school is not feasible. The fact that students in the secondary classroom have so many diverse language practices does not make bilingual education viable. Translanguaging offers the opportunity in these 'English language' classrooms to use and leverage students' diverse language practices and to release their voices and engage them in learning rigorous content, that is, translanguaging opens up multilingual spaces within these supposedly monolingual classrooms. Each case study starts out by describing the school, for unless the school's leadership supports a multicultural and multilingual ecology, it would be difficult for a teacher to enact a translanguaging pedagogy. We then describe how and why the teacher leverages translanguaging in teaching, and its meaning for children as they learn. The case studies are then used to further reflect on theoretical and practical aspects of translanguaging classrooms (for more on this, see García et al. 2017).

Translanguaging in a Primary School

The School

Public School (PS) 45 International School is an elementary school in Buffalo, New York, whose diverse student body represents over 70 countries and 30 languages. Because of the heterogeneous make-up of the population, there is no official bilingual program. For those students classified as 'English language learners,' there are classrooms where students are taught in English through a 'structured or sheltered English approach.' Some students receive specialized support in English as a New Language in 'pull out' classes or supported by English as a Second Language (ESL) specialists in 'push in' mainstream classrooms. Although PS 45 officially provides instruction in English only, it makes great efforts to represent students' languages and cultures through the multicultural and multilingual ecology

of the building. All hallways are lined with student work, including a project done at the beginning of each year called 'All about me.' Completed by students in every grade, the project features a photo of each child as well as his or her country of origin, languages spoken, and personal information such as hobbies or favorite foods. There are also maps of the world illustrating students' countries of origin. In addition, major 'landmarks' in the school, such as the library, main office, and cafeteria, are labeled in English and the four most spoken languages at the school—Arabic, Burmese, Karen, and Somali.

Many of the students at PS 45 are refugees or children of refugees from the Karen state in Burma, and thus teachers and school staff are dealing with a range of issues from post-traumatic stress disorder to culture shock to extreme shyness and fear. To best address these and other issues, the school has partnered with local refugee organizations such as Journey's End (<http://www.jersbuffalo.org/>) to provide support and resources to students and their families. As a result of this collaboration, the school has been able to hire Karen-speaking teacher-assistants, referred to as 'academic coaches,' who work with teachers in classrooms.

PS 45 also has a spacious, inviting multilingual library, where teachers bring their students to pick out books and read with the librarian. The school has created a Karen Language Resource Room within the library, which holds books, cultural materials, and audio/video resources in Karen and about Karen culture.

The Teacher and the Classroom

Nicole Nichter, a third-grade ESL teacher at PS 45, came to teaching through her work with the refugee community in Buffalo. Her time spent as a volunteer with Journey's End was where, she says, 'I dug my heels in and grew some roots in the refugee community.' These roots led to her being hired as a teacher of ESL at PS 45, which served many of the children of the families with whom she worked. Her personal stake in the refugee community has made her a devoted teacher who works hard to foster strong personal relationships. She visits students and their families at their homes and invites them to her home. She constantly attends

cultural and social events around the city, immersing herself in the daily realities of her Karen students. To work even closer with these students, Nicole convinced the school leaders at PS 45 to create a homogeneous ESL class of emergent bilingual Karen speakers. Nicole knew that having a group of students who came from similar backgrounds and spoke the same language would allow her to engage in a pedagogy that would help students achieve proficiency in English without moving away from their Karen language and culture.

Nicole's pull-out ESL group contains ten students, all of whom are from the Karen ethnic group in Burma and speak Karen (for more on this Sino-Tibetan language, see Funk 2012). All students but one come originally from the Karen state, with one coming from the Karenni State and speaking also Karenni. In addition, many students also have varying levels of proficiency in Thai and Burmese because many were displaced to camps along the border with Thailand before they arrived in the United States. Nicole's ESL classroom is neatly organized, colorful, and inviting. There are teacher-made materials on the walls containing words and phrases in both English and Karen, and a Karen flag hanging in the front of the room. In this classroom, both teacher and students are engaged in a translanguaging pedagogy that challenges traditional teacher-student roles, leads to higher engagement and excitement about learning, and fosters the multilingual and multicultural identities of the students.

A Lesson

When PS 45 received a grant that enabled them to buy Karen-language resources, Nicole jumped at the chance to utilize Karen more formally in her classroom. Nicole came across Karen-language versions of *Aesop's Fables*. To get a sense of her students' literacy in Karen, she pulled several students from her ESL classroom aside and asked them to read excerpts from the fables. Not one student was able to read Karen, which did not surprise Nicole, as only about half of the students' parents are literate in the language and they have not received any instruction in Karen in the school. With all this in mind, Nicole decided that she would craft lessons

that leveraged students' ability to speak and understand Karen, rather than read and write it. She knew that starting with the oral language would help students engage with the fables and serve as a jumping-off point for developing their reading and writing in both English and Karen.

After getting translations of the titles of the fables in the Karen books, Nicole asked the librarian, Mrs. Keegan, to look for copies of *Aesop's Fables* in English. Together, they compared the titles of the Karen fables with the English fables and found five or six stories that lined up. With the help of a Karen-speaking academic coach, Nicole and Mrs. Keegan picked out key vocabulary words in English and Karen. They wrote out the words on small pieces of paper and taped the Karen into the English books and the English into the Karen books. Nicole also posted key words in both languages for each of the fables on a bulletin board in the classroom.

Because Nicole does not speak, read, or understand Karen, she asked several bilingual/biliterate members of the Karen community and their families over to her house for dinner. After cooking up a meal and setting their children up to play board games while they worked, Nicole explained to the adults what she had in mind. She wanted the adults to read the Karen fables, and she would use her iPhone and the app iMovie to record them. Then she would play the videos on her SMART Board for her students to listen to, in addition to hearing the same fable in English. The adults were eager to help and read the fables as Nicole recorded them. By the end of the process, Nicole had videos of members of the community—some of whom were family or family friends of her students—reading six different fables in Karen.

Once Nicole had the two versions of the fables—the Karen and the English versions—she went about planning how students would engage with the fables as they listened to them. Thus, before they read a fable, Nicole introduced a specific literacy skill to her students, such as compare/contrast, sequencing, or cause and effect. After being introduced to the literacy or language practice, Nicole took her students to the library where Mrs. Keegan read students a fable in English. As she read, she stopped at the key vocabulary words. Over the words she had written the phonetic transcription of the Karen words in Roman script. She then asked students to say the words in both English and Karen. Nicole and Mrs. Keegan framed this as an opportunity for students to teach *them* new words. In

addition to discussing key vocabulary, Mrs. Keegan paused throughout the reading to ask students to ‘turn and talk’ to one another in Karen about what they were hearing in English. After finishing the fable in English, Nicole brought the students back to her classroom where she gave them copies of the fable in Karen before playing the video of the fable being read. She explained to students that she would play the video twice and that the first time they should ‘just close their eyes and listen,’ and the second time they should follow along with the Karen text and look for the key words that they heard. Though students could not read the text, Nicole encouraged them to start making connections between what they heard and what they saw on the page. She also brought in the Karen-speaking academic coach to help students locate key words as they listened.

After hearing the fables in both English and Karen, students engaged in activities that encouraged them to draw from both versions of the story to make meaning. For example, after reading ‘The Tortoise and the Hare,’ students were asked to locate causes and effects within the story. First, Nicole reviewed causes and effects with the whole class in English. Next, she asked students to turn and talk to one another in Karen about causes and effects within the fable. Once they had shared their ideas with their peers, the students shared out what they had discussed in Karen and the academic coach would write out their ideas in Karen on the board. Students then copied the written Karen as they recorded moments of cause and effect on a handout. Thus, even though they could not read or write Karen themselves, students were able to see the ideas they shared orally written out in Karen. The end product of the lesson was a multi-modal, bilingual explanation of the causes and effects within the story, represented in both English and Karen and illustrated with students’ drawings of moments from the story.

The Meaning of Translanguaging for Students and Teacher

The use of translanguaging in Nicole’s lessons around *Aesop’s Fables* had a visible effect on students. Nicole explains, ‘The most noticeable [differences] were motivation and engagement ... total, 100% attention.’

According to Nicole, lessons given solely in English often ‘go over [students’] heads. They float by, they’re in outer space. They’re not really listening.’ In contrast, when students listened to the fables in English and Karen, they were more motivated to learn and listen because Nicole and Mrs. Keegan created a shared learning experience. The teachers’ use of Karen vocabulary in the context of an English literacy practice changed their role from passive listeners to active teachers and experts. When students were held responsible for teaching their teachers new words in their own language, they excitedly rose to the challenge. According to Nicole, these moments of role reversal were incredibly meaningful and established a ‘good bond’ between the students and their teachers. Nicole says, ‘When I incorporate translanguaging in this way, I notice how happy students are...they want to understand [the text] because they’re proud [of their language].’ It is this pride in being experts that leads to motivation and empowerment, which in turn leads to deeper engagement with and comprehension of the text.

When asked about what translanguaging meant for her as a teacher, Nicole said:

Translanguaging is a way to showcase how special [my students] are and what I feel as a person, not just as a teacher. It has given me the support that I need to do what I want to do with these kids. Before it was like, ‘*shh*, hush it under the rug, use English only, use the English version’...[translanguaging] is a defense, a support, for me to showcase who they are, make them feel special, and give me a chance to learn about them.

What Nicole expresses is what many teachers intuitively feel—that translanguaging is the natural and obvious, in fact the *only*, way to teach emergent bilingual students. Translanguaging enabled Nicole to develop strong, authentic relationships with her students and helped her align her social justice-oriented, humanitarian philosophy to her pedagogy. Through translanguaging, Nicole was able to be the kind of teacher she always knew she was—one that was devoted to connecting her students’ histories and lives to academic success in their new country. For Nicole, translanguaging is much more than a set of strategies that help her teach English more effectively. It is a way for her students and for her to be their

authentic selves. Translanguaging allows teaching to be, in Nicole's words, '...a heartfelt thing. It's something inside of you that makes you want to know more about [the students] and make them shine. It's something that you love.'

Translanguaging in a Secondary School

International High School at La Guardia Community College

International High School at La Guardia Community College (IHS @ LAGCC) is located in Long Island City, a neighborhood in Queens, New York. There are approximately 500 students, who hail from 60 different countries of origin and speak 52 languages. Founded in 1985, IHS @ LAGCC is the first of the International High Schools, a network of now 18 small, public district high schools in New York, California, and Virginia that serve recent immigrant emergent bilingual students. All of the schools are designed according to five 'core principles,' known as the Internationals Approach (for more on these types of schools, see García and Sylvan 2011). These are:

- Heterogeneity and collaboration
- Experiential learning
- Language and content integration
- Localized autonomy and responsibility
- One learning model for all

These principles are visible at IHS @ LAGCC in many ways, examples of which are:

- Students are not tracked in any way—they are heterogeneously grouped by language proficiency and academic preparation. At IHS @ LAGCC, 9th and 10th graders are grouped together in the same classes (junior institute) as are 11th and 12th graders (senior institute).

- All classes are predominantly organized into small collaborative groups of approximately four students each. The classrooms are set up to facilitate collaboration: students sit at hexagonal tables around which four to five chairs are placed. The teachers actively circulate listening to the conversations, answering questions, and probing students to go a little deeper when necessary. Most of the time these groups are heterogeneous in terms of academic preparation, home language, English proficiency level, but teachers also vary groupings to suit the needs of the project or activity in which students are engaged. At times students are grouped with others who share their home language or who all need to work toward a particular objective that they have not yet mastered while others are able to move on.
- Teachers are organized into teams of five to six teachers who are all responsible for the same group of 90 to 100 students for the two years that the students are in either the junior or senior institutes. Teachers are given time in their schedules to meet on their interdisciplinary teams every week to plan curriculum, conduct case management of students, plan trips, or engage in other collaborative activities.
- The curriculum is structured around project-based units through which students work collaboratively on solving a problem, conducting research, creating a model or other tasks in which they are authentically engaged with the content, and thinking skills of the various disciplines they are learning. Teachers often plan interdisciplinary units so that students are looking at the same topic (or aspects of the same topic) through multiple disciplinary lenses at the same time.
- All teachers are considered to be both teachers of language and teachers of content. There are no stand-alone ESL classes; instead, language development strategies and structures are infused throughout all of the content areas.
- At IHS @ LAGCC, students do not have a formal 'Native Language Arts' class because there are so many languages. Nevertheless, the use of students' home languages is strongly encouraged and classrooms are structured so that translanguaging inevitably occurs in all classes throughout the day. Students are encouraged to negotiate the material in whatever language they wish. Often texts at students' tables are in multiple languages or students are working on a text that is in English

with questions in English, but students are discussing their responses to the questions in their home language before responding in English. During class discussions, students translate for one another. Students are also required to submit a 'Native Language Arts' project as part of their graduation portfolio.

The Teacher, the Classroom, and a Project

Amy Burrous is an 11th- and 12th-grade Humanities teacher who has been teaching at IHS @ LAGCC since 2001. Amy has lived in New York City since 1997. Amy did not originally seek out to work with recent immigrant emergent bilingual students but accidentally discovered her passion for doing so. During her teacher preparation program, she was encouraged by a former mentor to do her practice teaching at IHS @ LAGCC because of her interest in alternative and urban education. For Amy, being immersed in this intercultural and multilingual population is the best part of teaching and living in New York City. She loves the excitement with which her students approach learning in a new language.

Amy's classroom is organized in a way to facilitate student conversation and collaboration, making it a natural setting for translanguaging to happen as well. The classroom is composed of 25 students who speak approximately 15 different languages. Her students are all in the 11th and 12th grades and have been in the country anywhere from one to six years. At student tables, there are a variety of resources (activity guides that include visuals and graphic organizers, texts in multiple languages, home language dictionaries, and electronic translators). On the walls are a variety of sentence starters that facilitate group discussion and clarification that students are encouraged to translate into their home languages as well.

IHS @ LAGCC has had a 'Native Language Project' as part of students' Graduation Portfolios for approximately 20 years. Although students are encouraged to write often in their home language throughout their time at IHS @ LAGCC, the Native Language Project provides a formal opportunity to do so. Part of the Native Language Project is writing a reflection that includes a linguistic analysis as well as students'

responses to questions on their use of the home language and its value. The faculty of IHS @ LAGCC wants to send students a clear message that they value bilingualism and multiculturalism and that the school community is enriched by the presence of so many different languages and cultures. Amy talked about the gift that students at IHS @ LAGCC have in being able to leave the school identifying so many different languages just by hearing them or seeing them written, and in being so open to other ways of thinking, talking, and acting. This flexibility of language and thought that students learn during their years at this school, according to Amy, opens the students up to many valuable opportunities.

A 'Native Language Project' on Taboos

Amy designed a Native Language Project around the concept of taboo in order to get students to develop a deeper understanding of, and tolerance for, other cultures and beliefs systems, as well as understandings of their home languages. Researching this topic also lent itself well to having students involve their families and communities with natural opportunities for using their home languages in a purposeful and authentic way. The project centers on having each student research, write about, and present a custom or practice that is taboo in his/her own culture or in other cultures. Students do so not simply in English or in home languages, but by using the different language practices in interrelationship with each other to make themselves understood as well as to understand themselves.

To begin the project, Amy had students sit with others from the same home country or region of the world to brainstorm any practices and customs they knew to be different in their home country and the United States in the areas of marriage, food, death, and birth. Students discussed freely using their home languages and English. Because students knew they would need to share the major points of their discussions with the rest of the class, they also worked together on translating into English their thoughts. Each group created a written poster in English and home language with some key examples of different customs and hung their posters around the room. All students then participated in a 'silent conversation,' walking around the room writing down comments and questions on post-it notes that they

stuck on the posters. Later, all groups looked at the comments and questions their classmates asked and chose a few to which to respond.

Amy then put up the word ‘taboo’ on a piece of chart paper and asked students to look up a translation of the word in their home languages. She then asked for various students to offer a definition of taboo in their own words in English. She wrote down the first definition given and asked other students how they would change the definition to be more precise. Once they arrived at a class definition, Amy had her students compare it to an official definition of the word in a dictionary to see if they had left anything out. She then posted the students’ final definition on the chart paper. Each home language group then wrote the translation of the word ‘taboo’ along with a definition in their home language on a colorful card and posted the card around the poster so that each student’s home language was represented.

Amy then asked for students to brainstorm the words, ideas, images, and examples they associate with the word ‘taboo’ in their home language groups. She then called on different students to share what they discussed with the whole class in English.

Amy created a word web at the front of the room with the word ‘taboo’ in the middle. As each group shared its contributions, Amy noted the various associations around the word taboo. Amy then asked the groups to go back to the original posters they created about differing customs in their home country/region and in the United States and to put a star next to any examples they had written about that were either taboo in the United States and not in their home country or vice versa. Once again, students were encouraged to discuss in any language.

Armed with basic information about taboos, over the next few days, Amy showed students various episodes from a National Geographic television series on taboos. Each episode focuses on a different topic (marriage, death, drugs, food, etc.). Each episode begins by showing the audience the map that highlights the part of the world where a particular taboo exists. The episodes also contain interviews with people from around the world about their customs, many of which are in languages other than English.

After viewing each of the episodes, students were grouped according to home language and country/region to discuss focusing questions that

they had been given. Amy then led a large group discussion in English in which members of each group shared the highlights from their small group discussions. Amy described the ‘generative’ power of having students discuss the taboos in their home languages with others from their home country or region. The discussions were animated, and students showed a deep understanding of, and interest in, the topic. Having seen multiple examples of descriptions of taboos from around the world, and having brainstormed with others from their home country or region, students were then prepared to choose the taboo on which they wanted to conduct individual research.

The actual research assignment contained several requirements that organically integrated the use of translanguaging. The first was that students conduct two interviews in their home language with family members or adults from the community. The assignment also called for the use of at least two home language sources, either videos or written texts. Students who didn’t know how to read in their home language (or whose language was not written) had to rely on non-written texts. Some students used only videos and interviews, whereas others were able to incorporate newspaper articles, online texts, or textbooks.

One of Amy’s goals in this project was to have students integrate their home language into their English writing or formal oral presentations. Students were required to incorporate quotes from their interviews or videos in languages other than English, whenever possible. Amy provided students with examples of how professional writers and orators incorporate other languages into their multilingual productions.

The final product for this project on taboo was written essays that contained some paragraphs written in English, some in home language, and some in which language features from both languages were present, for example, those that quoted from the interviews. Amy required that the parts written in the LOTE be checked and signed by someone who knew how to read and write that language or who could write the words phonetically in case of languages that were not written.

Amy was pleased with the final products written by her students. She found the writing authentic and interesting with strong evidence of rigor and thought. Amy had each student make a formal presentation of his or her research. Some examples were:

- A Chinese student who was new to English wrote about the taboo of eating dog. Because of his limited English, he was not able to do much writing in English, but wrote in Mandarin and found pictures to share in order to describe different dishes that include dog meat as an ingredient. He also included a reflection that showed an understanding of why the practice of eating dog is taboo in other places.
- A student from Peru wrote about the practice of eating Guinea Pig, which dates from the time of the Incas. According to Amy, students were initially somewhat ashamed of this practice, as it was associated with ‘country bumpkinness.’ The class had a conversation about how people in different countries eat different types of food that seem strange or distasteful in some places and commonplace in others. Students realized more and more that these different practices cannot be judged as good or bad, but grow out of a historical and cultural context that explains their existence.
- One student from the Dominican Republic wrote about cockfighting, which he had been directly involved with when he lived in the Dominican Republic. One of the home language sources he used was a sports broadcast from the Dominican Republic (showing clearly that cockfighting is treated as a sport in his country and not as something taboo). He was interested in finding out about the differences in the laws of the United States and the Dominican Republic and some of the cultural differences behind those laws.

Through this project the students gained much linguistic and cultural tolerance toward practices other than their own and developed great transcultural and metalinguistic awareness. The giggles and exclamations from students at the beginning that certain practices were ‘weird’ or ‘bad’ gave way to curiosity, open-mindedness, and extensive questioning of one another.

Translanguaging in Practice: Principles

Despite the fact that these classrooms are officially conducted in what is considered the ‘English language,’ these schools, and the teachers who design instruction, support another type of language use for teaching and

learning—what we have called translanguageing. Here we discuss the principles of schooling, teaching, and learning that a translanguageing pedagogy involve:

- A school-wide multilingual ecology
- Educators' stance as caring and co-learning
- Instructional design of relationships
- Students' deep engagement with learning

A School-Wide Multilingual Ecology

In the two schools here portrayed, the school leaders are conscious of the fact that education needs to adapt to the communities they teach. They understand the complexity of language practices in their school community and do not limit this awareness to two or three languages, but encompass all language practices. The school leadership has found ways to support a multilingual ecology in their schools, where all language practices are nurtured and developed, despite these not having an official space in multilingual instruction. That is, the schools do not teach the languages other than English explicitly, but nurture them and use them in education in ways that sustain the students' language practices in relationship with the new ones that they are acquiring.

In the primary school, signs are displayed not only in the Karen spoken by many of the students, but also in Arabic, Burmese, and Somali, the most numerous languages of the school. In addition, the school leaders have created and supported the 'All About Me' project, in which the country and the languages spoken by each child are identified. With 70 countries of origin represented in the student body, and over 30 languages, the school sees itself as a microcosm of the world and proudly displays its language diversity.

The secondary school sees itself as part of a network with an innovative educational approach that is centered on educating immigrant adolescents for whom English is a new language. Respect for the schools' multilingual ecology and the students' varied language practices has been the cornerstone of the work of these public international high schools. At IHS @ LAGCC, students are encouraged to work through their many

language practices, even when the product is expected in ‘English.’ A multilingual ecology is nurtured, so that the students’ home languages are not only used in instruction, but also sustained and expanded through the students’ own learning practices, despite the fact that teachers are not familiar with these ways of using language.

A school-wide multilingual ecology is most important if teachers are going to be encouraged to develop translanguaging pedagogies. Translanguaging requires a philosophical stance that cannot be carried out in isolation, but in a supportive context that understands its potential. It is to the educators’ stance as caring for, and co-learning with, immigrant students who are emergent bilinguals that we turn to next.

Educators’ Stance as Caring for, and Co-learning with

A translanguaging pedagogy needs a special type of teacher—one who cares deeply for her students and their learning, and one who is then able to turn this belief and caring attitude into becoming a co-learner. Both Nicole Nichter and Amy Burrous are totally committed to their students and their communities. They believe that teaching these immigrant newcomers is about social justice and building more equitable opportunities for them. But caring for these students goes beyond plain commitment; it also has to do with viewing their language practices through a different lens.

For Nicole, commitment to the Karen-speaking community and an attitude of learning from them certainly came before teaching. She had, as she said, ‘some roots in the refugee community.’ For Amy, it was her initial experience in teaching immigrant adolescents that nurtured her commitment to this population. What is striking about both teachers is that although they are outsiders, they see themselves as having ‘roots’ in the communities of practice of these speakers. And those roots enable them to go beyond the walls of the school. Nicole visits homes and engages families in helping her plan lessons, breaking down the walls between the community and the school. Amy plans assignments that bring the voices of the adults and families into the school, engaging the community in sharing their ‘funds of knowledge’ (Moll et al. 1992).

Both teachers know that part of their responsibility is to develop their students' new practices in English, but they also deeply believe that their students' new language practices emerge in interrelationship with their old language practices. Thus, they don't just '*shh*, hush it under the rug, use English only, use the English,' as Nicole expresses. Although Nicole doesn't speak Karen, she sees translanguaging practices as 'a heartfelt thing,' 'something that you love.' In many ways, Nicole's philosophy of language and teaching reminds us of Mignolo's (2000) concept of 'bilanguaging love.' Mignolo says:

Love is the necessary corrective to the violence of systems of control and oppression; bilanguaging love is the final utopic horizon for the liberation of human beings involved in structures of domination and subordination beyond their control. (p. 273)

Bilanguaging love means disarticulating the imposition of 'standard' colonial languages and liberating the language practices of subaltern populations whose voices have been silenced. Mignolo reminds us that this 'corrective' can happen only with love, a care that frees up language practices that have been constrained by colonial and oppressive education systems, thus conjugating them with other language practices. This is precisely the commitment that leads to translanguaging and that potentializes translanguaging. The linguistic features of the minoritized students' repertoire are released in the classroom. It is this liberation of different language practices, with their different histories and expressing varied ideologies, that makes students 'shine,' as Nicole expresses. Both Amy and Nicole act on their deep commitment to their students, as Nicole says, 'as a person, not just as a teacher.' Nicole and Amy are not just technocrats with specialized teaching skills; they are people who care.

Nicole expresses the second aspect of the teachers' stance when she says, 'It's something inside of you that makes you want to know more about [the students].' This stance, and that of Amy, clearly has something to do with what Li Wei (2015) has called 'co-learning,' the ability to be 'joint sojourners' in the learning activity (see García et al. 2017). Both teachers feel they are learning from their students. Nicole says it

explicitly: ‘Translanguaging ... gives me a chance to learn about them [students].’ In explaining how teachers who are co-learners design teaching activities, Li Wei (2015) explains:

The teacher would become a learning facilitator, a scaffolder, and a critical reflection enhancer, while the learner becomes an empowered explorer, a meaning maker, and a responsible knowledge constructor. (p. 169)

The next section describes how both Nicole and Amy design instruction in ways that empower students to be explorers, create meaning, and construct knowledge by building on what we call ‘instructional designs of relationships.’

Instructional Designs of Relationships

For the two teachers of the two classrooms profiled here, a translanguaging pedagogy is, as Nicole says, ‘a way to showcase how special students are.’ To do so, they enact a pedagogy of relationships—one that acts on the bilanguaging love that we discussed above. Whereas much instruction in classrooms today is of isolation—of languages, of subjects, of topics, of students, of teachers, of the school—a translanguaging pedagogy is one of relationships with others and with other things. Mignolo’s ‘bilanguaging love’ is inscribed into the pedagogy, building on relationships and collaborations with others, and among language practices and multimodalities. We start with identifying the designs of relationships among actors in the education enterprise and then discuss the designs that honor the relationships between semiotic systems of meaning-making, including language practices.

The translanguaging design of the lessons planned by Amy in the secondary school is clearly a result of the collaborative design of the International HS Network of public schools. At least three of their five principles speak of relationships—heterogeneity and *collaboration*, language and content *integration*, *one* learning model for all. Collaboration, integration, and ‘one for all’ are then put alongside the incredible heterogeneity of language and cultural practices that exist within the school.

García and Sylvan (2011) referred to this practice as ‘singularities within pluralities.’ That is, teachers have to look at the many different language practices in the school in both singular and plural terms. They have to adjust the teaching lens to think of the totality, without losing sight of the different idiolects of the students and of the many ‘ones.’ To do so, collaborative structures are needed that are capable of providing the ‘zooming in’ and ‘zooming out’ capacities that teachers need.

The lesson designs that we profile in this chapter are all done in collaboration with others—with other educators, with other speakers, with other community members.

Nicole doesn’t operate in isolation but relies on the collaboration with Ms. Keegan, the librarian, as well as with the Karen-speaking coach, to plan and deliver the translanguaging lesson. Nicole needs the language expertise of the Karen-speaking coach and the book knowledge that the librarian brings. In the secondary school, Amy works as a team with other teachers who are responsible for the same students. The lesson design is arrived at collaboratively, as the team discusses the activities of the ‘Native Language Arts’ project.

Both Nicole and Amy rely on collaboration also with the community and the families. Nicole’s relationship with the Karen community-based organization has been a key element in her teaching. She collaborates with them in all aspects. And she not only visits the students’ homes, but also plans for parents to visit her in her own home, as they eat and contribute to lessons together. This is possible because there is a great amount of trust between Nicole and the parents, established over a long period of time in the context of community. Nicole’s lesson design relies on parents who provide recordings of the fables in Karen and the Karen-speaking coach who helps align the Karen translations to the English versions. Amy, teaching in NYC and tending to 15 different languages within her high school classroom, relies on her adolescent students to be the bridge to their communities and families. Thus, she designs lessons where the communities’ funds of knowledge are an essential part of learning. In this way, she brings in the knowledge of the community into the classroom, including their language practices—knowledge and practices that are not represented in books, especially when the language practices of the students are not represented in writing.

Finally, students also collaborate with each other as co-teachers. This is very evident in the high school, where students are seated in small collaborative groups around hexagonal tables. The jigsaw puzzle design of lessons also maximizes collaboration. Still this jigsaw puzzle design is not artificial but created naturally as students work through their own home languages. Thus, not all groups have access to the same information, making it imperative that they collaborate to make meaning for the whole class, and also for the teacher. At the elementary level, this collaboration among students is especially evident in the 'turn and talk' process, where students are asked to dialogue about what the teacher has just modeled to the entire group. In this way, students are becoming co-teachers, as they discuss and raise questions with each other about the teacher's modeling and questions. The pairs of students maximize the messages and understandings delivered by the teacher in English.

But it is in maximizing the relationship among different signs and their modes of expression that the translanguaging design of these lessons demonstrates its greatest potential for meaning-making. A translanguaging instructional design addresses the students' use of all the features in their language repertoire, and not just simply those that are socially defined as English or the LOTE. That is, in some ways, a translanguaging instructional design constructs the linguistic reality that the dis-invention of languages (Makoni and Pennycook 2007) as whole autonomous language entities has deconstructed. Translanguaging corresponds to the linguistic reality of speakers' individual mental grammars constructed in social interaction, that is, to a state beyond what nation-states have claimed as 'languages' (Otheguy et al. 2015). By encouraging students to reflect on the nature of language as a social construction with real material consequences, and on the role of the nation-state and systems of control in that construction, students build the Freirian 'conscientiousness' needed to 'read the world' (1970). Students become aware of the systems of control and oppression that have been responsible for banning their fluid language practices in education. Both Nicole's and Amy's lesson designs work to release students' voices. To do that, they bring texts, scripts, images, videos, and all types of multi-modal signs and place them alongside each other. Students are expected to work with visuals and graphic organizers, images and videos, oral and

written texts in multiple languages, scripts and genres, dictionaries and electronic translators, as well as traditional school-based texts.

Nicole not only ensures that there are books in Karen alongside those in English but also develops her students' reading in Karen, a language they do not read and that she does not speak. By providing them with the phonetic transcriptions of Karen words in Roman script, students start identifying Karen words. At the same time, students share their Karen words with the teachers. In the secondary school, Amy encourages her students to conduct research on the web, using websites in different languages, with different modalities. Students then put these texts, as well as those derived from interviews with community members, alongside the English texts they have read. Whereas Nicole relies on pictures to accompany the reading of the fables in primary texts, Amy ensures the multimodality of the texts she uses by showing students the TV episodes on taboos, the topic of the lesson. Thus, oral and written languages are integrated, and images and texts interpenetrate each other, as students' opportunities for meaning-making are enhanced. This translanguaging design of the lessons then results in students' greater engagement with learning. This is the topic of the next section.

Students' Deep Engagement with Learning

A translanguaging pedagogy engages students deeply in the lesson. Nicole states that lessons in English only 'go over [students'] heads.' And yet, when she uses translanguaging, there is 'total, 100% attention.' Nicole continues by saying that when she uses translanguaging, she notices how happy and proud students are. Being engaged, motivated, and proud is precisely what Norton (2000) describes as 'investment' in language learning, the identity that will enable students to be successful not only in developing new language practices but also in becoming successful learners.

In the secondary classroom, Amy also describes the 'generative' power of discussions among students using translanguaging. Amy reports that students were 'animated,' and they showed 'deep understandings.' Furthermore, students were then able to carry this interest and understanding to the discussion conducted in English with the whole class, as

well as to the final written products, which showed, according to Amy, ‘strong evidence of rigor and thought.’ Translanguaging then is not only important for teaching, but it is most effective in deepening students’ engagement and understanding of rigorous content.

Conclusion

Translanguaging in theory and in educational practice seems to point in different directions. Whereas in theory translanguaging signals a going beyond the social construction of national languages, and releasing the language practices of human beings, their personal idiolects, in societal practice, and especially in schools, translanguaging often acquires material substance as national ‘languages.’ That is, as a theoretical construct, translanguaging refers to the language repertoire of individual speakers. Schools, however, exist in the world, and in societies that have dominant and subordinate languages. Language education is then overtly manifested in what we have learned to call ‘languages.’

The two cases in this chapter show how translanguaging can work in schools, and especially in schools that teach minoritized students in dominant languages. We cannot escape the privileging of standard national languages that schools impose. However, we can ameliorate learning for minority students if we encourage linguistic performances that are constitutive of who they are and that promote their investment as successful students.

Acknowledgements We thank the leadership of PS 45 and the IHS@LAGCC for giving us permission to profile practices in their school. We especially thank Nicole Nichter and Amy Burrous for sharing their translanguaging pedagogy with us.

References

- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *Modern Language Journal*, 94(i), 103–115.

- Del Valle, S. (2003). *Language rights and the law in the United States*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Funk, A. (2012). *The languages of New York state: A CUNY-NYSIEB guide for educators*. New York: CUNY-NYSIEB. www.cuny-nysieb.org
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, O., & Kleifgen, J. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals: Policies, programs and practices for English language learners*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- García, O., & Sylvan, C. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *Modern Language Journal*, 95(iii), 385–400.
- García, O., & Li Wei (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan Pivot.
- García, O., Johnson, S., & Seltzer, K. (2017). *The translanguaging classroom: Leveraging student bilingualism for learning*. Philadelphia: Caslon.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: A bilingual lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 15(3), 261–278.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012a). Translanguaging: Developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 655–670.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012b). Translanguaging: Origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 641–654.
- Li Wei. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 1222–1235.
- Li Wei. (2015). Who's teaching whom?: Co-learning in multilingual classrooms. In S. May (Ed.), *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education* (pp. 167–190). New York: Routledge.
- Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Mignolo, W. (2000). *Local histories/global designs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice*, 31(2), 132–141.

- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow: Longman.
- Otheguy, R., García, O., & Reid, W. (2015). Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6(3), 281–307.
- Palmer, D., Martínez, R., Mateus, S., & Henderson, K. (2014). Reframing the debate on language separation: Toward a vision for translanguaging pedagogies in the dual language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 98(3), 757–772.
- Sayer, P. (2013). Translanguaging, TexMex, and bilingual pedagogy: Emergent bilinguals learning through the vernacular. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(1), 63–88.
- Wiley, T. G. (2005). *Literacy and language diversity in the United States* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Urban Multilingualism and Educational Achievement: Identifying and Implementing Evidence-Based Strategies for School Improvement

Jim Cummins

In this chapter, I analyze patterns of school achievement among students of immigrant background and suggest evidence-based directions for increasing students' educational success. Although each social context is unique, some generalizations regarding patterns of achievement and causes of underachievement can be made based on the research evidence. Identification of causal factors, in turn, enables us to highlight instructional interventions that respond to these causal factors.

Three potential sources of educational disadvantage characterize the social situation of many immigrant-background communities: (a) home-school language switch requiring students to learn academic content through a second language; (b) low socioeconomic status (SES) associated with low family income and/or low levels of parental education; and (c) marginalized group status deriving from social discrimination and/or racism in the wider society. Some communities in different countries are characterized by all three risk factors (e.g., many Spanish-speaking students in the United States, many Turkish-speaking students in different European countries). In other

J. Cummins (✉)

The University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

© The Author(s) 2018

P. Van Avermaet et al. (eds.), *The Multilingual Edge of Education*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54856-6_4

cases, only one risk factor may be operating (e.g., middle-class African-American students in the United States, middle-class French-speaking students attending school in the United Kingdom). Although these three social conditions constitute risk factors for students' academic success, they become realized as educational disadvantage only when the school fails to respond appropriately or reinforces the negative impact of the broader social factors. For example, the social discrimination that Roma students experience throughout Europe has been educationally reinforced in some countries by educators who have labeled them as intellectually handicapped and placed them in segregated special education classes.

School Achievement Among Immigrant-Background Students

The reading performance of 15-year-old first- and second-generation immigrant-background students from several countries on the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Programme for

Table 1 PISA reading scores 2003 and 2006

	PISA 2003 Gen 1	PISA 2003 Gen 2	PISA 2006 Gen 1	PISA 2006 Gen 2
Australia	-12	-4	+1	+7
Austria	-77	-73	-48	-79
Belgium	-117	-84	-102	-81
Canada	-19	+10	-19	0
Denmark	-42	-57	-79	-64
France	-79	-48	-45	-36
Germany	-86	-96	-70	-83
The Netherlands	-61	-50	-65	-61
Norway	-68	-59	-63	-42
Sweden	-89	-20	-68	-29
Switzerland	-93	-53	-85	-48
The United Kingdom			-44	-7
The United States	-50	-22		

Based on data presented in Christensen and Segeritz [2008](#)

Gen 1 = first-generation students, *Gen 2* = second-generation students; negative scores indicate performance below country mean, positive scores indicate performance above country mean; 100 points represent one standard deviation

International Student Achievement (PISA) project is shown in Table 1. Students tend to perform better in countries such as Canada and Australia that have encouraged immigration during the past 40 years and that have a coherent infrastructure designed to integrate immigrants into the society (e.g., free adult language classes, language support services for students in schools and rapid qualification for full citizenship). Additionally, both Canada and Australia have explicitly endorsed multicultural philosophies at the national level aimed at promoting respect across communities and expediting the integration of newcomers into the broader society. In Canada (2003 assessment) and Australia (2006 assessment), second-generation students (born in the host country) performed slightly *better* academically than native speakers of the school language. Some of the positive results for Australia and Canada can be attributed to selective immigration that favors immigrants with strong educational qualifications. In both countries, the educational attainments of adult immigrants are as high, on average, as those of the general population. This is also true of other countries (e.g., Ireland and New Zealand) where immigrant-background students perform relatively well.

By contrast, second-generation students tend to perform very poorly in countries that have been characterized by highly negative attitudes toward immigrants (e.g., Austria, Belgium, Germany). Christensen and Segeritz (2008) highlight as particularly problematic the poor performance of second-generation students in many European countries: “Of particular concern, especially for policy-makers, should be the fact that second-generation immigrant students in many countries continue to lag significantly behind their native peers despite spending all of their schooling in the receiving country” (p. 18). In some cases (Denmark and Germany in 2003; Austria and Germany in 2006), second-generation students who received all their schooling in the host country performed more poorly than first-generation students who arrived as newcomers and would likely have had less time and opportunity to learn the host country language. These data clearly suggest that factors other than simply opportunity to learn the host country language are operating to limit achievement among second-generation students in these countries.

Analysis of Causes of Underachievement

The PISA data collected in successive OECD studies over the past 15 years provide extremely valuable data on broad patterns of achievement in different countries and among different social groups. The PISA studies have also identified the potentially causal role of several variables, as outlined in the following sections.

The Effects of Individual SES and the SES Levels of Schools

The OECD (2010a) reports that the SES of individual students exerted a highly significant effect on achievement in the PISA studies: “On average across OECD countries, 14% of the differences in student reading performance within each country is associated with differences in students’ socio-economic background” (OECD 2010a, p. 14). However, this report noted that the effect of the school’s economic, social and cultural status on students’ performance is much stronger than the effects of the individual student’s socioeconomic background. In other words, when students from low-SES backgrounds attend schools with a socioeconomically advantaged intake, they tend to perform significantly better than when they attend schools with a socioeconomically disadvantaged intake. Snow, Burns and Griffin (1998) similarly noted the correlation of 0.68 between reading achievement and the collective poverty level of students in a school, a correlation that is considerably greater than the correlation of approximately 0.45 between reading achievement and early literacy indicators such as knowledge of the letters of the alphabet or phonological awareness. This difference between the SES of individual students and the collective SES of students within particular schools highlights the effects of housing (and consequent educational) segregation on patterns of school achievement. The OECD (2012) makes this point as follows: “All things being equal, a more balanced social mix in schools would go a long way towards improving outcomes for both immigrant and non-immigrant students from disadvantaged backgrounds” (p. 14).

The Effects of Reading Engagement

The 2000 PISA study (OECD 2004) reported that the level of a student's reading engagement was a better predictor of reading performance than his or her SES. The report pointed out that "engagement in reading can be a consequence, as well as a cause, of higher reading skill, but the evidence suggests that these two factors are mutually reinforcing" (OECD 2004, p. 8).

More recent PISA findings (OECD 2010b) confirm these trends. Engagement in reading was assessed through measures of time spent reading various materials, enjoyment of reading and use of learning strategies. Across OECD countries, approximately one-third of the association between reading performance and students' SES was mediated by reading engagement. The implication is that schools can potentially 'push back' about one-third of the negative effects of socioeconomic disadvantage by ensuring that students have access to a rich print environment and become actively engaged with literacy.

The credibility of this inference is supported by considerable data showing that many low-SES students have less opportunity to interact with print in their homes, neighborhoods and schools (Duke 2000; Neuman and Celano 2001). In comparison to more affluent families, parents living in poverty do not have the money to buy books or other cultural resources (e.g., iPads and computers) for their children. In other words, there is an opportunity gap with respect to print access that schools have done very little to address. The strong relationship between print access/literacy engagement and reading attainment has been supported in numerous research studies (e.g., Elley and Mangubhai 1983; Lindsay 2010; Mol and Bus 2011; Sullivan and Brown 2013). For example, Mol and Bus summarize the findings of their meta-analysis as follows:

For all measures in the outcome domains of reading comprehension and technical reading and spelling, moderate to strong correlations with print exposure were found. The outcomes support an upward spiral of causality: Children who are more proficient in comprehension and technical reading and spelling skills read more; because of more print exposure, their com-

prehension and technical reading and spelling skills improved more with each year of education. For example, in preschool and kindergarten print exposure explained 12% of the variance in oral language skills, in primary school 13%, in middle school 19%, in high school 30%, and in college and university 34%. Moderate associations of print exposure with academic achievement indicate that frequent readers are more successful students. (p. 267)

Brozo et al. (2007) similarly articulated the implications of the PISA data for low-SES students as follows: “Keeping students engaged in reading and learning might make it possible for them to overcome what might otherwise be insuperable barriers to academic success” (pp. 307–308).

The Effects of Home Use of a Language Other than the School Language

Successive PISA studies have reported a negative relationship between academic achievement and use of a language other than the school language at home (henceforth L1) (Christensen and Stanat 2007; Nusche 2009; OECD 2012; Stanat and Christensen 2006). The PISA research showed that in both mathematics and reading, first- and second-generation immigrant-background students who spoke their L1 at home were significantly behind their peers who spoke the school language at home. Christensen and Stanat (2007) concluded: “These large differences in performance suggest that students have insufficient opportunities to learn the language of instruction” (p. 3). German sociologist Hartmut Esser (2006) similarly concluded on the basis of PISA data that “the use of the native language in the family context has a (clearly) negative effect” (p. 64). He further argued that retention of the home language by immigrant children will reduce both motivation and success in learning the host country language (2006, p. 34). These researchers endorse policies that would immerse immigrant-background children in the societal language from age 3, thereby increasing opportunities to learn that language (and, by the same token, reducing exposure to L1 and its associated ‘negative effects’). Consistent with this position, both Stanat and Christensen,

and Esser, claim that there is little evidence that bilingual education is a credible option for increasing immigrant-background students' academic achievement.

In short, these researchers' promotion of immersion in the language of the host country as the most appropriate policy option derives from the following interpretation of the PISA data: *Inadequate proficiency in the school language and academic underachievement are partially caused by insufficient opportunity to learn the school language as a result of speaking a minority language at home.*

This interpretation is reinforced in a more recent OECD (2012) report entitled *Untapped Skills: Realising the Potential of Immigrant Students*:

Not understanding the language of the country of residence upon arrival is a disadvantage; but so too is little exposure to that language outside school. PISA results suggest that students who mostly speak a different language at home from that which is used in school have significantly lower reading scores than those who tend to use the test language at home most of the time. This effect is very strong, accounting for a difference of about 30 points in reading scores, on average, between those who mostly speak the test language at home and those who do not, in both OECD countries and elsewhere. The performance gap is still apparent even when comparing students of similar socio-economic backgrounds. This amounts to almost a full year of schooling. (OECD 2012, p. 12)

This report attributes the performance gap associated with home L1 use to the fact that use of the L1 in the home limits students' exposure to the dominant school language.

Policy obviously cannot impose the use of the host-country language in the home environment, but it needs to ensure that the host-country language can better compete for the attention and interest of immigrant children. Parents clearly have a role to play in this and should be encouraged to expose their children to national-language publications and media at home. (OECD 2012, p. 12)

The language skills of parents, particularly of mothers, may not be sufficient to allow them to assist their children in their schoolwork. The objective needs to be more exposure to the host-country language, both in and out of school.

This is especially the case in the Internet age when media in the language of the country of origin are more present in immigrant households than they ever used to be. Parents need to be sensitised to this so that the home environment contributes to improving outcomes. (OECD 2012, p. 14)

There are some obvious problems with these interpretations, including (a) the crudeness of the home language index; (b) the claim that home use of L1 automatically translates into ‘insufficient exposure’ to the school language; (c) the attribution of a causal role to insufficient L2 exposure; (d) failure to consider alternative directions of possible causal relations; (e) failure to account for findings that contradict the proposition that L1 use at home causes underachievement; (f) failure to acknowledge PISA findings that show no relationship between home L1 use and achievement in a majority of OECD countries when SES and other background variables were controlled; and (g) the outcomes of bilingual education programs, which refute the ‘time-on-task’ or ‘maximum exposure’ hypothesis underlying the ‘insufficient exposure’ claim.

A. The Home Language Index Incorporates Variability and Uncertainty This index was derived from a question to 15-year-old students asking whether or not the language they mostly speak at home was the same as the language in which they were assessed by PISA, which was always the language of instruction. In other words, PISA did not ask students about their initial language learned in the home but rather the language they mostly used at the present time (aged 15). Thus, some of the students who report mostly using the school language at home may be fully bilingual and continue to use their L1 for considerable periods or with certain interlocutors (e.g., one parent, grandparents). Others may be second-generation students who grew up speaking a language different from the school language but who gradually shifted to greater use of the school language, perhaps losing much of the fluency in their L1. Similarly, students who reported mostly continuing to use their L1 in the home may do so because parents or grandparents do not speak the school language fluently or because parents have implemented a home language policy designed to maintain that language despite the fact that they are fluent speakers of the societal language. In short, there are many possible con-

figurations of L1 and L2 language use in the home that are not clearly delineated by the somewhat crude index of home language use employed in the PISA research.

B. L1 Use at Home Does Not Imply 'insufficient exposure' to L2 The claim that L1 use in the home automatically represents a lack of exposure to L2 is immediately suspect by virtue of the fact that in a highly mobile world this home–school language switch configuration is increasingly common. Clearly, many children exposed to this situation either in state or international schools perform well academically. Certainly, exposure to the school language *is* an important variable in academic success. As noted in the OECD (2012) report, a recently arrived 15-year-old immigrant student who does not speak the school language will not perform well on a test administered in that language. It takes time (and exposure to the school language) to catch up academically. However, for most students, the catch-up trajectory is not a linear incremental process between ages 5 (the start of school) and 15. Many research studies have demonstrated that a period of 4–7 years, on average, is typically sufficient for immigrant students whose home language is different from the language of the school to catch up academically with native speakers of the school language (e.g., Collier 1987; Hakuta et al. 2000; Jang et al. 2013; Klesmer 1994). Thus, the time period of about 10 years during which second-generation students in the PISA studies have been exclusively exposed to L2 in school should be more than sufficient to enable them to catch up academically unless other factors (e.g., poverty, inadequate school support, discriminatory school policies) are operating to limit their academic engagement and success.

C. The Relationship Between Achievement and L1 Use at Home Is a Relationship of Association, Not Causation The PISA authors (OECD 2012; Stanat and Christensen 2006) consistently interpret the relationships observed between home use of L1 and school achievement in causal terms despite the fact that the relationships observed are correlational rather than causal. In order to (cautiously) infer causality, contradictory data would have to be accounted for and the unique variance associated with language spoken at home would have to be identified and isolated from other mediating variables. As documented below, neither of these conditions has been met.

The PISA authors show little awareness of the broader research on bilingual students' academic achievement. They posit linguistic mismatch between home and school as an independent source of immigrant students' underachievement, ignoring the large body of research that refutes this hypothesis (Cummins 1979, 2001). Many groups of immigrant students, from all socioeconomic backgrounds, succeed academically despite a home–school language switch (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

D. Possible Causal Relationships Can Operate in Two Ways: Success in L2 Learning at School Can Promote L2 Use at Home Even if there were a causal relationship between language use at home and achievement, the direction of this causal relationship is not clear. It may be that students who are more successful in acquiring the school language are more likely to use that language in the home. In other words, it is just as plausible to argue that the positive relationship between school achievement and L2 use at home derives from more successful learners switching to L2 at home rather than L1 use in the home resulting in poor school achievement.

E. If L1 Use at Home Results in Insufficient Exposure to L2 and Subsequent Underachievement, Why Are These Relationships Not Observed in All Countries? No relationship was found between home language use and achievement in several of the countries where immigrant students were most successful (e.g., Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand). A theoretical proposition such as that proposed by the PISA authors must account for all of the data or suggest plausible reasons why the proposed effects are not observed in certain contexts. For example, the authors might try to account for the discrepancy in the proposed effects of L1 use at home by suggesting that the educational level of the immigrant population mediates its impact. However, they have not attempted to construct any such explanation, preferring instead to posit a unidirectional and universal causal relationship that fails to account for the data.

F. The Relationship Between Home Language Use and Achievement Disappears for Most OECD Countries When Background Variables are Controlled Stanat and Christensen (2006, Table 3.5, pp. 200–202) pres-

ent data for mathematics achievement that shows the relationship between achievement and ‘foreign language spoken at home’ disappeared for a large majority (10 out of 14) of OECD-member countries when variables such as immigrant status (first or second generation), parental education and occupational status, and age on arrival were controlled. The disappearance of the relationship in a large majority of countries suggests that language spoken at home does not exert any independent effect on achievement but is rather a proxy for variables such as SES and length of residence in the host country. This interpretation is supported by analyses of 2003, 2006 and 2009 PISA data for Spain showing that immigrant students who came from non-Spanish-speaking countries made faster progress in catching up than students from Latin America whose L1 is Spanish (Zinovyeva et al. 2014). Clearly, these data are inconsistent with the proposition that underachievement is caused by lack of home exposure to the school language.

G. The Proposition That L2 Achievement Is Directly Related to L2 Exposure Is Refuted by the Consistent Outcomes of Bilingual Education Programs Showing No Long-Term Relationship Between Achievement and L2 Exposure Several comprehensive research reviews on bilingual education for underachieving minority language students suggest that in contexts where bilingual education is feasible (e.g., concentration of particular groups), it represents a superior option to immersion in the language of the host country. Francis et al. (2006), for example, report: “The meta-analytic results clearly suggest a positive effect for bilingual instruction that is moderate in size” (p. 397). Similarly, Lindholm-Leary and Borsato (2006) conclude that minority student achievement “is positively related to sustained instruction through the student’s first language” (p. 201). Thus, in contrast to claims made by researchers such as Christensen and Stanat (2007) and Esser (2006), bilingual education represents a legitimate and, in many cases, feasible option for educating immigrant and minority language students. The fact that less L2 instruction in bilingual programs (in comparison to L2-only programs) results in no adverse consequences for L2 achievement refutes the theoretical proposition that immigrant-background students’ L2 achievement will benefit from maximum exposure to L2.

Conclusion

The PISA data clearly demonstrate the negative impact on achievement of variables associated with SES, and they also suggest that promoting print access and literacy engagement can address some of these negative impacts. However, despite the claims of OECD researchers, the PISA data provide no evidence that home use of L1 results in ‘insufficient exposure’ to L2, which, in turn, negatively affects L2 achievement. In order to make a case that L1 use at home exerts an independent (negative) causal impact on school achievement, researchers would have to explain why no such causal effect appears in immigrant-welcoming countries such as Australia, Canada, Israel and New Zealand and why the relationship disappears in most countries when other background variables are taken into account. The argument that L1 use at home will exert a negative effect on achievement in L2 is also refuted by the academic success of vast numbers of bilingual and multilingual students in countries around the world. Thus, parents who interact consistently with their children in L1 as a means of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy can do so with no concern that this will impede their children’s acquisition of the school language.

This perspective is consistent with the perspectives advanced in another OECD report (OECD 2010c) which advocates affirmative school policies toward students’ home language:

Valuing the mother tongue of immigrant students is an essential part of developing a positive and appreciative approach to diversity and identity. It means seeing students’ language capacities as part of their personal, social and cultural identity and welcoming it as a tool for learning and understanding. (2010c, p. 49)

Also supportive of this perspective are the increasing number of studies highlighting bilingualism as a positive force in children’s academic development. Reviews by Barac and Bialystok (2011) and Adesope et al. (2010) concluded that “the experience of speaking two languages yields cognitive benefits in the areas of attentional control, working memory, abstract and symbolic representation skills, and metalinguistic awareness”

(Barac and Bialystok 2011, p. 54). The problematic interpretation of the correlational relationship between home language use and achievement proposed in some OECD reports would effectively deny immigrant-background children the opportunity to develop a cognitively and academically enriching form of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Implementing Instruction that Responds to Causes of Underachievement

Table 2 elaborates on the three sources of potential educational disadvantage outlined above and also specifies the evidence-based educational responses that are likely to have the highest impact in addressing these sources of potential disadvantage.

Table 2 High-impact instructional responses to sources of potential academic disadvantage

Student background	Linguistically Diverse	Low-SES	Marginalized Status
Sources of potential disadvantage	Failure to understand instruction due to home-school language differences	Inadequate healthcare and/or nutrition Housing segregation Lack of cultural and material resources in the home due to poverty Inadequate access to print in home and school	Societal discrimination Low teacher expectations Stereotype threat Identity devaluation
Evidence-based instructional response	Scaffold comprehension and production of language across the curriculum Engage students' multilingual repertoires Reinforce academic language across the curriculum	Maximize print access and literacy engagement Reinforce academic language across the curriculum	Connect instruction to students' lives Affirm student identities in association with literacy engagement

Linguistically Diverse Students

With respect to immigrant-background students who are learning the language of instruction, there is consensus among researchers and most policy-makers that schools need to support students in gaining access to instruction and catching up academically. Ideally, students' grasp of academic language will be reinforced across the curriculum and not only in language-related classes. Bilingual programs represent one empirically supported way of providing support for students to comprehend instruction and participate academically (Francis et al. 2006; Gögolin 2005; Lindholm-Leary and Borsato 2006). In cases where bilingual education cannot be implemented, either for reasons of feasibility or ideology, then it is important that *all* teachers (not just language specialists) know how to support students in acquiring academic skills in the school language. The term *scaffolding* is commonly used to describe the temporary supports that teachers provide to enable learners to carry out academic tasks. These supports can be reduced gradually as the learner gains more expertise. They include strategies such as use of visuals and concrete experiences and demonstrations to increase comprehension.

Obviously, both within countries and across countries, there is variation in the extent to which schools do provide adequate scaffolding of instruction. Failure by schools to provide adequate scaffolding and to reinforce academic language across the curriculum is likely a contributor to immigrant students' underachievement in some countries. One reason that a home-school language switch emerges as a disadvantage in many European countries is that many schools have traditionally done very little to help students learn the school language. By contrast, in countries such as Australia and Canada, a coherent infrastructure for supporting English-language learners has been in place since the 1970s. This may partially explain why home use of a language other than the school language is unrelated to achievement (i.e., not a disadvantage) in these countries.

Students from Low-SES Backgrounds

Christensen and Segeritz (2008) note that the impact of SES on achievement varies widely among countries. For example, Australia, Canada and

the United Kingdom exhibit high levels of student achievement in Science and a lower-than-average association between SES and Science performance. Norway also showed a low level of association between SES and Science (<10% variance explained), but overall performance was below average. These results show that despite the strong overall relationship between SES and academic performance, some countries do succeed in promoting both equity (low-SES students perform relatively well) and excellence (overall performance is strong). In fact, according to the OECD (2010a), the “best performing school systems manage to provide high-quality education to all students ... regardless of their own background or the school they attend” (p. 13).

Some of the sources of potential educational disadvantage associated with SES are beyond the capacity of individual schools to address (e.g., housing segregation), but the potential negative effects of other factors *can* be ameliorated by school policies and instructional practices. In this regard, the two sources of potential disadvantage that are most significant are the limited access to print that many low-SES students experience in their homes, neighborhoods and schools (Duke 2000; Neuman and Celano 2001) and the more limited range of language interaction that has been documented in the United States in many low-SES families as compared to more affluent families (e.g., Hart and Risley 1995). The logical inference that derives from these differences is that schools serving low-SES students should (a) immerse them in a print-rich environment in order to promote literacy engagement across the curriculum and (b) focus in a sustained way on how academic language works and enable students to take ownership of academic language by using it for powerful (i.e., identity-affirming) purposes. Examples of powerful and identity-affirming uses of language are provided in the discussion of identity texts later in this chapter.

Students from Marginalized Communities

There is extensive research documenting the chronic underachievement of groups that have experienced systematic long-term discrimination in the wider society. The link between societal power relations and school experiences of some minority group students has been succinctly

expressed by Ladson-Billings (1995, p. 485) with respect to African-American students: “The problem that African-American students face is the constant devaluation of their culture both in school and in the larger society.” This constant devaluation of culture is illustrated in the well-documented phenomenon of *stereotype threat* (Steele 1997). Stereotype threat refers to the deterioration of individuals’ task performance in contexts where negative stereotypes about their social group are communicated to them. Thus, there is a clear link between societal power relations, identity negotiation and task performance.

Among linguistically diverse students, the home language represents a very obvious marker of difference from dominant groups. Despite increasing evidence of the benefits of bilingualism for students’ cognitive and academic growth, schools in many contexts continue to prohibit students from using their L1 within the school, thereby communicating to students the inferior status of their home languages and devaluing the identities of speakers of these languages. This pattern is illustrated in a study of Turkish-background students in Flemish secondary schools carried out by Agirdag (2010). He concludes:

[O]ur data show that Dutch monolingualism is strongly imposed in three different ways: teachers and school staff strongly encourage the exclusive use of Dutch, bilingual students are formally punished for speaking their mother tongue, and their home languages are excluded from the cultural repertoire of the school. At the same time, prestigious languages such as English and French are highly valued. (p. 317)

How can schools counteract the negative effects of societal power relations that devalue minority group identities? Ladson-Billings (1994), once again, has expressed the essence of an effective instructional response: “When students are treated as competent they are likely to demonstrate competence” (1994, p. 123). In other words, educators, both individually and collectively, must challenge the devaluation of students’ language, culture and identity in the wider society by implementing instructional strategies that enable students to develop “identities of competence” (Manyak 2004) in the school context. These instructional strategies will communicate high expectations to students regarding their

ability to succeed academically and support them in meeting these academic demands by affirming their identities and connecting curriculum to their lives (see Cummins and Early 2011; Hélot et al. 2014).

Among the overlapping instructional strategies reviewed by Cummins and Early (2015) that have been successfully implemented for affirming students' identities are (a) encouraging immigrant-background and socially marginalized students to use their L1 as a cognitive tool for carrying out academic tasks; (b) promoting opportunities for students to develop literacy skills in their home languages; (c) enabling students to write and web-publish literary and multimodal creative work (e.g., stories, poems, videos, music)—this work can be in the school language or (ideally) in multiple languages depending on the context and language skills of the students; and (d) implementing projects focused on inquiry and knowledge generation that encourage students to use both their L1 and L2, perhaps in partnership with a collaborating class in another location. These forms of pedagogy are aimed at enabling students to use language for powerful purposes that are identity-affirming and motivate students to engage academically. We have used the term *identity texts* to refer to the products of these pedagogical collaborations between teachers and students as well as the processes in which they engage to produce these texts (Cummins and Early 2011; Ntelioglou et al. 2014).

Identity Texts

Collaborative research that we have carried out with teachers over the past 15 years has established the principle that students from diverse backgrounds will engage actively with literacy only to the extent that such engagement is identity-affirming. In this regard, creative writing and other forms of cultural production (e.g., art, drama, video creation) assume particular importance as an *expression* of identity, a *projection* of identity into new social spheres and a *re-creation* of identity as a result of feedback from and dialog with multiple audiences. This re-creation of identity through the production of what we have termed *identity texts* assumes particular importance in the case of students from marginalized

social groups whose languages, cultures, religions and institutions have been devalued, often for generations, in the wider society. Students invest their identities in the creation of these texts which can be written, spoken, signed, visual, musical, dramatic or combinations in multimodal form. The identity text then holds a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light. When students share identity texts with multiple audiences (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, sister classes, the media), they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences.

The process of creating identity texts can be illustrated in projects carried out by elementary school teachers working with English-language learners in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) over the past five years (see <https://digitalstorybooks.wikispaces.com/>). Some of these projects are sketched below based on symposium presentations made at the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) conference in Toronto, March 2015. More detailed descriptions can be found in Cummins, Hu, Markus and Montero (2015). The teachers who presented each project at the TESOL conference are named, but many others also participated in these projects. The rationale for the projects was expressed in the symposium brochure as follows: “By including the personal narratives of students and their families, the use of identity texts provides a springboard not only for language learning, but also for students to increase their feelings of worth and pride in themselves and their cultural and linguistic communities” (Markus and Stille 2015).

Creating a Class Mural as an Identity Text (Anne Kong) Inspired by murals depicting local history in their community, newcomer students created a collaborative class mural that shared significant experiences in their lives.

Coming to Canada (Angela Sioumpas) English-language learners attending five different schools and taught by the same ‘itinerant’ English-as-a-second-language (ESL) teacher tell their immigration stories using their own words, photos, art and voices using iMovie software.

Self-identity Collage Project (Artemis Kapakos) English-language learners explored self-identity through mixed media, collage and text. Using four

simple sentence frames for scaffolding writing, *I am ...*, *I like ...*, *I remember ...*, and *I believe*, students explored their individuality and distinct backgrounds in a multitude of short sentences. This written identity component of the piece was then shaped into a picture frame for the student's collaged self-portrait.

The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse (Yasmin Hasan) Students recreated the fable of the town mouse and the country mouse by creating physical models of the two environments using drama and role-play to explore issues related to environment, home, lifestyle choices, excitement, doubt and changes.

Math Identity Texts in Inner City Schools (Jennifer Fannin) Students from grades 2 to 5 used ages of family members to create timelines and math problems involving addition and subtraction. The math identity texts created (e.g., *Our Ages: A Book about Subtraction*) incorporated and validated students' lived experiences, home lives and families.

The Four Seasons (Shiry Keltz) This collaborative project involving a grade 1 class and a group of English-language learners used mixed media to create beautiful images of their favorite season guided by the expectations of the grade 1 Science and Technology curriculum.

In X-ray Style (Shamira Mohamed) Grades 4 and 5 students in the Literacy Enrichment Academic Program (LEAP), designed for students who have not had the opportunity to attend school regularly before arriving in Canada, created paintings in the style of Norval Morrisseau, a First Nations artist whose 'x-ray style' showed the inside and outside qualities of a figure. Students created paintings that reflected their own culture, traditions and beliefs, internalizing the message that it was important to keep their own traditions alive and vibrant and to contribute to the diverse cultures that make Canada unique.

Flying Home: A Migration Story (Shirley Hu, Lisa McDonald, Shamira Mohamed, Grace Wong) This collaboratively written book is a parallel text created by grades 4 and 5 newcomer English-language learners

designed to give students the opportunity to tell their story of migration to Canada. The text above the drawing created by students describes the migration patterns of Canada Geese, while the text below the picture describes students' experiences of migration. The description of the project included in the TESOL conference brochure is summarized below:

Every line of the story was taken from the experiences of these students facing the challenges of acculturation. The students studied the migration patterns of Canadian Geese. As we learned more about the birds, we discovered many truths about ourselves, our reasons for migration, our growing love for our new home, and our attachment to the place where we were born. The creation of a digital narrative and hardcover book allowed us to integrate subject matter using knowledge and skills from across the curriculum. The digital narrative was recorded in a variety of languages to honour the linguistic and cultural background of the classroom. ([see <https://digitalstorybooks.wikispaces.com/space/content>]. Recordings in Romani and Czech are available on the website in addition to English.)

Conclusion

Underachievement among immigrant-background students is *not* caused by home use of a language other than the school language. L1 use at home represents the foundation for students' emerging bilingualism and biliteracy. Home use of a language other than the school language becomes a potential source of educational disadvantage only when the school fails to provide appropriate support to enable students to develop academic skills in the school language. Underachievement is observed predominantly among linguistically diverse students who are also experiencing the effects of low-SES and/or marginalized group status in the host country. Thus, instruction must also address the sources of potential disadvantage that characterize low-SES and marginalized group students. Evidence-based instructional strategies include maximizing students' engagement with literacy (ideally in both L1 and L2) and enabling them to use language powerfully in ways that enhance their academic and personal self-concept. In a social context where the identities of marginalized

group communities have been devalued, effective identity-affirming instruction requires that schools challenge the societal power structures that position students as socially inferior and less capable academically. A first step in this process is for schools to acknowledge the academic, cognitive and social value of students' home languages and to encourage them to develop literacy in these languages. The TDSB identity text projects very briefly described above illustrate how newcomer English-language learners and those who have missed out on schooling can engage cognitively and academically when instruction connects with their lives, affirms their identities and engages them in powerful uses of language and literacy.

References

- Adesope, O. O., Lavin, T., Thompson, T., & Ungerleider, C. (2010). A systematic review and meta-analysis of the cognitive correlates of bilingualism. *Review of Educational Research, 80*, 207–245.
- Agirdag, O. (2010). Exploring bilingualism in a monolingual school system: Insights from Turkish and native students from Belgian schools. *British Journal of Sociology of Education., 31*(3), 307–321. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425691003700540>.
- Barac, R., & Bialystok, E. (2011). Cognitive development of bilingual children. *Language Teaching, 44*(1), 36–54.
- Brozo, W. G., Shiel, G., & Topping, K. (2007). Engagement in reading: Lessons learned from three PISA countries. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 51*, 304–315.
- Christensen, G., & Segeritz, M. (2008). An international perspective on student achievement. In B. Stiftung (Ed.), *Immigrant students can succeed: Lessons from around the globe* (pp. 11–33). Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung.
- Christensen, G., & Stanat P. (2007). *Language policies and practices for helping immigrant second-generation students succeed*. The transatlantic task force on immigration and integration convened by the migration policy institute and Bertelsmann Stiftung. Available from: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/transatlantic/>. Accessed 15 Oct 2007.
- Collier, V. P. (1987). Age and rate of acquisition of second language for academic purposes. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 617–641.

- Cummins, J. (1979). Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research*, 49, 222–251.
- Cummins, J. (2001). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: California Association for Bilingual Education.
- Cummins, J., & Early, M. (Eds.). (2011). *Identity texts: The collaborative creation of power in multilingual schools*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Cummins, J., & Early, M. (2015). *Big ideas for expanding minds: Teaching English language learners across the curriculum*. Toronto: Rubicon Press/Pearson Canada.
- Cummins, J., Hu, S., Markus, P., & Montero, M. K. (2015). Identity texts and academic achievement: Connecting the dots in multilingual school contexts. *TESOL Quarterly*, 49, 555–581.
- Duke, N. (2000). For the rich it's richer: Print experiences and environments offered to children in very low and very high-socioeconomic status first-grade classrooms. *American Educational Research Journal*, 37(2), 441–478.
- Elley, W. B., & Mangubhai, F. (1983). The impact of reading on second language learning. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 19, 53–67.
- Esser, H. (2006). *Migration, language, and integration* (AKI Research Review 4). Berlin: Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration (AKI), Social Science Research Center. Available from: http://www.wzb.eu/zkd/aki/files/aki_research_review_4. Accessed 20 Feb 2011.
- Francis, D., Lesaux, N., & August, D. (2006). Language of instruction. In D. August & T. Shanahan (Eds.), *Developing literacy in second-language learners. Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth* (pp. 365–413). Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Gögin, I. (2005). Bilingual education: The German experience and debate. In J. Söhn (Ed.), *The effectiveness of bilingual school programs for immigrant children* (AKI research review 2, pp. 133–145). Berlin: Programme on Intercultural Conflicts and Societal Integration (AKI), Social Science Research Center. Available from: http://www.wzb.eu/zkd/aki/files/aki_bilingual_school_programs.pdf. Accessed 20 Feb 2011.
- Hakuta, K., Butler, Y. G., & Witt, D. (2000). *How long does it take English learners to attain proficiency?* Santa Barbara: University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute.
- Hart, B., & Risley, T. R. (1995). *Meaningful differences in the every experience of young American children*. Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes Publishing.
- Hélot, C., Sneddon, R., & Daly, N. (Eds.). (2014). *Children's literature in multilingual classrooms: From multiliteracy to multimodality*. London: IOE Press.

- Jang, E. E., Dunlop, M., Wagner, M., Kim, Y.-H., & Gu, Z. (2013). Elementary school ELLs' reading skill profiles using cognitive diagnosis modeling: Roles of length of residence and home language environment. *Language Learning, 63*(3), 400–436.
- Klesmer, H. (1994). Assessment and teacher perceptions of ESL student achievement. *English Quarterly, 26*(3), 8–11.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*, 465–491.
- Lindholm-Leary, K. J., & Borsato, G. (2006). Academic achievement. In F. Genesee, K. Lindholm-Leary, W. Saunders, & D. Christian (Eds.), *Educating English language learners* (pp. 176–222). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lindsay, J. (2010). *Children's access to print material and education-related outcomes: Findings from a meta-analytic review*. Naperville: Learning Point Associates.
- Manyak, P. C. (2004). "What did she say?" Translation in a primary-grade English immersion class. *Multicultural Perspectives, 6*, 12–18.
- Markus, P., & Stille, S. (2015, March). *Creating bridges to student voice through identity texts*. Panel presentation, TESOL Convention, Toronto, Canada.
- Mol, S. E., & Bus, A. (2011). To read or not to read: A meta-analysis of print exposure from infancy to early adulthood. *Psychological Bulletin, 137*(2), 267–296.
- Neuman, S. B., & Celano, D. (2001). Access to print in low-income and middle-income communities: An ecological study of four neighbourhoods. *Reading Research Quarterly, 36*, 8–26.
- Ntelioglou, BY, Fannin, J., Montanera, M., & Cummins, J. (2014). A multilingual and multimodal approach to literacy teaching and learning in urban education: A collaborative inquiry project in an inner city elementary school. *Frontiers in Psychology, 5*, 1–10. Article 533. Available from: www.frontiersin.org. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00533>.
- Nusche, D. (2009). *What works in migrant education? A review of evidence and policy options* (OECD Education working papers, No. 22). OECD Publishing. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1787/227131784531>.
- OECD. (2004). *Messages from PISA 2000*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2010a). *PISA 2009 results: Overcoming social background—Equity in learning opportunities and outcomes (Volume II)*. Paris: OECD. Available from <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/48852584.pdf>

- OECD. (2010b). *PISA 2009 results: Learning to learn—Student engagement, strategies and practices (Volume III)*. Paris: OECD. Available from <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/11/17/48852630.pdf>
- OECD. (2010c). *Closing the gap for immigrant students: Policies, practice and performance* (OECD Reviews of Migrant Education). Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2012). *Untapped skills: Realising the potential of immigrant students*. Paris: OECD.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Snow, C. E., Burns, M. S., & Griffin, P. (Eds.). (1998). *Preventing reading difficulties in young children*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Stanat, P., & Christensen, G. (2006). *Where immigrant students succeed: A comparative review of performance and engagement in PISA 2003*. Paris: OECD.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613–629.
- Sullivan, A., & Brown, M. (2013). *Social inequalities in cognitive scores at age 16: The role of reading*. London: Centre for Longitudinal Studies, Institute of Education, University of London. Available from www.cls.ioe.ac.uk
- Zinovyeva, N., Felgueroso, E., & Vazquez, P. (2014). Immigration and student achievement in Spain: Evidence from PISA. *SERIEs*, 5, 25–60. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13209-013-0101-7>.

Part II

Linguistic Diversity in the Home Context and the Normative Discourses of Educational Institutions

Teaching in Two Languages: The Pedagogical Value of Code- Switching in Multilingual Classroom Settings

Sithembele Marawu

Introduction

This chapter explores how an English/Xhosa bilingual teacher uses code-switching (CS) as an educational strategy in a South African township school. CS, ‘the use of more than one language in the course of a single communication discourse episode’ (Heller 1988: 4), is a widespread phenomenon in South African schools, particularly in rural and township schools (Heugh 2000: 19). However, there are views that if two languages ‘are used simultaneously, like in code-switching and with notes in both languages, it will create confusion’ (Vorster 2008: 38). Nevertheless, CS is a common feature of discourse in multilingual societies—in schools, teachers use it to ‘facilitate the learners’ access to the curriculum content’ (Ndayipfukamiye 1996: 36). Some teachers, therefore, regard CS as a pedagogic resource worth using in classroom situations characterized by linguistic diversity.

S. Marawu (✉)

Faculty of Business and Management Sciences, Cape Peninsula University
of Technology, Cape Town, South Africa

© The Author(s) 2018

P. Van Avermaet et al. (eds.), *The Multilingual Edge of Education*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54856-6_5

Research Problem

This chapter grapples with the problem of whether learners' diverse linguistic repertoires could be used in classrooms as educational strategies to enhance learning; it specifically looks at CS as a classroom strategy. In South Africa, what exacerbates the problem is perceptions that use of indigenous languages in classrooms is a feature of inferior education, while English is viewed as a language of status, technology and socio-economic advancement. On the other hand, teachers continue using indigenous languages unofficially for teaching purposes.

Background

While it is argued that children grasp information presented to them in their mother tongue (MT) more quickly than information presented 'through an unfamiliar linguistic medium' (Fasold 1993: 293)—in most former colonial countries, the colonial language 'becomes so naturalized that it is no longer seen as construing a particular ideological line' (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001: 2). In South Africa, for example, some African parents opt for 'English only' education because they see it more 'as a gateway to better education and economic empowerment' (De Wet 2002: 120) than as the perpetuation of colonial hegemony.

During the heydays of British imperialism in South Africa, English was imposed on Africans as an official language and medium of instruction. As Smith once put it, 'You shall all learn to speak English at the schools which I shall establish for you' (Oakes 1988: 133–6). The learners' diverse linguistic repertoires were excluded as pedagogical resources. Furthermore, no proper facilities were provided for the teaching and learning of English in African schools.

When, in 1953, the apartheid regime in South Africa promulgated the notorious Bantu Education system for Africans, it introduced MT instruction. This was not done to embrace linguistic diversity as an educational resource but to deny Africans a better system of education. As Alexander puts it, the 'Afrikaner National Party was using the very sensible UNESCO declarations on the importance of using vernacular languages

as media of instruction in schools in order to justify and beautify its racist curriculum' (Alexander 1999: 5).

The aim of the National Party (NP) was not to develop indigenous languages but to enhance oppression and exploitation through education. This could be one of the reasons why some African parents perceive MT education as reminiscent of the Bantu Education which aimed to relegate South African black people to oppressive menial jobs as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' (Beukes 1992: 47).

South Africa is a multilingual country and yet English still enjoys a dominant position as a language of learning and teaching (LOLT). In the post-apartheid Constitution (Section 6, Act 108 of 1996) and in language policies, South Africa articulates the importance of multilingualism, but grapples with how linguistic diversity could be used as a pedagogical resource (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004; Heugh 1999). Recognition of previously marginalized languages as official languages has not contributed much to developing the economic and educational value of these languages. There are eleven official languages of South Africa (Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNdebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Siswati, Setswana, Tshivenda and Xitsonga) but English remains associated with education and socioeconomic advancement (Kaschula 2004). Webb (1999) argues that this is a regression to the days of monolingualism, thus creating in post-apartheid South Africa a situation where English continues to play a dominant position.

Literature Review

This section examines research that has been conducted on classroom CS to give an overview of various viewpoints of scholars on the use of CS in classroom situations.

In examining the issue of linguistic diversity in educational contexts and more specifically, research approaches that could be used to interrogate the use and relevance of CS in classroom situations, it is imperative to take note of trends of research on classroom CS which have been prevalent in the past. Martin-Jones (1995) states that research on classroom CS began in the mid-1970s with a debate on the impact of CS on

children's language development. Initial studies on classroom CS focused on calculating instances of the use of the learners' first language (L1) in classrooms (see Wong-Fillmore 1980). Later research introduced the functional coding approach as could be seen in the studies conducted by Milk (1981) and Guthrie (1983). Later studies from the 1990s up to the beginning of the twenty-first century relied on interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication (Gumperz 1982, 1986). These studies include the research of Lin (1990, 1996, 1999, 2006), Merritt et al. (1992), Adendorff (1993), Ndayipfukamiye (1993), Martin-Jones (1995), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), Heller (1999, 2001) and Simon (2001).

Amongst scholars who addressed the phenomenon of classroom CS in South Africa in the 1990s and early 2000 are Adendorff (1993), Peires (1994), Kieswetter (1995), Marawu (1997) and Kamwangamalu (2000). Adendorff examined CS as a communicative and learning resource in classroom situations. Peires (1994) observed groups of students who were discussing their school work using CS as a vehicle to share information. Kieswetter (1995) also examined how students from selected schools used CS to enhance their understanding of the subject matter. Kamwangamalu (2000) argued that teachers use CS to express oneness with the learners. In a situation where information is presented to learners in a language they are not familiar with at home, the solidarity function of CS is important in alleviating linguistic differences between the language used at school for teaching and the child's home language. A child's home language plays a crucial role in their educational development. As also mentioned in the UNESCO report (1953: 11), it is 'axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue.'

More recently, in her review of research that has been done on classroom CS in the past three decades, Lin (2013) calls for a new research approach to classroom CS. She identifies four main factors which have thwarted the advancement of research on classroom CS:

1. Studies tend to be descriptive rather than design-interventionist
2. Lack of 'disciplinary plurilinguists'
3. Scarcity of theory-driven research questions

4. Lack of variety in the research questions and research designs (Lin 2013: 214–6)

Further, Lin (2013) argues that studies have tended to focus on giving descriptions of existing CS practices in classrooms. This has been the case, because for some time, the use of CS in classrooms has been frowned upon by authorities and in some instances also parents who believed that education could be only attained through the use of foreign languages which are perceived to be the languages of socioeconomic advancement. Researchers, therefore, had the mammoth task of performing a ‘legitimising motive’ (Lin 2013: 214) or ‘normalising mission’ (Rampton et al. 2002: 375) through their research. Several studies (Lin and Martin 2005; Forman 2007; Macaro 2009) concentrate on describing instances of CS so as to prove their pedagogical importance. Lin goes on to argue that classroom CS research must now shift from the ‘normalising mission’ and begin to critically analyse existing approaches to classroom CS. Furthermore, researchers must use ‘multiple research paradigms and methods, both interpretive and experimental’ (Lin 2013: 215).

Studies in the past three decades focused on this ‘normalising mission’ (Adendorff 1993; Peires 1994; Kieswetter 1995; Marawu 1997; Kamwangamalu 2000) by trying to answer the crucial question of whether CS has any pedagogical value.

In addition to the plea for new paradigms and approaches to classroom CS, Lin (2013) also calls for theory-driven research questions on classroom CS. She points to the need for research literature ‘to build up an expanded, diversified repertoire of theoretical frameworks.’ The development of theoretical frameworks will lead to new research questions that will mark a shift beyond focusing on the ‘good sense or rationality’ of CS instances in classroom situations (Lin 2013: 215).

The fourth point Lin (2013) makes about classroom CS pertains to the lack of variety in the research questions and research designs. Lin argues that studies on classroom CS have been ‘one-shot’ or ‘cross-sectional,’ and suggests that ‘instead of one-shot classroom video/audiotaping studies, we need to have studies that follow the same classroom for a longer period of time; for example, a whole course, a whole semester’ (Lin 2013: 219). Furthermore, classroom CS research must also focus on students’

CS instances as well as written CS. Also, she calls for the involvement of teachers in research as teacher-researchers as well as students as student-researchers so that their voices and insights on their CS practices can be heard. Finally, she points out the need for research that would compare CS in both language and content classrooms (Lin 2013: 216).

Research Questions

This chapter explores the following three research questions:

1. Does a teacher's CS assist learners in understanding the content of the subject?
2. What is the pedagogical value of MT use in L2-medium classrooms?
3. What are the pedagogical functions of CS?

Methodology

This study was conducted in a township school in one of the cities of South Africa. The township school was selected because CS is prevalent in rural and township schools where most learners and teachers share the same MT. The participants of this study were a junior secondary school teacher and her grade eight learners. Purposive sampling was used to select the teacher and the learners who participated in this. The teacher was deliberately selected because she confirmed that she used CS to interact with her learners. Also, the teacher and the learners were chosen because they were bilingual in English and Xhosa. This study used mainly a qualitative method as the researcher was observing the class over a period of time, focusing on the teacher's communicative behaviour as she interacted with her learners in the classroom.

As the main aim of this study is to examine the communicative patterns of the teacher and her learners, qualitative data sampling enabled me to get a better understanding of their communicative repertoire. The data for in-depth analysis was collected directly from the teacher and her learners, and served as a mirror of the participant's views, feelings and

opinions about the use of CS in educational settings as well as its underlying pedagogical implications.

I chose to be a non-participant observer so as to collect natural data about the way the teacher and her learners interact. As an English/Xhosa bilingual myself, it was easy to understand the teachers' CS behaviour. Also, being a non-participant observer limited the prejudice or preconceived ideas about CS, or about this particular context, and instead enabled me to observe its pragmatic use as the lesson unfolds (Marawu 1997: 20).

As this study falls within the parameters of interpretive research, methods such as self-report, interviews and observation were used to collect data. I also used a video recorder which was operated by an assistant researcher. This gave me ample time to observe the interaction between the teacher and the learners, while they were being recorded. The transcribed video recordings of the classroom activities made it easy to analyse the interactions in detail.

Data Analysis

In this section, I analyse the teacher's communicative repertoire as she interacted with her learners. The data that are analysed are based on the history lessons of a grade eight teacher in a township school in South Africa. The history lessons are on the Industrial Revolution in Britain. The analysis focuses on the three research questions introduced above.

Does a Teacher's CS Assist Learners in Understanding the Content of the Subject?

The main purpose of this section is to analyse whether CS instances used by a teacher enhance the learners' understanding of the subject matter. In most multilingual schools where English is the language of instruction, teachers are faced with the dichotomy that emergent bilingual learners might not have a sufficient level of proficiency in English to understand the lessons. The question is whether CS, which is prevalent in bilingual

and multilingual classroom situations, enhances the learners' understanding of the subject matter. In the transcription below, an English translation of the phrases and utterances in isiXhosa is provided between square brackets (Teacher = T; Pupil = P).

Extract 1

1. T: Now we are coming to the characteristics of the industrial revolution (she writes this on the board) The first one is, The steam power and the steam engine (she writes this on the board.) Just as petrol is necessary in driving a motor engine, steam power is necessary in driving factories I mean factory machines, *siyevana?* [are you with me?] *Njengokuba uyazi ukuba imoto ayihambi ngaphandle kwepetrol, uyaqonda?* [Just as you know that a car does not move without petrol, understand?]
2. P: Yes!!
3. T: ... so *ne-ne-nesteam* power was necessary to do what? To drive factory machines, *siyevana?* [...the..the ..the steam.....are we together?]
4. P: Yes!!
5. T: *Kufuneka ucinge ngemoto. Imoto ayikwazi kuhamba ngaphandle kwepetrol, siyevana?* [You must think of a car. A car cannot move without petrol, are you with me?]
6. P: Yes!!
7. T: And *nasezifactory.... ifactory azikwazi kusebenza ngaphandle kwantoni?* [... in factories.... factories cannot operate without what?]

In turn 1, with the switch to isiXhosa, the teacher intensifies what has been expressed before in English. The switch to isiXhosa is a conceptual translation of the English expression—it is used to explain and reinforce what she has already stated in English. She also uses it to reformulate the English explanation. The switch to isiXhosa is what Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain term 'a strategy by which bilingual speakers reformulate the same utterance in a different code' (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2005: 237). This switch performs a discourse-related function in a pedagogical setting. It is also worth noting that in turn 3, the teacher switches back to English after ensuring that the learners have understood the content of what she wants to say to them.

Furthermore, the teacher uses *siyevana?* [Do we hear each other?] and *uyaqonda?* [Do you understand?]. She does so primarily not to elicit response but as a contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982) which helps structure her discourse. These discourse markers create a turn-taking system between the teacher and the learners, which serves as a pause for the teacher to either switch to isiXhosa or English.

The expression in turn 5, *kufuneka ucinge ngemoto* [you must think of a car] is uttered in a low tone. It is like an *aside* that is meant to help the learners create an imagination of a car—something they already know in order to help them understand the point in her exposition. This will enable the learners to create a smooth transfer of knowledge from the known to the unknown. Also, the variation in tone (when articulating the switch to isiXhosa) helps the teacher to express the sociocultural identity she shares with her learners. However, the switches to isiXhosa are not only an expression of social solidarity but are also used by the teacher to negotiate meaning with the learners (Martin-Jones 1995: 98). From this example, it can be concluded that the teacher relies on CS to facilitate learning, but there is no evidence of learning actually having taken place.

What Is the Pedagogical Value of MT Use in L2-medium Classrooms?

In some instances, the teacher not only uses CS but also uses isiXhosa to drive her point home to the learners. Extract 2 is one instance where the teacher simply uses isiXhosa to interact with the learners.

Extract 2

1. T: What is coal? icoal *yintoni?* [What is coal?]
2. P: *Ngamalahle.* [Coal]
3. T: *Niyaziqonda eza train zakudala? Zazihamba ngantoni?* [Do you know the – trains that were used in the olden days]
4. P: *Ngamalahle.*[Coal]
5. T: *Zazihamba ngantoni?* [What put them in motion?]
6. P: *Ngamalahle.*[Coal]

One study conducted in South Africa observed that teachers mainly opt for the use of isiXhosa to deliver lessons. Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004: 78) argue that use of isiXhosa in classrooms is common among teachers in South Africa: '[o]bservations showed that isiXhosa was generally used for most of the talk time in the classrooms with some English code-mixing and code-switching taking place.' This raises the critical question of whether it is necessary for these learners to receive education in English, when in reality, they are taught in isiXhosa. In another study in South Africa, Desai (2001: 331) made a similar observation: '[i]t was apparent that, except for the English classes, the teachers used mainly isiXhosa to convey information to the learners.'

Therefore, it could be argued that teachers use isiXhosa to enhance content learning and understanding of the subject matter. As demonstrated in the excerpt above, the learners respond to the teacher in isiXhosa. It is also clear in Extract 2 that the teacher's main aim is not to teach content and language simultaneously. Moreover, English language teaching is a specialized field; therefore, it cannot be 'assumed that teachers of all subjects can assist in the teaching of English' (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004: 71).

Krashen's (1983) distinction between 'subconscious language acquisition' and 'conscious language learning' underlines that second language teaching is a specialized field. Krashen (1983: 1) adds that language acquisition 'requires meaningful interaction in the target language – natural communication – in which speakers are concerned not with the form of the utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding.' Furthermore, 'conscious language learning' involves 'error correction and the presentation of explicit rules.' This requires teachers who have been trained in second language teaching.

Most learners in rural and township schools have no 'meaningful interaction in the target language'; in other words, there is no 'natural communication' in their target language—in fact, this cannot be expected as they have their own MT in which 'natural communication' occurs. Teachers of content subjects, who are not L2 language teaching specialists and might not be fluent in the learners' target language, cannot be expected to offer this natural second language acquisition environment where there is 'meaningful interaction in the target language.' Therefore,

as seen in Extract 2, teachers rely extensively on CS into the MT for useful and meaningful engagement with learners.

Desai (2001: 331) also raises the critical point of assessments which have to be conducted in English even though students have been exposed to 'this isiXhosa-rich environment.' The paradox is that the subject matter is imparted to the learners mainly in isiXhosa (and they also respond in isiXhosa as can be seen in Extract 2), but assessments are done in English only. Furthermore, the contradiction between what the language policy promulgates and actual classroom practices leads to a situation where learners may understand the subject matter but fail to demonstrate this in writing because of poor proficiency in English.

What Are the Pedagogical Functions of CS?

A further issue in the study of CS in classroom situations is to ascertain its pedagogical functions. This is of fundamental importance since some scholars hold the view that CS is 'a grammarless mixture of two languages' (Grosjean 1982: 147). This has been a major concern of a number of researchers who study classroom CS from within a framework of interactional sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication, for example, Lin (1990, 1996, 1999, 2006), Merritt et al. (1992), Adendorff (1993), Ndayipfukamiye (1993), Martin-Jones (1995), Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), Heller (1999, 2001) and Simon (2001).

Turning to the present data, we can assess the pedagogical functions of the switches used by the teacher as she interacts with her learners. CS into the MT, it turns out, is used for purposes of emphasis and elaboration as well as repeating information already given in English. In Extract 3, the teacher uses isiXhosa words to emphasize what has been mentioned in English.

Extract 3

T: As you know that an increase in production of goods meant an increase in transport, there were only two ways at that time by which goods could be transported over land. It was by either use of horse power or rivers and canals. As you know that transport was needed to take those goods to the

markets, there were two means of transport used at that time, *amahashe nemilambo, siyevana?* Why do you seem not to agree, what about others? [..... horses and rivers, are you with me?]

In the above example, the teacher first gives her explanation in English. With this, she shows that she is aware of the official status of English as a language of teaching and tries to meet this obligation. However, she uses isiXhosa words to sum up the gist of her English explanation. In addition, she demonstrates that she is comfortable in using either of the two languages as an educational resource. The use of isiXhosa and English simultaneously refutes the impression that education can be acquired when offered in English only. CS, therefore, helps learners to value their own language as an important educational resource.

The Xhosa words the teacher uses in Extract 3 are not introducing new information in the lesson or unpacking any information the teacher has previously explained in English. The teacher uses the isiXhosa words *amahashe* [horses] and *imilambo* [rivers] to emphasize her point.

In the following extract, the teacher uses CS to reinforce what has been explained in English.

Extract 4

T: In order to improve transport, the investors started to see if the steam power which was used... erh... which was used in factories could be used to solve the transport problem ... so the investors were interested in knowing if the steam power which erh you know ... they wanted to know if *bangayisebenzisa ekusolweni* *Ie* transport problem cause *ezi zazislow kakhulu*, *ihorse-power necanals zasemlanjeni, uyaqonda?* [... they can use it in solving this these were very slow, that is, the horsepower and the river canals, understand?]

Using intra-sentential switches (switches which occur within a sentence), the teacher reinforces her English explanation with a switch to isiXhosa. She articulates intra-sentential switches with accuracy. These require syntactic and lexical restructuring without losing the meaning of the original source or language.

Furthermore, English is the matrix language in Extract 4 and isiXhosa is the embedded language. The matrix language is the language that receives linguistic items from another language, whereas the embedded language is the language that donates linguistic items to another language (Myers-Scotton 1993). The teacher's ability to use isiXhosa phrasal insertions in Extract 4 indicates that she does not do this because she is not fluent in English but shows that CS is an integral part of her communicative repertoire on which she relies as a pedagogical resource.

In Extract 5, the teacher uses isiXhosa to reformulate her English explanations.

Extract 5

T: ... *kwakufuneka into ezakuthi ikhawuleze ekutranspoteni* igoods to the markets [What was needed was something that could speed up transportation of goods to the markets]

... so experiments in the 19th Century succeeded in producing steam cars that were capable of carrying 14 passengers ... so during the 19th Century investors *za experimenta ukwenza ntoni? Ukwenza i-i-i-into enokuthi ikwelise i-ipassengers eziyi 14* that is, *abantu abayi 14, uyaqonda?* [...investors experimented doing what? Doing something that could carry 14 passengers, that is, people who are 14, understand?]

The teacher uses reformulation both to sum up her English explanation and to make sure that the learners understand her lesson. According to Setati (1998: 37), 'reformulation is when the teacher paraphrases what has been said and does not add any new information or new instructions.' In Extract 5, the teacher does not add new information but clarifies her explanation in another code. In their explanation of reformulation, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2005: 237) call it 'a strategy by which bilingual speakers reformulate the same utterance in a different code.' In the context of Extract 5, the teacher does not do reformulation in English but switches to the learners' MT to reformulate her statement. She hopes that if reformulation is done in the learners' MT, their understanding of the subject matter will be achieved.

The following example from Extract 5 shows how the teacher uses intonational variations when reformulating her explanations:

... so during the 19th Century investors *za experimenta ukwenza ntoni? Ukwenza i-i-i-into enokuthi ikwelise i-ipassengers eziyi 14* that is, *abantu abayi 14, uyaqonda?*

[...investors experimented doing what? Doing something that could carry 14 passengers, that is, people who are 14, understand?]

In the above example, the teacher uses a low-rise tone when switching to isiXhosa. Her tone rises when she produces this isiXhosa switch, *za experimenta ukwenza ntoni?* [...experimented doing what?]. In a low tone, she answers her own question and the answer is a reformulation of the English explanation. By articulating in a low tone the isiXhosa switch, she prepares her learners for the next point in her lesson. The CS is also an expression of the bilingual identity she shares with the learners. It may be instrumental in empowering emergent bilingual learners who might struggle to access information in an *English only* classroom situation.

Furthermore, the change in tone serves as an attention-focusing mechanism and at the same time facilitates understanding of the explanation that was given earlier in English. It is worth mentioning that within her isiXhosa switch, she uses the word *passengers* but immediately unpacks it in isiXhosa for the benefit of the learners. This shows that she deliberately uses CS as a pedagogical resource.

Intra-lexical Switches

From the data, we also see that the teacher uses intra-lexical switches or nonce borrowings to ensure that learners understand her lesson. These are lexical items which do not necessarily undergo phonological adaptation, but their use is ephemeral in the recipient language. Khati (1992: 183) refers to intra-lexical switches as the use of morphemes from two languages within the same lexical item. Poplack (1985) uses the term 'nonce borrowing' when referring to intra-lexical switches since their occurrence is temporary and meant for specific purposes (Marawu 1997: 41).

The following are examples of intra-lexical switches used by the teacher during her lessons.

Ekusolveni [to solve]; Xhosa word *eku* [to] is mixed with the English word *solve*:

Ekus + solve = ekusolveni

Zazislow [were slow]; Xhosa word *zazi* [were] is mixed with *slow*:

Zazi + slow = zazislow

Ipassengers [the passengers]; the Xhosa prefix *i* is mixed with *passengers*:

i + passengers = ipassengers

Ekutranspotheni [to transport]; the Xhosa word *eku* [to] is mixed with *transporting*:

Ekus + transporting = Ekutranspotheni

Experimenta [experiment]; the Xhosa morpheme *a* is mixed with *experiment*:

Experiment + a = experimenta

It is interesting to note that the words she created do not affect the grammar and structure of her sentences as she switches codes. The teacher, for example, manages to reconstitute the words *ekutranspotheni* [in transporting] and *experimenta* [experiment] and, thus makes them assume a Xhosa phonetic form without major sound-changes. This shows that CS occurs to her as a spontaneous reaction, which she uses as an interactional resource with the learners.

Discussion

The research problem this study has been exploring is whether CS has any pedagogical value in classroom situations where the medium of instruction is the learners' L2. To find answers to this, the study was based on three research questions: the first research question was whether the CS instances used by the teacher are designed to assist the learners in understanding the content of the subject; the second focused on the pedagogical role of the learners' MT in L2-medium classrooms; the third research question pertained to the specific pedagogical-interactional functions of CS in classroom situations.

From the findings of this study, it is apparent that CS can be harnessed as a pedagogical strategy in classroom situations that are characterized by linguistic diversity. The data show that the teacher in the study is concerned mainly with empowering learners with the content of her subject. She uses CS as a pedagogical resource to ensure that learners understand the gist of her lesson irrespective of the language used to impart information. In this learning environment, CS becomes a flexible device used by teachers to empower with information learners who might not be fully competent and proficient in the medium of instruction. CS is used by teachers to meet the demands of the classroom; it is 'a key to the world of the participants and a means of alleviating the artificiality of the classroom from the learners' experience' (Ndayipfukamiye 1993: 83–4).

A second issue is the critical question of MT instruction. In the data, there are instances where the teacher uses isiXhosa to deliver her lessons. Learners too respond to the teacher in isiXhosa. The prevalence of isiXhosa use in township and rural schools where English is the official LOLT is also mentioned by Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2004: 78) in their study of CS in South Africa. Their finding was that 'although officially the school's policy declared that at the grade four level the transition from isiXhosa to English as the LOLT took place, the reality was much different.'

While some parents prefer English as the medium of instruction because of its association with socioeconomic advancement and MT instruction with Bantu Education (De Wet 2002), the continued use of isiXhosa as a pedagogical resource by teachers shows there is a practical need for indigenous languages to be used in education. Furthermore, this could also be seen as a challenge by teachers to the hegemony of English as a LOLT. The need to challenge linguistic hegemony is articulated by Shannon (1995: 177) when she argues that 'once a language achieves hegemonic status, dominated languages internalize that lowly status.' She goes on to state that 'in a counterhegemonic bilingual classroom, linguistic rights are ensured for all' (Shannon 1995: 198). In addition, multilingual pedagogies in classrooms are used to construct knowledge across the curriculum (Ndayipfukamiye 1993) and CS, in particular, is used to 'negotiate and renegotiate joint frames of reference and to exchange meaning' (Martin-Jones 1995: 98).

Furthermore, it has been observed that research on classroom CS focused on the pedagogical relevance of CS to classroom situations (Lin 1996; Adendorff 1993; Peires 1994; Martin-Jones 1995; Ndayipfukamiye 1993; De Wet 2002; Vorster 2008; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004). Most studies state that classroom CS has a pedagogical role, and the data analysed in this chapter also confirm that classroom CS has a role to play in multilingual educational settings. It has been noted in this study that the strategic use of CS for purposes of reformulation of expressions, clarification of concepts and display of emphasis is strongly represented in the teacher's discourse. However, Lin (2013: 215) argues that future research on classroom CS should not merely describe the functions of CS in classrooms but focus on a more critical approach to it using 'multiple research paradigms and approaches,' for example, a combination of interpretive and experimental approaches.

The use of CS and indigenous languages as pedagogical resources is a complicated issue in ex-colonial countries. In South Africa, the misconception among some parents that English-only education means better education and access to economic advancement still prevails (Vorster 2008). Similarly, in countries like Burundi, French is perceived as a language of prestige (Ndayipfukamiye 1993), while in Hong Kong, an official referred to CS as 'Chinglish' which is undesirable in classrooms (Lin 1996: 49). However, CS remains a widespread phenomenon in multilingual schools as the case is in countries like Botswana (Arthur 1996) and Tanzania (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004).

For South Africa and other countries where CS is used in classrooms as a teaching strategy, it is imperative that the use of indigenous languages for pedagogical purposes is given due attention. There is a need for society to be educated about the educational value of using CS and also MT instruction. This will require development of materials and training of teachers in MT instruction and use of CS as a pedagogical resource.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the use of CS as a classroom strategy in learning situations where teachers and learners share the same MT. It has been noted that CS is a flexible strategy which teachers use to meet

classroom demands. Data analysis confirmed the pedagogical value of CS in classroom situations. Reviewed literature also showed that CS can be harnessed as a classroom strategy but there is a need for further research on how it could be better used as a pedagogical resource with a critical edge to it. However, some South Africans view with suspicion MT use in education because of past experiences of Bantu education. This creates a situation where the hegemony of English is perpetuated while indigenous languages remain marginalized with no role as pedagogical resources. Noteworthy is the fact that the teacher's CS practice, observed in the collected data, challenges the hegemony of English in classroom situations.

References

- Adendorff, R. (1993). Code switching amongst Zulu-speaking teachers and their pupils: Its functions and implications for teacher education. *Language and Education*, 7(3), 141–162.
- Alexander, N. (1999). *English unassailable but unattainable: The dilemma of language policy in South African education* (PRAESA – Occasional Papers, 3). Cape Town: PRAESA
- Arthur, J. (1996). Code switching and collusion: Classroom interaction in Botswana primary schools. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1), 17–33.
- Beukes, A.-M. (1992). Moedertaalonderrig in 'n demokratiese Suid-Afrika. *Per Linguam*, 8(1), 42–51.
- Brock-Utne, B., & Holmarsdottir, H. B. (2004). Language policies and practices in Tanzania and South Africa: Problems and challenges. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 24(1), 67–83.
- de Wet, C. (2002). Factors influencing the choice of English as language of learning and teaching (LoLT) – a South African perspective. *South African Journal of Education*, 22(2), 119–124.
- Desai, Z. (2001). Multilingualism in South Africa with particular reference to the role of African languages in education. *International Review of Education*, 47(3–4), 323–339.
- Fasold, R. W. (1993). *The sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford/England/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Forman, R. (2007). Bilingual teaching in the Thai EFL context: One teacher's practice. *TESOL in Context*, 16(2), 19–24.

- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1986). Interactional sociolinguistics in the study of schooling. In J. J. Cook-Gumperz (Ed.), *The social construction of literacy* (pp. 45–68). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guthrie, L. F. (1983). Contrasts in teachers' language use in a Chinese-English bilingual classroom. In J. Handscombe, R. A. Orem, & B. P. Taylor (Eds.), *TESOL '83: The question of control. Selected papers from the Annual Convention of Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages* (pp. 39–52). Washington, DC: TESOL.
- Heller, M. (1988). *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. London: Longman.
- Heller, M. (2001). Legitimate language in a multilingual school. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 381–402). Westport: Ablex.
- Heller, M., & Martin-Jones, M. (2001). *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference*. Westport: Ablex.
- Heugh, K. (1999). Languages, development and reconstructing education in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19(4–5), 301–313.
- Heugh, K. (2000). *The case against bilingual and multilingual education in South Africa* (PRAESA – Occasional Papers, 6). Cape Town: PRAESA
- Kamwangamalu, N. M. (2000). The state of codeswitching research at the dawn of the new millennium (2): Focus on Africa. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 18(1), 59–71.
- Kaschula, R. (2004). South Africa's national language policy revisited: The challenge of implementation. *Alternation*, 11(2), 10–25.
- Khati, T. (1992). Intra-lexical switching or nonce borrowing?: Evidence from Sesotho-English performance. In R. K. Herbert (Ed.), *Language and society in Africa: The theory and practice of sociolinguistics* (pp. 181–196). Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.
- Kieswetter, A. (1995). Code-Switching amongst African High School Pupils. *University of Witwatersrand Occasional Papers in African Linguistics (1)*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

- Krashen, S. (1983). *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Liebscher, G., & Dailey-O'Cain, J. (2005). Learner code-switching in the content-based foreign language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(2), 234–247.
- Lin, A. M. Y. (1990). *Teaching in two tongues: Language alternation in foreign language classrooms* (Research Report, 3). Hong Kong: Hong Kong City Polytechnic.
- Lin, A. M. Y. (1996). Bilingualism or linguistic segregation? Symbolic domination, resistance and code switching in Hong Kong Schools. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1), 49–84.
- Lin, A. M. Y. (1999). Doing-English-lessons in the reproduction or transformation of social worlds? *TESOL Quarterly*, 33(3), 393–412.
- Lin, A. M. Y. (2006). Beyond linguistic purism in language-in-education policy and practice: Exploring bilingual pedagogies in a Hong Kong science classroom. *Language and Education*, 20(4), 287–305.
- Lin, A. M. Y. (2013). Classroom code-switching: Three decades of research. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 4(1), 195–218.
- Lin, A. M. Y., & Martin, P. W. (2005). *Decolonisation, globalisation: Language-in-education policy and practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Macaro, E. (2009). Teacher use of codeswitching in the second language classroom: Exploring 'optimal' use. In M. Turnbull & J. Dailey-O'Cain (Eds.), *First language use in second and foreign language learning* (pp. 35–49). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Marawu, S. (1997). *A case study of English/Xhosa code switching as a communicative and learning resource in an English medium classroom*. M. Ed. thesis, Rhodes University.
- Martin-Jones, M. (1995). Code-switching in the classroom: Two decades of research. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on CS* (pp. 90–111). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merritt, M., et al. (1992). Socialising multilingualism: Determinants of codeswitching in Kenyan primary classrooms. In Eastman, C. M. (Ed.) *Codeswitching. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 13(1–2), 103–21. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Milk, R. D. (1981). An analysis of the functional allocation of Spanish and English in a bilingual classroom. *CABE Research Journal*, 2(2), 11–26.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social motivations for codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Ndayipfukamiye, L. (1993). Code-switching in Burundi primary classrooms. In C. M. Rubagumya (Ed.), *Teaching & researching language in African classrooms* (pp. 79–95). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ndayipfukamiye, L. (1996). The contradictions of teaching bilingually in post-colonial Burundi: From Nyakatsi to maisons en étage. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1), 35–47.
- Oakes, D. (Ed.). (1988). *Illustrated history of South Africa: The real story*. Cape Town: The Reader's Digest Association South Africa.
- Peires, M. L. (1994). Code switching as an aid to L2 learning. *Southern African Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 3(1), 14–22.
- Poplack, S. (1985). Contrasting patterns of codeswitching in two communities. In H. J. Warkentyne (Ed.), *Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Methods in Dialectology* (pp. 363–385). Victoria: University of Victoria – Department of Linguistics.
- Rampton, B., et al. (2002). Methodology in the analysis of classroom discourse. *Applied Linguistics*, 23(3), 373–392.
- Republic of South Africa (RSA). (1996). 'The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa', Act No. 108 of 1996, *Government Gazette*, 378, 17678. Cape Town: Government Printers.
- Setati, M. (1998). Code-switching in a senior primary class of second-language mathematics learners. *For the Learning of Mathematics*, 18(1), 34–40.
- Shannon, S. M. (1995). The hegemony of English: A case study of one bilingual classroom as a site of resistance. *Linguistics and Education*, 7(3), 175–200.
- Simon, D. L. (2001). Towards a new understanding of codeswitching in the foreign language classroom. In R. Jacobson (Ed.), *Codeswitching worldwide 2* (pp. 311–342). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- UNESCO. (1953). *The use of vernacular languages in education* (Monographs on Fundamental Education, 8). Paris: UNESCO.
- Vorster, H. (2008). Investigating a scaffold to code-switching as strategy in multilingual classrooms. *Pythagoras*, 67, 33–41.
- Webb, V. (1999). Multilingualism in democratic South Africa: The over-estimation of language policy. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19(4–5), 351–366.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (1980). Learning a second language: Chinese children in the American classroom. In J. E. Alatis (Ed.), *Current issues in bilingual education: Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics* (pp. 309–325). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Multilingualism and Translanguaging as a Resource for Teaching and Learning in French Guiana

Sophie Alby and Isabelle Léglise

Introduction

In French Guiana, a French overseas territory, roughly two thirds of children do not speak French, the official language and the language of instruction, before going to school (Léglise 2013); however, many do speak several languages other than French. The French national educational system ideology is that monolingualism is seen as the norm in education. The discrepancy between children's home and school language and culture has long been 'perceived to be the root cause of the serious educational problems facing the region. French Guiana has the lowest

We would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions to improve this chapter.

S. Alby (✉)

Université de Guyane and UMR 8202 SeDyL, Guyane, France

I. Léglise

CNRS (French National Center for Scientific Research), UMR 8202 SeDyL,
Paris, France

rate of educational achievement in all of France and a high school drop-out rate; nearly half of all the children leave school without any school diploma' (Migge and Léglise 2010: 111). This has led to academic critique ranging from anthropologists and linguists writing against 'non-adapted schools' (Hurault 1972; Grenand 1982) to their partly successful activism for the introduction of local mother tongues into education (Launey 1999; Goury et al. 2000). More recent studies in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics address other issues linked to language and education in French Guiana: they investigate teacher training (Alby and Launey 2007), language policy in education (Alby and Léglise 2005, 2014a), teachers' discourse on using children's mother tongues (Léglise and Puren 2005; Alby and Léglise 2014b) and teachers' language practice in the classrooms (Alby 2008).

Some bilingual education programmes have been developed nationally or regionally over the last 20 years, but the officials and teachers in charge of them insist on language separation (different teachers, different moments, different spaces) as shown below. Education in French Guiana therefore depends on a national education system premised on a monolingual norm which largely disregards the multilingual reality of the school population. We would like to emphasize here that it is not only the discrepancy between home and school language which seems problematic, it is also the discrepancy between monolingual norms and monolingual thinking (ranging from linguistic assimilation towards French to language separation in the classroom and in the children's mind), and an everyday multilingual living experience.

In such a situation, even if language ideologies at the macro-level exert a powerful influence on the micro-level, it can be assumed that a tension will arise between institutional discourse and local practices. For even in a centralized education system such as the French one, teachers and students do have a certain amount of agency. Indeed, local responses sometimes show pragmatism and resilience to linguistic assimilation in action and language separation: in the classrooms where the studies presented below were carried out, students and also sometimes teachers use all their 'multilingual potential to maximize communication and learning' (García 2009a). Despite the institutional monolingual norm, the multilingual reality of such children surfaces in everyday classroom

interactions and in language learning. Nevertheless, analysis tends to strengthen the hypothesis of Creese and Blackledge (2010) that in practice the use of students' languages is primarily a pragmatic response to the local classroom context and that a lot still has to be done to move from codeswitching to translanguaging as a *modus operandi* (García 2009a).

The aim of this chapter is to examine the assumption of a gap between mainstream and dominant language ideology (both at a national and regional level) and local practice on the basis of studies which have been conducted in recent years in French Guiana. In order to understand this gap between different ways of speaking about and 'doing' codeswitching (a gap between discourse and practice), we will first present an overview of the political and institutional discourses with respect to language learning and codeswitching both at a national or macro-level (through the analysis of legislation and curricula) and regional or meso-level (through interviews of school officials¹). Second, based on ethnographic observation and precise analysis of a substantial number of hours of (audio or video) recorded classroom interactions, we will, at a micro-level, discuss the discourse and practices of a number of teachers through the analysis of interviews and recording of classroom interactions. We show that teachers and students play a significant role in (re)constructing, negotiating and resisting top-down policies which reflect a monolingual ideology. Drawing on some 'good examples' from their own practices, we will then show that codeswitching, translanguaging and multilingualism in general can be valuable pedagogical resources for teaching and learning.

Students' Mother Tongues and Multilingual Repertoire, an Issue for Education in French Guiana

French Guiana is a French overseas territory like Martinique, Guadeloupe and La Réunion. It is located on the mainland of South America, bordering on Suriname and Brazil and has a population of approximately 250,000 inhabitants, 44 per cent of them under 20. Educational performance is among the lowest in the French territories. Two thirds of primary

schoolchildren and 80 per cent of students in secondary school come from disadvantaged families and receive what is called ‘priority education’ (education for children coming from deprived social sectors) (Pau-Langevin 2014). A substantial majority of children (both French citizens and children of migrants) grow up without any contact with French which is the official and major language of education, and this has been linked to the poor school results. In this context, education is a real challenge and multilingualism is a major issue for social policy in general. Over 40 different languages are spoken in French Guiana, and 20 of these are spoken by at least 1 per cent (and for some languages by as much as 30 per cent) of the population, either as a mother tongue or as an additional language (Léglise 2007). Moreover, these languages belong to different linguistic families. Table 1 provides an overview of these language families:

This linguistic diversity is reflected in the children’s linguistic repertoire, as shown in Fig. 1. This graph is the result of a survey conducted in all the primary schools in French Guiana (Léglise 2007), and it shows the languages spoken by ten-year-old schoolchildren. The languages of initial socialization (spoken within the family before children begin school) are designated L1, those spoken or learned later are designated L2, L3 and so on.

Since French is the language of schooling, it appears in the repertoire of all schoolchildren, mostly as an L2. Five other languages have a significant presence: Nenge(e) Tongo (an English-based Creole language, both as an L1 and as an additional language), Guianese Creole (mostly as an additional language, suggesting that most parents from Creole families choose to use French in the home and that children acquire the Creole in the playground or from elders), Brazilian Portuguese (both as an L1 and as an additional language) and Haitian Creole (mostly as an L1 but also as an additional language for those families who choose to use French or to align with Guianese Creole). The first four languages function as a lingua franca in some parts of French Guiana. However, language presence is not synonymous with official recognition: there is a gap between *status* and *corpus*. As the graph shows, only those languages listed above French on the graph are recognized as *langues de France* or *langues régionales*: these are considered to be ‘local’ languages,

Table 1 Languages spoken by more than 1 per cent of the population

Language types	Major languages
French-based Creoles	Guianese Creole, Haitian Creole, Antillean Creole (Martiniquan and Guadeloupean)
English-based Creoles	Eastern Maroon Creole (Ndyuka, Aluku, Pamaka), Sranan Tongo
English-based Creoles (relexified in Portuguese)	Saamaka
European languages (ex-colonial languages in the region)	French, Brazilian Portuguese, Dutch, English, Spanish
Asian languages	Hmong, Hakka, Cantonese
Indigenous languages	Kali'na, Wayana and Apalai (Carib), Lokono and Parikwaki (Arawak), Teko and Wayampi (Tupi-Guarani)

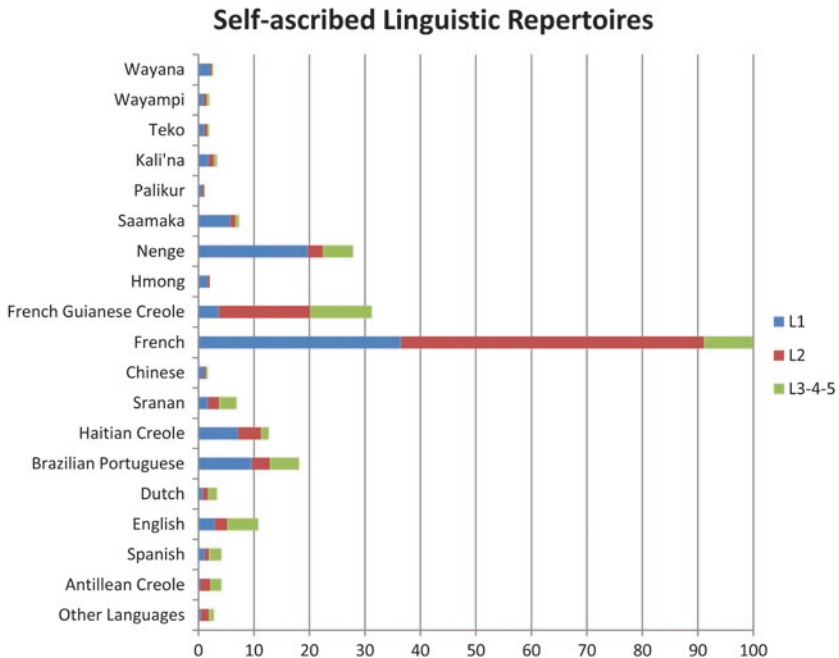


Fig. 1 Languages in the children's repertoires and their status (Léglisse 2013)

and this is mostly for historical reasons and because of the French citizenship of most of their speakers in French Guiana. They match the European definition of ‘regional’ languages, which defines ‘regional or minority languages’ as those (i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population and (ii) different from the official language(s) of that State (Conseil de l’Europe 1992). This definition does not include the languages on the graph underneath French, either because these languages are recognized in other French territories (such as Antillean Creoles) or are considered to be ‘migrant languages’. This distinction leads to inequities among children in school. As only officially recognized ‘regional’ or ‘local’ languages are ever used alongside French as the medium of instruction, some children benefit from the fact that their languages are recognized, even just for a few hours of class per week, while others do not. This educational model (which exists throughout the world) has the consequences noted by García and Kleifgen (2011: 167):

Monolingual education, as carried out by the dominant language group in the state, plays an important role in ensuring that language minority communities do not receive a fair share of educational opportunities and that their bilingual resources and their multiple voices are diminished.

The question we address in the next section is therefore to ask how children’s languages, and multilingualism in general, are taken into account in education on the macro-level (the educational system and language policy), on a meso-level (in the discourse of school officials) and the micro-level (in classroom practices).

French Guiana: An Example of the Application of the Assimilation Policy of the French State

French policy tends to eschew all languages other than standard French in the public domain (Migge and Léglise 2010). This policy is based on the idea that, since the Revolution, ‘one nation equals one language’; as

the second article of the French Constitution puts it: 'French is the language of the Republic'.² There is no reference to minority languages in France, except for the new 75-1 Constitution article, which states that 'Regional languages are part of France's heritage'. Minority languages are thus theoretically neither excluded nor taken into account by the State. However, this gap in the Constitution amounts to an argument in favour of the exclusive use of French in all public institutions. In this context, language assimilation is seen as a civic ideal, as citizenship is strongly linked to the French language, and the recognition of France's own linguistic diversity is still controversial (for longer analysis, see Migge and Léglise 2013, Chap. 2). French is the only medium of education in all the French territories, with a few exceptions presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Educational models for languages other than French

Type of language	Educational model	Description
(1) Foreign languages	(1a) Early learning activity in primary school, foreign language lessons in English, German, and so on at secondary school	3 hours a week
	(1b) Capacity building	7 hours a week, plus teaching of other school subjects through the foreign language in secondary school (European classes)
(2) Regional languages	(2a) The same curricula are used for foreign languages and regional languages	3 hours a week in primary and secondary school
	(2b) Bilingual education (dual language education) in primary and secondary school	The two languages are used for teaching on an equal basis
(3) Migrants' languages ('ELCO ^a programme')	Initially taught as a mother tongue (only for native speakers) Currently the curricula tend to be modelled on the teaching of foreign languages (not only aimed at native speakers)	1–3 hours a week, outside school hours, and only if there are bilateral conventions between France and the students' countries of origin

^aTeaching of origin languages and cultures

Education in French Guiana operates under the national system apart from the fact that there are no bilateral conventions for migrants' languages and that there is a special model for some of the local languages. As we noted above, around 40 languages are spoken by students in French Guiana, but only some of them are given space in school. Of the local languages, only French Guianese Creole enjoys the status of a regional language. It can be taught according to model 2a (primary and secondary school) or 2b (primary school only). The other local languages listed in the Cerquiglini (1999) report (six Amerindian languages, Maroon languages and Hmong) receive limited recognition at the national level by the Ministry of Culture in that they are not totally silenced (their names are included on lists and national websites, and they are recognized as 'languages of France'). However, they are not included in the official educational curricula. One experimental programme has been created for them in French Guiana which targets speakers of 'languages traditionally spoken in the territory', with the help of 'Mother Tongue Facilitators'.³ This programme follows a monoliterate transitional model: it exists only in the first years of primary school, children study in their languages from half an hour to five hours a week (depending on the context), but literacy is acquired exclusively through the medium of French. The aim of the programme is mostly to help children learn French; it is officially held that, as an educational official puts it (cited in Alphonse 2012), 'this programme aims to develop children's competence in their own language in order to have better competence in French afterwards'.

There are no plans for programmes to teach any of the other minority languages. Students who are speakers of these languages are expected to be assimilated, and when questioned, officials answer that they can make use of the foreign language programmes. However, these programmes include only a few of the languages in question, and do not take into account the varieties spoken by the children, such as Brazilian Portuguese or Guyanese English. Many of the languages spoken by the students are not taken into account at all—Haitian Creole and Sranan Tongo, for example.⁴ For these children, 'pull-out programmes'⁵ are the main educational model offered, with French being taught as a second language. The children are perceived as 'being limited' (García 2009b) because they do not speak the school language. It appears that all the educational models

currently functioning have the aim of education through monolingualism in French or, for French Guianese Creole, the development of two monolingualisms (one in French and one in French Guianese Creole). This objective assumes a monolingual model of teaching which forbids interference between languages.

However, the reality on the ground is quite different to the official picture. As a matter of fact, many languages are in contact in all classrooms, whatever the educational model, the students' languages (their multilingual repertoire, including their L1 but also many other languages) and the languages taught at school (French, foreign languages, regional languages). Official discourse and curricula tend to prohibit the use of these languages simultaneously for teaching, regarding them as a barrier to learning the school language. Institutional representatives, acting as representatives of the French state, reinforce the monolingual policy norm, sometimes being even more prohibitive in practice in their instructions regarding the use of languages other than French than the official texts would stipulate. The personal ideologies of these officials towards linguistic assimilation seem to be the key to explaining such attitudes. For example, they often state that there should be a clear (spatial and temporal) separation between the languages and that only one language should be used at a time in classroom interactions. The various excerpts of discourses or programmes presented in Example 1 demonstrate this. The excerpts either come from national official curricula and regional projects (1a and b) or from national or regional school official interviews (1c and d).

Example 1

- 1a [there should be] no use of Creole when the language of the lesson is French and no use of French when the language of the lesson is Creole (bilingual class project).
- 1b multilingualism is not a handicap or a problem, especially if speakers' languages are clearly identified and if adults have clear attitudes while talking to the child. Teachers represent the French 'pole' of the multilingual situation and they have to stick to it (official curricula, 2006).

- 1c we have to separate languages – French at school, mother tongues in the family – in order not to damage bilingualisation (national school official).
- 1d my position is clear (he laughs), they [the teachers] are not paid for that [speaking in the students' languages]! that's it! they are not paid for that! they are paid to teach them [the children] French! (regional school official).

These interesting excerpts show that when minority or local languages are introduced into the classroom, the process is still based on binary views of monolingualism or transitional bilingualism and on traditional notions of languages as static and isolated categories (Cummins 2005; Creese and Blackledge 2010). This dominant point of view, which is very widespread among all educational actors, has many consequences for teachers. As a bilingual class teacher (BCT) puts it in Example 2, it impacts on the way he sees the goal of bilingual classes. It also impacts on teachers' practices, as we can see in Example 3 in which three teachers (a Mother Tongue Facilitator (MTF), a regular classroom Teacher (T) and a Bilingual Class Teacher (BCT)) comment on the necessity of language separation and on the punishments some of them give if children ever speak their own language in the classroom:

Example 2

BCT the final goal is to facilitate the parallel acquisition of the two languages with a minimum of interference between them.

Example 3

- 3a MTF At home it's **munday** so with me it's **munday** but with [the teacher] it's *lun::ndi*.
- 3b T I punish them [when they speak their languages], because I have told them that they are not allowed to speak their languages in the classroom. As a penalty they have to copy a text in French.

- 3c BCT We can't put Creole and French in the same places: we have to separate them in order to show the difference between the Creole world and the French world.

Such declarations suggest that in their discourse, teachers largely comply with the monolingual view, in line with the pressure from the school officials who represent the direct hierarchy.

Language separation is the basic principle here (Heller 1999), as 'the two [or more] languages constitute two [or more] solitudes' (Cummins 2005). For example, the bilingual class project (as we saw in 1a) states that there should be a clear separation between French and Guianese Creole both temporally and spatially. From our observations in a wide range of classrooms, we have noticed a clear division between the spaces used for the two languages (see Fig. 2): Creole is often at the back of the classroom, whereas French is (symbolically?) at the front, close to the blackboard, and occupies most of the space.



Fig. 2 The French space and the Creole space in a bilingual classroom

However, this separationist ideology seems to be challenged when confronted with students and the reality of the classroom. The use of the children's multilingual repertoires appears to be a way of teaching and learning in everyday classroom practice. This topic is developed in the next section.

Language Spoken in the Classroom as an Asset for Both Teaching and Learning

As seen above, official texts do not prohibit the use of languages other than French in the classroom; however, education officials often state that other languages are prohibited when advising and evaluating teachers. On the other hand, ethnographic fieldwork and data from a range of schools in French Guiana show that in everyday interactions in the classroom, the children's languages are often used by the children themselves as a resource for learning and sometimes also by teachers as a resource for teaching. Teachers do codeswitch, and the children's mother tongues are often used either by the children (in some form of translanguaging) or by the teachers or other participants involved in classroom interactions. Thus, 'bilingualism [and multilingualism] is recognized as a potential resource, both cognitively and socially...' (García 2009a). These data come from various studies, in particular from our own observations and those of our masters students. All data presented below are based on qualitative analysis of classroom interactions (video and audio recordings) aiming to describe the use of pupils' languages in the classroom by teachers and by the children themselves. Examples come from various situations involving multilingual children in different parts of French Guiana: schools on the Maroni river where most children have nenge(e) tongo as a mother tongue (Apatou (Alby 2008)), schools in Papaïchton (Nelson 2011), schools on the coastline (Sinnamary (Colletin 2008)) and bilingual classrooms (Pinthière 2012).

In the data we see that teachers use different strategies when confronted with the children's multilingualism. Usually this is simply a pragmatic response to the local classroom context (Creese and Blackledge 2010):

the children's languages are used to help them understand instructions or to clarify a lexical item. Strategies differ depending on whether the teacher speaks the children's language and on the assistance they may have in the classroom. In Example 4, the teacher (T) asks a student (S) to translate the instruction about how to throw the ball when playing rugby. This example was recorded in Apatou, with children who have nenge(e) tongo as a mother tongue.

Example 4: (Alby 2008)

T voilà (*the next child throws the ball in front of him*) / NON / non // qu'est-ce qu'on fait quand on a le ballon / on est obligé de courir plus / on n'a pas le droit de faire les passes // donneand (*he makes a sign to the child who has the ball*) / on n'a pas le droit de faire les passes devant (*he makes a sign*) // pas le droit / d'accord / dis-lui en taki takiand (*so (the next child throws the ball in front of him) No! no. What do we do when we have the ball? We have to run after it. We are not allowed to pass it. Give it to me! (he makes a sign to the child who has the ball) We are not allowed to pass the ball in front (he makes a sign). Not allowed. Okay. Tell him in Takitaki!*)

S **te i de baka ya so / i a mu fiingi en kon ya / i mu luku ya da i kisi iti a ana** (*when you are behind, like this, you can't throw [the ball] forward, you must look here and when you are here you throw it in his hand*)

T d'accord / que derrière / toujours derrière / donc quand tu as le ballon tu cours un peu plus vite / et tu fais la passe // vous avez comprisand (*okay. Only behind. Always behind. So, when you've got the ball you run a little faster, and you pass it. Do you understand?*)

Example 5 was recorded during a lesson for children in their first pre-elementary schoolyear, in the little village of Papaïchton on the Maroni river where children have nenge(e) tongo as a mother tongue. Here the teacher (T) gives the student (S) permission to express himself in his mother tongue, but also uses an assistant (A⁶) to help the children understand the lesson.

Example 5: (Nelson 2011)

- T qu'est-ce que c'est / (*what's this?*)
 (.)
 T si on ne l'a pas en français donnez-moi en aluku (*if you don't know it in French, say it in Aluku*)
 A **saama sabi fa den e kali a sani de** / (*who knows what is the name of this?*)
 A **o fa dee kali a sani de** / (*how is it called?*)
 S orange (*orange*)
 T merci c'est bien (*well done!*)
 A **e fi yu na sabi fa den e kali e a sani de na faansi, kali en gi mi na aluku tongo** (*who knows how it is called? If you don't know say it in Aluku*) /
 [...]
 T il parle de la couleur c'est pas grave (*he's talking about the colour, it doesn't matter*)
 A **pesina** (*orange*)
 T **pe::sina** ok\ bon/ ben en français ça se dit O/RANGE // (*orange, okay. So in French it's ORANGE*)
 A **pesina** (*orange*)
 T on répète / orange / (*repeat orange*)
 S orange (*orange*)
 T c'est l'orange (*it's the orange*)
 A **pesina de kali en orange na faansi** (*the orange fruit is called orange in French*)

In Example 6, the teacher (T) uses the children's languages either to translate a question or to ensure that the children (S) have acquired the lexical items that were the aim of the lesson.

Example 6: (Nelson 2011)

- T vous savez ce qu'elle a mangé C. / [...] (*do you know what she has eaten?*)
 T vous savez ce qu'elle a mangé /
 S **san ye nyang** (*what did you eat?*) [...]
 T hm hm\ qu'est-ce que tu as mangé C./ (*what did you eat?*) [...]
 T de la pâte à modeler/ (*modelling clay*) [...]
 T jaune/ (*yellow*) [...]
 T **go wasi/ go wasi u mofu/ go wasi** (*go wash your mouth*)
 [...]
 T ah:: hm hm hm/ la bouche/ montre moi la bouche/ montre/ la bouche elle est où/ (*the mouth, show me the mouth, where is the mouth? – he shows all his body*)

- S la bouche (*the mouth – he does the same gesture as the teacher showing all the body*)
 T e la bouche **de** (*where is the mouth?*)
 S (*he shows the teacher's mouth*)
 T **eeye::** c'est bien / (*good! Well done*)

These examples are of regular classroom interactions where most children do not speak French, or did not speak it before their first year of school, and live in an environment where French is hardly ever used. In these contexts, teachers are in a way forced to use the children's languages, if they are willing to do so. What catches our attention here is the fact that even in situations where teachers are not obliged to do so, the language separation model is challenged at the level of classroom interaction. Codeswitching happens both in regular classrooms and in bilingual classrooms. While codeswitching is forbidden in the bilingual classes programme, it often occurs in the bilingual classroom interactions, and teachers admit that it is their usual way of teaching. Some of them even codeswitch when speaking about it (see Example 7).

Example 7: bilingual teachers (Pinthière 2012)

- 7a dans ma classe on retrouve ça souvent / notamment le mélange entre le français et le créole, le français et le brésilien, **épi i gen dòt enkò** (*in my classroom we see that a lot, especially mixing between French and Creole, French and Brazilian Portuguese, and some more*)
 7b comme par exemple dans ma classe bilingue, on va mélanger français **ké kréyòl** (*for example, in my classroom we mix French with Creole*)
 7c **épi bon a pa yé sèlman ka itlisé yé lang nou menm osi nou ka itlisé nou lang annan tout okazion** (*and also well they (the children) are not the only ones to use their languages, we do as well, in all situations*)
 7d **mo ka itlisé kréyòl tou léjou mo menm ki kour fransè ki kour kréyòl** (*I use Creole every day, either in the Creole lesson or in the French lesson*)

Recordings of interactions in classrooms confirm these statements, as shown in Example 8 which illustrates a bilingual mode of discourse between Guianese Creole and French used by the teacher in everyday

classroom interaction. The fact that this form of bilingual education involves only one teacher for the two languages (whereas in other cases each language has its teacher) seems to facilitate their recourse to translanguaging:

Example 8: in a bilingual classroom (Pinthière 2012)

T **jodla nou ké continwè asou lèr-a**, mais nous allons voir les heures de l'après-midi c'est-à-dire **kouman yé ka di lèr aprémidi – ya ké kouman zót ka plasé yé a sou orlaoj-a**. Épi nou té ja wé yé mo ka èspéré **ki zót pa bliyé** (*today we will work on the afternoon hours, but we will see the afternoon hours that is to say how do we name the afternoon hours, how do we place them on the clock. We have already had a lesson on it, so I hope you didn't forget about it*)

T est ce que vous pouvez lever **zòt orlòj!** (*can you hold up your clock!*)

T **ès zòt konprann?** Est-ce que vous comprenez? Si vous ne comprenez pas il faut me le dire (*do you understand? Do you understand? If you don't understand you have to tell me*)

T **atò mo ka raplé zòt ki sèz èr a katrèr** de l'après-midi, il faut que vous mettiez la grande aiguille sur le douze et la petite sur le six. (*So I remind you that 16h is four in the afternoon, you have to put the big hand on twelve and the small one on six*)

We tried to identify incidents when translanguaging was mostly used by children. In fact, work in small groups seems to increase the recourse to translanguaging among students, especially when these groups are multilingual, as in Examples 9, 10 and 11. The students (S1, S2, S3 and S4) in this secondary school have four languages in their multilingual repertoire among which they share French and French Guianese Creole. We see here how they use those two languages as lingua francas in order to perform the tasks they are asked to do in sports (in Example 9, the students have to perform five figures and the fastest group wins), in mathematics (Example 10, discussion of a maths problem) and in French grammar (in Example 11 they have to produce sentences with adjectives).

Example 9: sport classes in secondary school (Colletín 2008)

S1 S2 **arété!** (*stop it S2!*)

T soit vous vous tenez comme ça soit /// (*either you make this position or...*)

S1 **croisé to lanmain osi** (*cross your hand as well*)

T non mais applique-toi faut quand même que tu aies un appui (*you have to concentrate on it, you need to lean on something*)

S1 S3 **vini la mété to pié a con sa pou mandam** hein **man** (S3 *put your foot here, it has to be done like this, hey, man*)

S2 non **pa ka monté bicyclette** en arrière (*no don't climb the bicycle by the back*)

T allez! (*go on!*)

S3 **en nou mété nou** (*let's set up*)

S4 **a con sa man** (*it's like this, man*)

S1 ouais **con sa man** (*yes like this man*)

T lorsque vous mettez un genou (*when you put a knee*)

S1 **entend a pou to S3 pié aw passé là** (*listen, it's for you S3, your foot has to be here*)

Example 10: among adolescents, maths lesson in secondary school (Colletín 2008)

S4 **kombyen sa ka bay?** (*what's the result?*)

S3 **sa mo mo trouvé disét** (*I found 17*)

S4 **a sa mo té mété kat a pou sa man** (*that's why I wrote 4, man*)

S1 **a con sa man gadé** (*look, you have to do it this way, man*)

S3 **mo mo pa fé kon sa mo météy kon sa** (*I didn't do it like this, I did it like that*)

S1 **a kenz man a pa disét** (*it's 15, man not 17*)

Example 11: among adolescents, French grammar, in secondary school (Colletín 2008)

S4 **koté nou té yé anko** /// la poubelle /// la moto non la poubelle de ma belle-mère **en ka ékri-l** (*Where were we again? the dustbin. The motorbike no my stepmother's dustbin, we have to write it.*)

S3 hm hm

S4 la poubelle de ma belle-mère est sale /// sale // **to gen konbyen mo**
(*my stepmother's dustbin is dirty. Dirty. How many words have you got*)

S1 un deux trois quatre cinq (*one, two, three, four, five*)

S4 cinq simplement **mo gen sis** /// la maison de ma fiancée est belle (*only five, I've got six. My fiancée's house is beautiful*)

S3 **ki sa?** (*What?*)

S4 la maison de ma fiancée est belle (*My fiancée's house is beautiful*).

S3 **an nou mété** de mon fiancé (*we should put 'my fiancé's'*.)

S4 **awa i pa ka alé** /// **to ja mété bel en nou mété** splendide **mo pas sav koumann sa ka ekri** /// la moto de l'agent de police est // oh **nou preske/presque fini** (*No, it's not working. You've already written beautiful, we should put gorgeous, I don't know how to write it. The police officer's motorbike is ... Oh! We're almost done.*)

A comparison of this group with others who have 'chosen' to use only French shows that this group achieved the task more easily, especially because they communicate a lot more, which implies that their multilingualism is a resource for learning (Colletín 2008).

Even if multilingualism is not officially seen as an asset for teaching and learning, we see that students and sometimes teachers engage daily in translanguaging. They use their multilingual resources to improve communication and also to improve their learning in all school subjects. But there are some variations in the use of the children's languages depending on the programme. In general education classrooms, where children are already speaking French, their multilingualism is not taken into account, whereas the bilingual classrooms seen in Examples 7 and 8 (one teacher speaking two languages) and small groups (Examples 9, 10, and 11) seem to be facilitating factors for using all the resources of students' repertoires.

In bilingual classes, translanguaging seems to be a natural way to teach and to learn, even if it is officially prohibited: 'students and teachers accept and adopt translanguaging practices that enable them to function effectively, and educate and become educated' (García 2009b). In other classes, language choice largely depends on the teachers, on their skills in

the languages involved, on their attitudes and also how much they can rely on the assistance of the speakers of other languages. In any case, again, translanguaging (either by children or by teachers) does frequently occur. The next step should be to acknowledge the fact that translanguaging is a teaching/learning model in all schools and classrooms.

Conclusion

Language ideologies which promote monolingualism, language separation and linguistic assimilation all exert a powerful influence on education in French Guiana on different levels. In particular, on the meso-level, school officials and regional directors who act as representatives of the French state are sometimes in practice even more prohibitive regarding the use of languages other than French than what is stipulated in the official texts. In any case, and even in bilingual programmes, these education officials recommend language separation, and they appear to be key mediators in the reproduction of state policies and ideologies on the classroom level.

On the micro-level, we noticed that these ideologies have a strong influence, but we also saw micro movements towards change. First, while the prohibition of languages other than French is still noticeable in the overt declarations of (some) teachers, children's languages do take *de facto* a space in the classroom. Second, even in bilingual programmes, the ideology of language separation is still very present either in teachers' discourse or in their own practices. Third, some teachers and a majority of students do express a certain degree of agency in 'doing' codeswitching, as a form of resilience to linguistic assimilation in action and language separation. Children draw on their entire multilingual repertoire in some situations, regardless of whether they are allowed to do so or if they speak the school language. They engage in translanguaging whenever possible. In particular, this seems to happen much more when they are emergent bilinguals (García 2009b; Alby and Léglise 2016) or when they are working together in small groups. Bilingual programmes and work in small groups are facilitating factors for using all the resources of students' repertoires.

We feel that multilingual pedagogies (García and Flores 2012) seem to be a solution that ought to be tried in French Guiana, since multilingual repertoires are common both outside and inside the classroom. Adopting multilingual pedagogies would acknowledge the current language practices of most students and transform monolingual education and bilingual programmes into programmes drawing on various semiotic and linguistic resources and building on the multilingualism of the students. However, in order to implement multilingual pedagogies, more research needs to be done on what happens in the classroom in order to prove the positive effects of teachers' multilingual practices. Teacher training and raising the awareness of education officials constitute two sides of a common work in progress. Starting from the everyday codeswitching practices of successful teachers could be a way of changing education policy from a top-down to a bottom-up model.

Notes

1. 'School officials' refers to the officials in charge of teachers in primary school. They are not school administrators or principals but primary school inspectors, regional directors of education and so on.
2. See www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr (Constitution, art. 2).
3. Programme *Intervenants en Langues Maternelles* (ILM). See Goury et al. (2000) or Migge and Léglise (2010) for a description of the programme.
4. A few exceptions do exist: Portuguese has been included in the ILM programme, Dutch is taught in the western part of French Guiana due to the proximity with Suriname.
5. The student is taken out of the regular classroom 50 per cent of the time the first year, 25 per cent the second year, and is then supposed to be full time in the regular classroom.
6. Some assistants do help in classrooms for children aged from three to five.

References

- Alby, S. (2008). "Faire faire" et "faire mieux dire" à des élèves en contexte allophone. *Pratiques des enseignants dans une école de l'Ouest guyanais. Le Français dans le monde, Recherches et Applications*, 44, 98–110.

- Alby, S., & Launey, M. (2007). Former des enseignants dans un contexte plurilingue et pluriculturel. In I. Léglise & B. Migge (Eds.), *Pratiques et représentations linguistiques en Guyane: Regards croisés* (pp. 317–347). Paris: IRD Editions.
- Alby, S., & Léglise, I. (2005). L'enseignement en Guyane et les langues régionales, réflexions sociolinguistiques et didactiques. *Marges Linguistiques*, 10, 245–261.
- Alby, S., & Léglise, I. (2014a). Politiques linguistiques éducatives en Guyane. Quels droits linguistiques pour les élèves allophones ? In I. Nocus, J. Vernaudon, & M. Paia (Eds.), *L'école plurilingue en outre-mer : Apprendre plusieurs langues, plusieurs langues pour apprendre* (pp. 271–296). Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Alby, S., & Léglise, I. (2014b). Pratiques et attitudes linguistiques des enseignants. La gestion du plurilinguisme à l'école en Guyane. In I. Nocus, J. Vernaudon, & M. Paia (Eds.), *L'école plurilingue en outre-mer : Apprendre plusieurs langues, plusieurs langues pour apprendre* (pp. 245–267). Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Alby, S., & Léglise, I. (2016). L'éducation bilingue dans le contexte multilingue guyanais : dispositifs cloisonnants et pratiques pédagogiques innovantes. In C. Hélot & J. Erfurt (Eds.), *L'éducation bilingue en France : politiques linguistiques, modèles et pratiques* (pp. 66–86). Paris: Lambert Lucas.
- Alphonse, A. (2012). *Discours officiels sur le plurilinguisme à l'école en Guyane* (Master 2 thesis). Université des Antilles et de la Guyane.
- Cerquiglini, B. (1999). *Les langues de France, Rapport au Ministre de l'Education Nationale, de la Recherche et de la Technologie*. Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication. <http://www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr>. Date Last Accessed 19 Mar 2015.
- Colletin, D. (2008). *Contacts de langues en Guyane française : interactions et choix de langues en 3e et 4e SEGPA à Sinnamary* (Master 2 thesis). Université des Antilles et de la Guyane.
- Conseil de l'Europe. (1992). *European charter for regional or minority languages*. <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/FR/Treaties/html/148.htm>. Last Accessed 19 Mar 2015.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103–115.
- Cummins, J. (2005). A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. *Modern Language Journal*, 89, 585–592.

- García, O. (2009a). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalising the local* (pp. 140–158). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- García, O. (2009b). Emergent bilinguals and TESOL: What's in a name? *Tesol Quarterly*, 43(2), 322–326.
- García, O., & Flores, N. (2012). Multilingual pedagogies. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, & A. Creese (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism* (pp. 232–246). London: Routledge.
- García, O., & Kleifgen, J. A. (2011). Bilingualism for equity and excellence in minority education: The United States. In K. Van den Branden, P. Van Avermaet, & M. Van Houtte (Eds.), *Equity and excellence in education: Towards maximum learning opportunities for all students* (pp. 166–189). New York: Routledge.
- Goury, L., Launey, M., Queixalós, F., & Renault-Lescure, O. (2000). Des médiateurs bilingues en Guyane française. *Revue française de linguistique appliquée*, V-1, 43–60.
- Grenand, F. (1982). Le problème de l'enseignement du français en milieu tribal en Guyane. *Bulletin du CENADDOM*, 66, 19–26.
- Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. London: Longman.
- Hurault, J.-F. (1972). *Français et Indiens en Guyane*. Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions.
- Launey, M. (1999). Les langues de Guyane : des langues régionales pas comme les autres ? In C. Clairis, D. Costaouec, & J.-B. Coyos (Eds.), *Langues et Cultures Régionales de France. Etat des lieux, enseignement, politiques* (pp. 141–159). Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Léglise, I. (2007). Des langues, des domaines, des régions. Pratiques, variations, attitudes linguistiques en Guyane. In I. Léglise & B. Migge (Eds.), *Pratiques et représentations linguistiques en Guyane: Regards croisés* (pp. 29–47). Paris: IRD Editions.
- Léglise, I. (2013). *Multilinguisme, variation, contact. Des pratiques langagières sur le terrain à l'analyse de corpus hétérogènes*. HDR, Paris: INALCO.
- Léglise, I., & Puren, L. (2005). Usages et représentations linguistiques en milieu scolaire guyanais. In F. Tupin (Ed.), *Ecole et éducation, Univers Créoles* (Vol. 5, pp. 67–90). Paris: Anthropos.
- Migge, B., & Léglise, I. (2010). Integrating local languages and cultures into the education system of French Guiana : A discussion of current programs and

- initiatives. In B. Migge & I. Léglise (Eds.), *Creoles in education: An appraisal of current programs and projects* (pp. 107–132). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Migge, B., & Léglise, I. (2013). *Exploring language in a multilingual context: Variation, interaction and ideology in language documentation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nelson, L. (2011, June 16–18). *Enjeux sociodidactiques d'un enseignement bi/plurilingue précoce en contexte éducatif guyanais : analyse interactionnelle d'une expérience pédagogique dans une classe maternelle*. Paper presented at the Conference 'Les contextes éducatifs plurilingues et francophones hors de la France continentale: entre héritage et innovation', Nantes.
- Pau-Langevin, G. (2014). 'Haute qualité éducative' : la Guyane de la réussite. *Huffington Post*. <http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid76872/-haute-qualite-educative-la-guyane-de-la-reussite.html>
- Pinthière, E. (2012). *L'enseignement du créole en milieu scolaire. Les alternances codiques dans les classes bilingues* (Master 2 thesis). Université des Antilles et de la Guyane.

Migration and Plurilingualism in Southern European Homes and Schools

Stefania Scaglione and Sandro Caruana

Introduction

For several years the overall demographic balance of the European Union as a whole, and that of many member States as well, has benefitted considerably from intra- and extra-European immigration. The current situation of countries in Southern Europe is particularly interesting here, because of its distinctive features compared to the rest of the European Union. In fact, in terms of the integration of immigrants, Southern Europe faces very particular conditions, as, unlike many States of North-Western Europe, countries in this area have only recently become a

This chapter is the result of a collaboration between both authors and the different sections were drafted as follows: S. Caruana wrote sections “[Introduction](#)” and “[The MERIDIUM Project: Structure and Aims](#)”; S. Scaglione wrote section “[Results](#)”. Section “[Conclusions](#)” was written jointly.

S. Scaglione (✉)

Università per Stranieri di Perugia, Perugia, Italy

S. Caruana

Faculty of Education, Università ta’ Malta, Msida, Malta

destination for immigration. Indeed, until the 1970s, these countries often experienced significant mass migration to other European States or to other continents.

According to estimates published by the United Nations Population Division (UNDP), the percentage of the immigrant population in Southern European countries has risen from 2.9 per cent to 10.3 per cent between 1990 and 2013, compared to the increase from 7.2 per cent to 12.4 per cent in Northern Europe and from 9.2 per cent to 12.7 per cent in Western European countries. These figures suggest that the average growth rate of immigration over the last 20 years or so has been significantly higher in Southern Europe than in the two other European areas. This is evident from the data provided in Tables 1 and 2, which also show the specific data for Spain and Italy, where this increase has been particularly noteworthy:

The rapid transition to the condition of immigration-receptor countries has necessitated a number of adjustments with unprecedented urgency, particularly in the area of educational policy. In many states in the South of Europe, the new policies are often characterized by limitations caused in part by inadequate teacher training in plurilingual and intercultural education. The other reason for limitations in policy is the lack of awareness on the part of school authorities and society as a whole, both of the extent and value of immigrant children's language repertoires and of the potential benefits that could result if children's languages of origin were adequately exploited. In other words, whereas intercultural education has been gradually accepted as a part of the civic competences that schools are expected to foster among pupils, the diversity of speakers' plurilingual repertoires has not been recognized in the same way. Such a

Table 1 International migrant stock as a percentage of the total population by selected European regions and countries (1990–2013)

Region or country of destination	1990	2000	2010	2013
Western Europe	9.2	11.1	12.3	12.7
Northern Europe	7.2	8.4	11.3	12.4
Southern Europe	2.9	4.9	9.5	10.3
Spain	2.1	4.1	13.5	13.8
Italy	2.5	3.7	7.9	9.4

Data source: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013)

Table 2 Annual rate of change of the migrant stock in selected European regions and countries (1990–2013)

Region or country of destination	1990–2000	2000–2010	2010–2013
Western Europe	2.3	1.4	1.2
Northern Europe	1.8	3.5	3.5
Southern Europe	5.5	7.2	2.9
Spain	6.9	13.2	1.2
Italy	4.0	8.2	5.9

Data source: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013)

recognition, however, constitutes in its own right a fundamental step towards an ideal of:

linguistic tolerance and thus to respect for linguistic differences: respect for the linguistic rights of individuals and groups in their relations with the state and linguistic majorities, respect for freedom of expression, respect for linguistic minorities, respect for the least commonly spoken and taught national languages, respect for the diversity of languages in inter-regional and international communication. (Beacco and Byram 2003: 35)

The overall picture is further complicated by the significantly different composition of migration in different countries, with varying degrees of diversity in terms of nationality and/or language use. The socio-demographic fabric of the host society, which provides varied conditions for the integration of migrants, may also vary considerably from one area to another.

On the basis of these considerations, the transformative potential of educational systems in Southern Europe remains one of the main challenges. How can these systems respond to new multilingual and multicultural realities? To what extent is the individual plurilingualism of immigrant learners valued within the school domain? Is it considered as a resource for individuals, as well as for the national community? Are we building educational systems which actively promote social cohesion and create equal opportunities for all those who live and work in Southern European countries?

In this chapter, we address these questions by outlining our research and presenting a selection of the results of a project which was carried out

in primary schools in six Southern European countries. The multi-/plurilingualism which characterizes the language use of pupils with an immigrant background within the family domain will be discussed and compared to the language use promoted within school environments. Finally, the situation we observed will be compared to the perceptions and attitudes of parents/guardians¹ towards intercultural and plurilingual education.

The MERIDIUM Project: Structure and Aims

The MERIDIUM Project (*Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration—Dialogue Initiative Among the Universities of the Mediterranean*)² is a network project that aims to provide active support for the promotion of the European policy of multi-/plurilingualism in Southern European countries, with particular emphasis on the development of strategies to verify and increase awareness of the value of exogenous linguistic diversity among institutional players and society at large. Five of the six countries involved in the research—Italy, Spain, Portugal, Slovenia and Malta—were historically characterized by emigration, but have recently become the destination of many immigrants. The sixth partner country, Romania, over the last 20 years has experienced intensive outbound migration to EU countries, especially to Italy and Spain. However, since 2008 the worldwide economic and employment crisis has led many Romanian emigrants and their families to return to their country of origin, bringing with them a new type of linguistic diversity, for example, languages learnt by children born and/or schooled out of Romania. This too has to be integrated within the educational system.

The five inbound migration countries have some characteristics which provide grounds on which to initiate our research: first of all, public discourse on immigration in these countries is still largely characterized by alarmist tones that amplify the problems related to immigration, leaving little room for reflection on how integration could be better understood. This generally leads to a climate of mistrust, which promotes attitudes tending towards intolerance or assimilation, while diversity is viewed with suspicion.³ Against such a backdrop, the linguistic and cultural

backgrounds of migrants receive scant attention, and, as a consequence, it is very difficult to promote innovations directed at plurilingual education and at the preservation of the immigrant pupils' original languages within educational institutions. A second factor which these countries have in common is the recent crisis in public funding. Along with other reasons, this has led to a situation in which schools give priority to investing resources in teaching foreign-born pupils the language of instruction, thereby largely ignoring the need to create an environment where these students can also maintain their language(s) of origin. The lack of a 'systemic' balance between the need to learn the majority language and creating possibilities and conditions for these students to enhance and maintain their L1 makes integration particularly difficult for pupils with a foreign background, often leading to poor academic performance and thereby in the long term contributing to their educational failure.

At the same time, 'national' students, namely, those who are citizens of the country where they receive schooling, experience daily opportunities of contact with linguistic diversity, but are seldom encouraged to acquire the cognitive and cultural tools necessary to deal with it constructively. As a consequence of this, they may often perceive linguistic diversity as a social obstacle and a disadvantage. The same may be said for parents and teachers, who frequently view the presence of foreign-born students as an 'intrusion' into the daily smooth-running of the school. It must be said that teachers are generally ill-prepared to face these situations, both from a theoretical and practical point of view, and their ability to address them is largely based on their individual goodwill, rather than on a sound professional basis.

In formulating its specific objectives, the MERIDIUM Project drew inspiration from the indications of Gogolin (2002: 19–20), aimed at promoting a new model of language education to optimize the linguistic potential of the whole reference population through the 'integration of all the languages existing on a territory into the canon of officially accepted and taught – that is legitimate – school languages'. In this respect, MERIDIUM is based on the assumption that education and learning develop within a framework of widespread multilingualism, which has become a structural feature of all European societies. For these reasons, in this project we investigated how the diverse linguistic back-

grounds of primary school children and their parents are taken into account in the school context, and possibly exploited as a resource in order to create an enriching experience for all students.

This research, carried out between 2009 and 2011, involved 57 primary schools located in small to middle-sized municipalities in each of the countries, chosen specifically for the presence of a large number of foreign-born children in the school population. In the case of Romania, areas where children had a direct or indirect migratory experience⁴ were also included.⁵

Our initial hypothesis was that in these geographical areas with diverse populations, possibly even more than in others, one might expect authorities and schooling institutions to adopt *ad hoc* measures for a pedagogy fitting for a multi- or plurilingual context and that schooling communities (teachers, students, families) would display a strong degree of sensitivity towards issues related to plurilingualism and be more receptive towards initiatives which value it.

In all the countries included in our research, at primary school level it is mandatory to learn at least one foreign language (note that in Malta, the two languages taught—Maltese and English—are both official languages). In some countries, schools also offer the opportunity to study a second foreign language. Some schools provide intensive courses to teach the language of schooling to foreign-born students. In some cases (e.g. Italy) linguistic mediators are employed for brief periods of time for this purpose.

Two types of methods were used for data collection: interviews with school principals and teachers and questionnaires for pupils (Questionnaire A) and their parents (Questionnaire B). The questionnaires were designed in order to gather socio-demographic and socio-linguistic data, plus information about language skills and use in various domains, as well as about perceptions and attitudes towards languages. In this chapter, we present a limited selection of these data,⁶ namely, those pertaining to pupils' language use within the family domain vis-à-vis the school domain and also to teachers'/principals' and parents' attitudes towards intercultural education and the inclusion of immigrant learner languages within schools. These data suffice to outline the multilingual and multicultural

Table 3 Sample size of the MERIDIUM survey (school year 2009–2010)

Survey country	No. of municipalities	No. of schools	No. of collected A questionnaires	No. of collected B questionnaires
Italy	14	17	697	613
Spain	11	12	429	284
Portugal	5	6	316	316
Romania	11	15	305	292
Malta	3	3	164	164
Slovenia	2	4	156	137
Total	46	57	2,067	1,806

potential of educational institutions and to highlight the main obstacles which hinder them from achieving it.

Questionnaires were distributed to a total of 2,067 students in the fifth year of primary school (10–11 years old); furthermore, 1,806 parents of these students were involved in the research (see Table 3). Of these children, 585 students (28.3 per cent in this category) had a partially or totally foreign background with regard to the national contexts where the data were collected⁷; among parents, 407 (22.6 per cent) were citizens of a foreign country. The data were collected in the school year 2009–10.

Results

In this chapter, we present a comparative discussion of our findings, focusing mainly on the following issues:

1. To what extent is bi- or plurilingual use attested by children when they interact with their parents? How many of these children, at home, also speak languages which are not traditionally present in the area where they live?
2. To what extent is plurilingualism present, acknowledged and valued at school?
3. What attitudes do parents have towards intercultural and plurilingual education?

Language Use of Pupils Within the Family Domain

Pupils were asked which language(s) they use when interacting with their parents: out of the 1,984 valid answers to this question, we find that:

- 1,539 pupils (77.6 per cent) declare that they use only autochthonous languages, that is, the national language(s) and/or minority or regional languages traditionally spoken in the country of residence; among them, 1,388 (69.9 per cent) declare monolingual use, generally in (one of) the national language(s), while 151 (7.6 per cent) alternate between two or more autochthonous languages.⁸
- 445 pupils (22.4 per cent) declare that they (also) use non-autochthonous languages at home, that is, languages which are not traditionally spoken within the country of residence; 188 (9.5 per cent) of them declare that they use only non-autochthonous languages monolingually, 15 of them (0.8 per cent) bilingually, while 242 (12.2 per cent) alternate between the use of autochthonous and non-autochthonous languages.

Summing up, we may say that, in our total sample: (i) approximately one in every five children (20.6 per cent) interacts with his/her parents in more than one language. This means that these pupils include at least two languages in their repertoires and that these languages are functionally used within the family domain⁹; (ii) more than one in every five children (22.4 per cent) interacts with parents also or exclusively in a language which is not traditional in the country of residence (see Table 4).

The use of these non-autochthonous languages is obviously more widespread among children who were born outside of the country where data were collected ('foreign-born pupils') in comparison with children born in the country ('native-born pupils'). Nonetheless, the share of native-born pupils declaring use of non-autochthonous languages with parents is not negligible in quantitative terms, as they tally to 15 per cent of the total of native-born pupils, as shown in Table 5.

The language repertoire of respondents, in fact, is not only influenced by the country in which they were born but, mainly, by the language use of their parents, who, in turn, may not necessarily have been born in the

Table 4 Non-autochthonous languages spoken by pupils at home (by survey country)

Survey country	Total no. of respondents	Pupils speaking non-autochthonous languages at home		Languages mentioned most frequently
		N	%	
Italy	689	228	33.1	Albanian, Arabic, English, Romanian, Hindi, Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian, Bengali, Urdu, Spanish, Chinese, French, Bulgarian, Portuguese, Tagalog, Western African languages
Spain	372	71	19.1	Portuguese, Romanian, English, French, German, Polish, Chinese, Korean, Guaraní
Portugal	308	59	19.1	English, Portuguese-based creoles, French, Russian, Ukrainian, Moldavian
Romania	299	44	14.7	Italian, English, Spanish, French, Turkish, Russian
Malta	164	24	14.6	Italian, Arabic, Serbian, Bulgarian
Slovenia	152	19	12.5	Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian
Total	1984	445	22.4	

Table 5 Autochthonous/non-autochthonous languages spoken at home (by pupils' birthplace)

Language use at home	Birthplace						
	Native-born		Foreign-born		Missing	Total	
	N	%	N	%		N	N
Only autochthonous languages	1453	85	82	30.4	4	1539	77.6
(Also) non-autochthonous languages	256	15	188	69.6	1	445	22.4
Total	1709	100	270	100	5	1984	100

country in which they are residing. This variable has been taken into account by categorizing the pupils' background as 'native' (both parents born in the country), 'mixed' (one parent born outside the country) or 'foreign' (both parents born outside the country). As can be seen in Fig. 1,

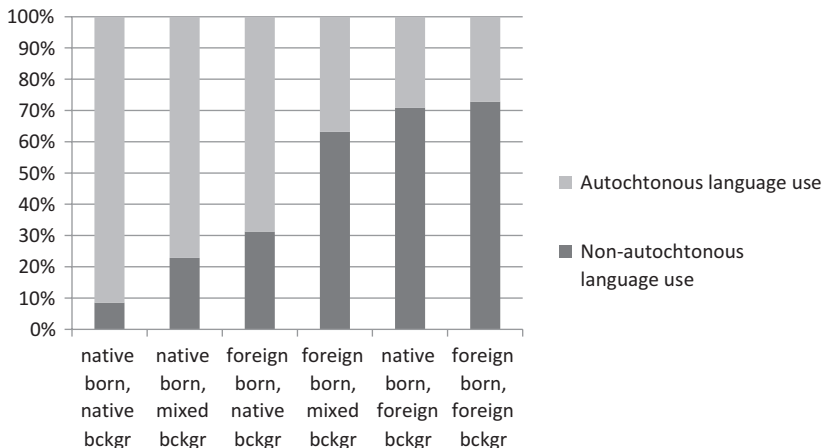


Fig. 1 Use of non-autochthonous languages in interactions with parents by pupils' birthplace and background (%)

this variable has a greater impact than birthplace on the language behaviour of pupils at home. When parents are both 'foreign-born', over 70 per cent of their children declare that they use a non-autochthonous language (either exclusively or together with an autochthonous language), irrespective of whether they themselves were born in their country of residence where the data were collected.

Language Use of Pupils Within the School Domain

Children's language use was further investigated within the school domain, both from the point of view of institutional interactions with their teachers and of personal relationships with their classmates. In an 'ideal' educational context—where pupils feel free to use any element of their repertoire, eventually through 'translanguaging'¹⁰ practices—we would expect that pupils who declare bilingual use at home would resort to the same or similar strategies involved in bilingual interactions even when interacting with teachers and classmates. This would especially be the case if there are other pupils in their class who share the same home languages, be they autochthonous or not.

If we consider the pupils who declared bilingual uses at home (408 subjects), we find that only 59 of them reported that they use more than one language with classmates and 92 reported doing so with teachers. Moreover, a further analysis of these figures shows that a relevant proportion of bilingual use at school in fact exclusively involves the languages of schooling, with 29 out of 59 cases with classmates and in 76 out of 92 cases with teachers. It seems, therefore, that the school domain promotes monolingual use or, more precisely, that in the school context pupils do not perceive, and are not induced to perceive, the possibility to exploit all the elements of their repertoire as 'salient' or 'functional'. The most frequent exception is represented by languages taught as second/foreign languages, but even this is not widespread. If we take into account all the pupils, not only those who declared bilingual uses at home, we find that within our sample of 1,984 subjects, 1,636 (82.4 per cent) declare they interact with classmates only in the language of schooling and 1,424 (71.8 per cent) declare they do so with teachers. This holds true in every national sub-sample, so we may conclude that even foreign or second languages taught at school are not employed in everyday school life as 'real' interactional tools.

As far as non-autochthonous family languages are concerned, the situation is even worse: only 36 pupils out of 1,984 (1.8 per cent) mention them as possible languages of interaction with classmates and 27 (1.4 per cent) as languages of interaction with teachers. The possibility of having two or more children in the same class who potentially could use the same non-autochthonous family language to communicate varies according to the State in which data were collected. While this possibility is frequent in Italy (29 classes out of 36) and Slovenia (5 out of 6), it is much less frequent in Romania (7 out of 13), and even less in Spain (8 out of 21), Portugal (6 out of 17) and Malta (4 out of 10). However, this consideration does not change the fact that children with a non-autochthonous linguistic background do not bring their family language to school, even if they use it exclusively (i.e. as monolinguals) at home. Out of 188 children who speak only a non-autochthonous language when interacting with their parents, only 10 use it with classmates and 7 with teachers. On the other hand, as far as this latter type of interactions is concerned, one must take into account the fact that the schools in which data were collected offer

no courses (either within the curriculum or after school hours) where the languages of students with foreign background are taught.

There have been numerous exhortations issued by the European institutions and organizations—mainly the Council of Europe, the European Commission, the OECD—towards the adoption of the ‘intercultural and plurilingual education’ paradigm (Beacco and Byram 2003; Council of Europe 2007; European Commission 2003, 2005, 2008a, b; OECD 2010). However, although they are located in areas characterized by situations of remarkable linguistic diversity due to migration, the primary schools in our survey seem to be perpetuating an outdated model of ‘monolingual pedagogy + foreign language teaching’.

This was confirmed by the information gathered by means of interviews with school principals and teachers. The findings from these interviews can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Foreign languages are generally taught by unspecialized teachers (with the exceptions of Spain and Portugal), who may be unaware of conversational and communicative aspects related to the language and of interlinguistic comparisons.
- (ii) While pupils may have many occasions to learn about customs and traditions of other peoples, in the schools under study, we registered no didactic activities directed to the stimulation of metalinguistic reflection, using other languages than those included in the curriculum.
- (iii) There is a lack of adequate theoretical preparation of teachers from a psycho- and socio-linguistic point of view, and this is an obstacle to changing attitudes and convictions (e.g. persistent beliefs that an allochthonous pupil may be hindered by their L1 while learning the L2).
- (iv) The emphasis, in ‘immigration-receiving’ countries, on the fact that migrants have to gain competence in the country’s official language(s) tends to narrow teachers’ perspectives. As a result of this, their sole objective is for these students to acquire the language used in schools.

The super-diversity that characterizes school populations is therefore concealed, with two main consequences: an increase in negative

perceptions (and self-perceptions) of heteroglossia (the so-called deficit theory) and a favouring of a 'selective' approach towards intercultural education which, for example, is often reduced to basic (monolingual) narratives, with reference to 'exotic' traditions and folktales.

Parents' Responses Regarding Intercultural and Plurilingual Education

The two negative aspects outlined above are transmitted as implicit messages not only to children but also to their families, thereby also legitimizing adults' prejudices and reservations towards linguistic diversity. In order to explore this aspect, we here examine the responses to two questions that parents were asked.

The first was whether, in their opinion, schools stimulate students' interest in individuals from different language and cultural backgrounds. Results are displayed in Fig. 2 (1,745 valid answers).

As one can see, national sub-samples notably differ from each other. This could be due to a number of reasons:

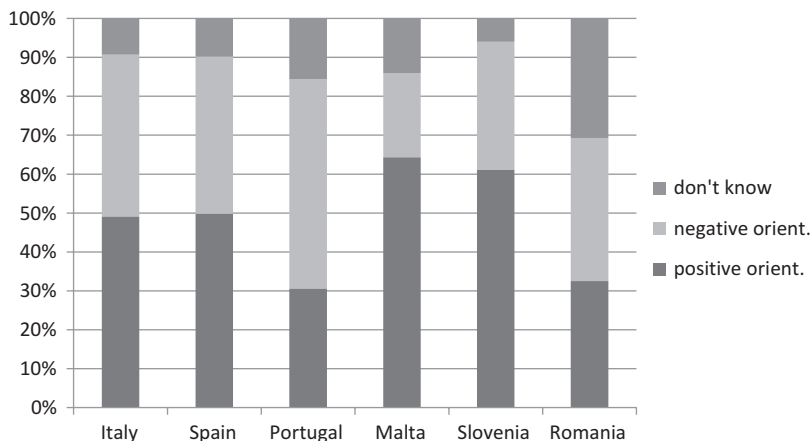


Fig. 2 Parents' answers to the question 'In general, do you think that in the country where you live schools create an interest among children towards people from different cultures and who speak other languages?' showing positive and negative orientations and 'don't know' by national sub-sample (%)

- Countries differ in how they organize language-and-culture teaching. Bilingual instruction is in place in Malta and Slovenia (respectively, Maltese/English and Slovenian/Italian¹¹), while in the other countries the curricular foreign language-and-culture teaching occupies on average two to three hours a week. This could explain why parents from Malta and Slovenia display a more positive perception towards the schools' endeavours to promote intercultural education.
- As shown in Table 4, national sub-samples vary as to the number and percentages of pupils speaking non-autochthonous languages. While the number is high in Italy and relatively high in Spain and Portugal, it is fairly low in Malta and Slovenia. Therefore, the results seem to suggest that in social contexts where there are ubiquitous linguistic and cultural differences due to inbound migration, as in the case of Italy, Spain and Portugal, parents perceive the attention paid by the school to intercultural education as not completely satisfying. In the Maltese and Slovenian contexts, where linguistic and cultural diversity brought about by inbound migration does not reach such high rates, there is generally a positive perception of measures taken in schools towards linguistic and cultural diversity. However, this could be simply the consequence of the very fact that such situations, up to now, have only been faced to a limited extent.
- On the other hand, data in the Romanian sub-sample are rather unclear, with a very high percentage of responses of 'I don't know' (30.7 per cent). In this regard, it is worth bearing in mind that Romania is the only 'emigration country' among the six included in this project and, furthermore, that the Romanian informants were recruited in areas characterized by high rates of 'returnees', that is, people who have experienced outbound labour migration. In our sample for Romania, out of 292 parents who completed the questionnaires, 129 had lived abroad or had a partner who has lived abroad (44.2 per cent). The children of these parents have often been born and/or have been schooled abroad, and when they go back to live in Romania, they may perform poorly at school and they experience exclusion, mainly because they are not fully competent in Romanian.¹² The high rate of parents who responded 'I don't know' to the question of whether schools create interest in other cultures is probably related to this

aspect or, put differently, to an increasing but still rather confused perception of the inadequacy of an educational system that cannot yet cope with the transnational mobility of many Romanian families.

- Finally, it must be taken into account that foreign-born parents represent more than a quarter of the respondents in the Italian, Portuguese and Spanish sub-samples, while the number is much smaller in the Maltese, Slovene and Romanian sub-samples. Since it is possible that the differences observed in the results may at least partially depend on the population structure, we will therefore focus in greater detail on the first three sub-samples mentioned (Italian, Spanish and Portuguese). In Fig. 3, we therefore present data which has been disaggregated by birthplace of respondents in the Italian, Spanish and Portuguese sub-samples.

In the Spanish sub-sample, there are no relevant differences between percentages scored by native-born and foreign-born parents, neither in positive nor negative orientations (respectively $+4.6$ and -2.2 points):

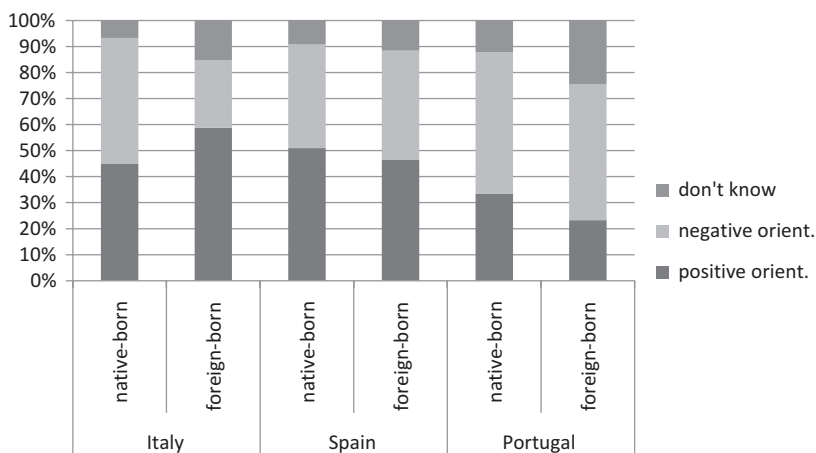


Fig. 3 Parents' answers to the question 'In general, do you think that in the country where you live schools create an interest among children towards people from different cultures and who speak other languages?' showing positive and negative orientations and 'don't know' (%) by birthplace in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese sub-samples

both categories are relatively more satisfied than not with schools' endeavours to promote an interest in other cultures and languages. Conversely, in the Portuguese sub-sample both categories seem to be more dissatisfied than not, and this is particularly true for foreign-born parents, who declare positive orientations in only 23.2 per cent of cases, versus 33.5 per cent of native parents (-10.3 points). On the other hand, the Italian sub-sample shows an approximately equal distribution of positive and negative orientations among native parents (respectively 45.1 per cent and 48.2 per cent), while among foreign-born parents we find a clear prevalence of positive orientations, in fact more than double the negative ones (58.7 per cent vs. 26.0 per cent).

Based on these results, and on the context analyses carried out for each country, the impression is that evaluations expressed by the parents in the Italian and Portuguese sub-samples are to be interpreted against the background of the measures adopted in each country in order to favour intercultural understanding and integration.

In 2010, in Italy schools were the public institutions which tried the most to adapt to the new profile of the multicultural society, and this was undoubtedly perceived positively, especially by immigrants. In the same period, Portugal was going through a phase of new legislative measures aimed at the integration of migrants. Such measures, however, were especially focused on the socio-economic field, and only to a much more reduced extent in education¹³; the evident dissatisfaction of Portuguese parents in our sub-sample could be traced, at least in part, to this imbalance.

On the theme of plurilingual education, we also asked parents to express their opinion on whether children with foreign backgrounds should be given the opportunity to study their family language at school. Results are shown in Figs. 4 and 5.

In the first place, comparing Figs. 2 and 4, we note that Italian, Spanish and Slovenian parents do not seem to relate intercultural education to the inclusion of non-autochthonous languages among the subjects taught in schools, albeit only for native speakers of these languages. Whatever their degree of satisfaction with what they perceive as intercultural education in schools, they clearly believe that the 'legitimization' of 'immigrant languages' is not part of this process.

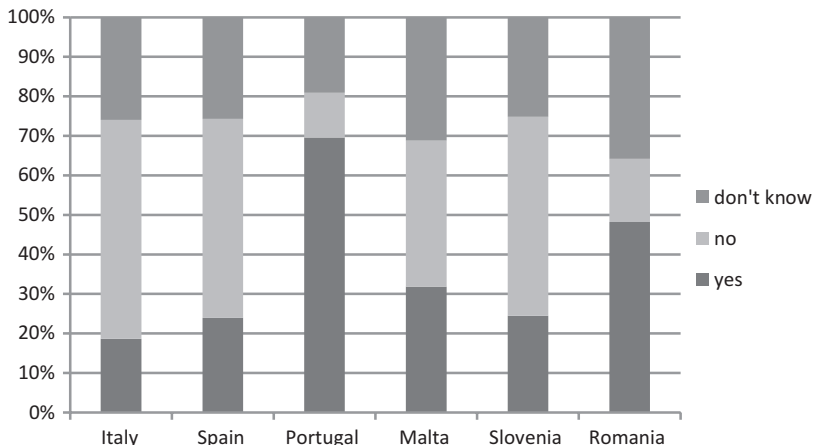


Fig. 4 Parents' answers to the question 'Do you think that children of immigrant families should be given the opportunity to learn their own language(s) in the schools they attend?' showing positive and negative orientations, and 'don't know' by national sub-sample (%)

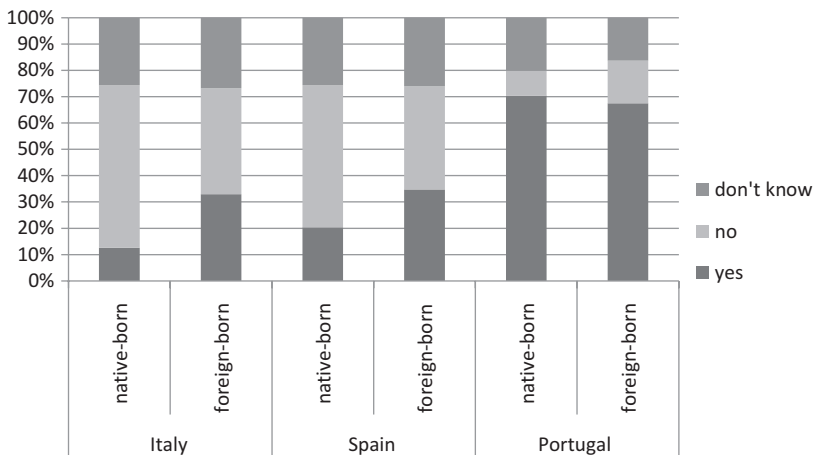


Fig. 5 Parents' answers to the question 'Do you think that children of immigrant families should be given the opportunity to learn their own language(s) in the schools they attend?' showing positive and negative orientations and 'don't know' by birthplace in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese sub-samples (%)

On the contrary, among parents in the Portuguese sub-sample, there is widespread dissatisfaction for the perceived inadequacy of the intercultural approach adopted by schools, and this is parallel to a clear stance in favour of the teaching of the mother tongue to children of immigrants. Romanian parents also follow this trend, with a relative majority of favourable answers (48.2 per cent) and a remarkable rate of 'I don't know' responses (35.8 per cent). This result could be interpreted in the light of what was stated previously about the current situation of Romania as an 'emigration country'. As also confirmed by other recent studies (e.g. Bădescu et al. 2009), adults with direct or indirect migratory experience seem to be more tolerant towards foreigners after this experience than they had been before the migratory experience; on the other hand, a profound cultural change is taking place and this inevitably involves uncertainty.

Finally, a more nuanced stance is obtained from the results provided by Maltese parents. While they are generally satisfied with the openness of Maltese schools to other languages and cultures, they do not manifest a clear position towards the role to be assigned to immigrants' languages. This suggests that these parents probably do not perceive a strong relation between intercultural education and the recognition of non-autochthonous languages in schools.

By disaggregating the Italian, Spanish and Portuguese sub-samples by birthplace (see Fig. 5), we find that native-born and foreign-born parents' responses are structured differently in Italy and Spain as compared to Portugal.

While in the Portuguese sub-sample, orientations are generally similar across the two categories of informants, and in both categories over two thirds of valid answers are positive (70.4 per cent and 67.4 per cent), in the Italian and Spanish sub-samples, native-born and foreign-born parents show remarkably different trends in terms of positive and negative orientations. In particular, the absolute majority of native-born parents in both the Italian and Spanish sub-samples (respectively, 61.8 per cent and 54.0 per cent) are not favourable to the teaching of family languages to immigrants, while only one in eight to one in five respondents (12.6 per cent and 20.4 per cent respectively) expresses a positive orientation. On the other hand, foreign-born parents do not express a clear majority of positive answers: on the contrary, only one in three

respondents is in favour of the inclusion of immigrant languages in the school curriculum.

The situation observed in the three sub-samples seems to suggest parallel trends in the attitudes of native-born and foreign-born parents towards plurilingual education. This is probably due to the processes by which public opinion is formed. In a socio-cultural climate with clear and prevailing pressures towards assimilation (as was the case in Italy and Spain in 2010),¹⁴ immigrants tend to conform to them. In the contrasting situation, in Portugal, they probably feel more confident in asking for the recognition of their cultural rights. However, more data would be needed in order to apply this interpretation to the Portuguese sub-sample, even though, as Tomás (2013: 273) points out, the data clearly show that ‘xenophobic attitudes are not manifest, and support for plurilingual education seems to be in line with mostly tolerant views towards linguistic diversity’.

Conclusions

The results presented above cannot be considered to be valid beyond the remits of the research through which they were obtained, and it is important to acknowledge the complexity involved in the issues at hand. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to conclude that in the four out of five countries which receive inbound migration (Spain, Italy, Malta, Slovenia), our adult informants demonstrate that they do not see a strong relation between intercultural education and plurilingual education. It remains to be seen whether, in these four countries, the results concerning a plurilingual education model would have been different if we had asked parents their opinion on didactic initiatives directed to all students, rather than those explicitly targeting migrants, and this question deserves further research. Nonetheless, the very fact that, according to the majority of respondents, schools in countries receiving immigration should not take any responsibility towards the mother tongues of the students with a migrant background is clear and relevant *per se*. These observations, together with the responses obtained in the Portuguese sub-sample, lead us to consider our respondents’ reactions in the light of the wider social and political context which regards the integration of migrants in each country.

As shown through the timely synthesis proposed in the MIPEX 2010 (*Migrant Integration Policy Index*)¹⁵ evaluation, integration policies in countries such as Spain, Italy, Malta and Slovenia seem to be relatively open at least in terms of concessions aimed at capitalizing on immigrant workforce (lengthy periods of stay in these countries, mobility in the labour market) or at safeguarding fundamental rights (uniting immigrants with their families, avoiding discrimination). On the other hand, when it comes to adopting measures to create substantial ‘equality’ between natives and migrants, such policies become much more restrictive. Table 6 displays the MIPEX scores for each of the seven immigration policy areas¹⁶: from left to right, countries are ranked from less ‘favourable’ (with a majority of scores below 60/100) to most ‘favourable’ (with scores above 60/100). According to these data, only Portugal seems to implement policies favourable from all points of view.

Table 6 Assessment of the integration policies in Malta, Spain, Romania, Slovenia, Italy and Portugal by means of the Migrant Integration Policy Index III (score/100). Reference year 2010

<i>Migration Policy Index 2010 (score/100)</i>						
<i>Policy areas</i>	<i>Malta</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Romani</i>	<i>Slovenia</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Portugal</i>
	<i>a</i>					
Long term residence	64	78	54	69	66	69
Family reunion	48	85	65	75	74	91
Labour market mobility	43	84	68	44	69	94
Anti-discrimination	36	49	73	66	62	84
Access to nationality	26	39	29	33	63	82
Education	16	48	20	24	41	63
Political participation	25	56	8	28	50	70

Data source: Huddleston et al. (2011)

The link between the results of the parents' questionnaires discussed above and the integration policies implemented at national level by each country seems to be supported by a recent review of 18 multivariate studies. This review investigated the links between integration policies and public opinion about immigrants. In her conclusions, Callens (2015: 16) states that a 'consistent and positive relationship emerged in several studies between countries with more inclusive integration policies (that is higher MIPEX overall scores) and lower levels of perceived threat and, to some extent, lower levels of negative attitudes towards immigrants'. If, as Callens points out, 'this finding supports the normative theory of intergroup relations, which assumes that a society's intergroup norms shape the majority's attitudes towards minorities, such as immigrants',¹⁷ then we may conclude that the situation we observed in the schools where we collected our data for the MERIDIUM Project may lead to a reinforcement of social exclusion and inequality. In fact, we observe that the educational authorities in the countries included in our Project are not necessarily sufficiently motivated to implement the measures suggested by the European Commission or by the Council of Europe, even in cases when such measures have proved to be effective.

Finally, we may safely state that we encountered great interest and enthusiasm from all potential beneficiaries of the promotion of plurilingualism (children, families, teachers) during our research, and during the training and dissemination activities held for the first time on such topics by the MERIDIUM partners in countries of Southern Europe. We feel the positive reception which met our initiatives is a promising sign for the future, especially in light of the fact that this was particularly noticeable among the pupils themselves, who ultimately hold the key to creating a more inclusive society.

Notes

1. In the rest of this chapter, for simplicity's sake, we will refer to this category as 'parents'.
2. LifeLong Learning Program (LLLP), key-action 2 (Languages), project number 143513-LLP-1-2008-1-IT-KA2-KA2NW.

3. For further details, see EUMC (2005), FRA (2009).
4. Children with an indirect migratory experience are those who have not emigrated themselves, but whose parents have experienced (or are currently experiencing) outbound migration.
5. For further details, see Tusini (2013).
6. For a complete report, see Caruana et al. (2013).
7. Children with a 'totally foreign background' are those whose parents were not born in the country of residence and do not have citizenship of that country. Children with 'partially foreign background' are those who have just one parent who was born in the country and is a citizen of it.
8. In classifying our data, we faced some problems concerning the sub-samples gathered in Spain and in Portugal, where some pupils have, respectively, Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking immigrant backgrounds. In fact, it may be the case that a pupil living, for example, in Spain declares that they use Spanish and 'Argentinian': on the one hand, Argentinian Spanish can be considered just a variety of Spanish, but, on the other, it must be taken into account that the child likely perceives a significant difference between these varieties, and feels as though s/he were using two different languages. For this reason, these cases have been labelled as 'bilingual use of autochthonous languages'.
9. It must be noted that this percentage also includes results provided by Maltese children, who are generally bilingual: in fact, they report a higher use of two languages when compared to children from the other countries (37.2 per cent vs. 12.1 per cent in Spain, 12.3 per cent in Slovenia, 13.7 per cent in Romania, 14.0 per cent in Portugal, 28.7 per cent in Italy).
10. The term, coined by C. Williams (1996), is intended here, following García (2009), to refer to the act performed by individuals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential. For a detailed discussion of the translanguaging theoretical framework, see García and Wei (2014).
11. It must be taken into account that the schools surveyed in Slovenia are all located in Istria, which is an officially bilingual region. For further details, see Čok and Zadel (2013).
12. For further details on this issue, see Copesescu et al. (2013).
13. For further details on this issue, see Tomás (2013).
14. One must take into account that at the time when the survey was carried out, the social and political climate concerning immigration issues in

Italy and in Spain was very heated: as shown in Tables 1 and 2, from 2000 to 2010, inbound migration in these countries had been intensive, unlike what happened, for instance, in Portugal (where the annual rate of change of the migrant stock was 3.0 per cent in 2000–2010 vs. 13.2 per cent in Spain and 8.2 per cent in Italy). Moreover, while in Portugal well over 50 per cent of immigrants come from the so-called Países Africanos de Língua Portuguesa (PALP's; for details, see Tomás 2013, and Delgado et al. 2014), in Italy and Spain there is much more widespread linguistic diversity among immigrants (for details, see, respectively, Scaglione 2013, and González Martín et al. 2013).

15. Compiled by the British Council and by the Migration Policy Group: <http://www.mipex.eu/>.
16. The policy areas which were taken into account in MIPEX III (2010) with reference to migrants were long-term residence, family reunion, labour market mobility, anti-discrimination measures, political participation, access to nationality and education. This latter area was assessed with reference to four dimensions: the access of migrant pupils to education; the targeting of specific needs concerning students with migrant backgrounds; the capacity of turning cultural and linguistic diversity brought by migrant students into new opportunities for the students themselves, as well as for society at large; and the implementation of intercultural education for all the students.
17. The normative theory of intergroup relations originates from Tajfel's (1970) research on intergroup discrimination and rests on the finding that this phenomenon is not necessarily triggered by a perceived threat or a situation of competition nor by a previous existing hostility among groups. Rather, the phenomenon often derives from a set of social norms and expectations concerning outgroup behaviour which characterize a specific community and are internalized by its members. Over the years, this theory has been considerably refined by H. Tajfel himself, as well as by J.C. Turner, and gave rise to the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986).

References

- Bădescu, G., Stoian, O., & Tănase, A. (2009). Efectele culturale ale migrației forței de muncă din România. In R. G. Anghel & I. Horvath (Eds.), *Sociologia migrației: Teorii și studii de caz românești* (pp. 278–279). Iași: Polirom.

- Beacco, J.-C., & Byram, M. (2003). *Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe: From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education*. Strasbourg: Language Policy Division, Council of Europe. www.coe.int/lang
- Callens, M.-S. (2015). *Integration policies and public opinion: In conflict or in harmony?* <http://www.migpolgroup.com/library/library-diversity/>
- Caruana, S., Copesescu, L., & Scaglione, S. (Eds.). (2013). *Migration, multilingualism and schooling in Southern Europe*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Çok, L., & Zadel, M. (2013). Linguistic plurality in European countries: Slovenian Istria between a policy of coexistence and the issue of immigration. In S. Caruana, L. Copesescu, & S. Scaglione (Eds.), *Migration, multilingualism and schooling in Southern Europe* (pp. 343–367). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Copesescu, L., Buja, E., Cusen, G., & Mesesan-Schmitz, L. (2013). Migratory experience and attitudes towards multilingualism: The Romanian case study. In S. Caruana, L. Copesescu, & S. Scaglione (Eds.), *Migration, multilingualism and schooling in Southern Europe* (pp. 276–303). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Council of Europe. (2007). *From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education: Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe*. Strasbourg: Language Policy Division, Council of Europe. <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/>
- Delgado, A., Amorim, C., Dias, C., & Paulino, P. (2014). Caracterização da população estrangeira a residir em Portugal, com base nos Censos 2011. *Revista de Estudos Demográficos*, 53, 35–76.
- EUMC. (2005). *Majorities' attitudes towards minorities: Key findings from the Eurobarometer and the European social survey. Summary*. Vienna: EUMC. http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/146-EB2005-summary.pdf
- European Commission. (2003). *Promoting language learning and linguistic diversity: An action plan 2004–2006*. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, COM/2003/0449 final.
- European Commission. (2005). *A new framework strategy for multilingualism*. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, COM/2005/0596 final.
- European Commission. (2008a). *Migration & mobility: Challenges and opportunities for EU education systems*. Green paper presented by the Commission, COM/2008/0423 final.

- European Commission. (2008b). *Multilingualism: An asset for Europe and a shared commitment*. Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, COM/2008/0566 final.
- FRA. (2009). *EU-MIDIS. European union minorities and discrimination survey: Main results report*. Vienna: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2012/eu-midis-main-results-report>
- García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalising the local* (pp. 140–158). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gogolin, I. (2002). *Linguistic diversity and new minorities in Europe: Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe: From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education. Reference study*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/GogolinEN.pdf>
- González Martín, V., Matas Gil, P., Heras García, M., & Soliño Pazó, M. M. (2013). Migration and multilingualism in social and educational contexts in Spain. In S. Caruana, L. Copesescu, & S. Scaglione (Eds.), *Migration, multilingualism and schooling in Southern Europe* (pp. 224–245). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Huddleston, T., Niessen, J., Ni Chaoimh, E., & White, E. (2011). *Migrant Integration Policy Index III (MIPEX III)*. Brussels: British Council & Migration Policy Group. http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/migrant_integration_policy_index_mipexiii_2011.pdf
- OECD. (2010). *PISA 2009 results: Overcoming social background – Equity in learning opportunities and outcomes (Volume II)*. <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/48852584.pdf>
- Scaglione, S. (2013). Bilingual pupils and parents in Italian schools: An opportunity for the educational system. In S. Caruana, L. Copesescu, & S. Scaglione (Eds.), *Migration, multilingualism and schooling in Southern Europe* (pp. 177–223). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Tajfel, H. (1970). Experiments in intergroup discrimination. *Scientific American*, 223, 96–102.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of inter-group behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

- Tomás, M. I. (2013). Multilingualism and immigration in the Portuguese linguistic landscape. In S. Caruana, L. Copesescu, & S. Scaglione (Eds.), *Migration, multilingualism and schooling in Southern Europe* (pp. 246–275). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Tusini, S. (2013). The MERIDIUM Project: Research plan and methodological considerations. In S. Caruana, L. Copesescu, & S. Scaglione (Eds.), *Migration, multilingualism and schooling in Southern Europe* (pp. 157–176). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2013). *Trends in international migrant stock: The 2013 revision*. United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013.
- Williams, C. (1996). Secondary education: Teaching in the bilingual situation. In C. Williams, G. Lewis, & C. Baker (Eds.), *The language policy: Taking stock: Interpreting and appraising Gwynedd's language policy in education* (pp. 39–78). Llangefni: CAI.

Translanguaging: A Matter of Sociolinguistics, Pedagogics and Interaction?

Stef Slembrouck and Kirsten Rosiers

This chapter forms part of an analytical-interpretative exercise in coming to terms with one of the key concepts in contemporary writings on globalization-affected multilingual classrooms: translanguaging (TL). What is the term's precise scope? What are the theoretical-methodological frameworks which bear upon the formulation of a basis for its implementation? And how can an answer to these two questions be informed by an analysis of instances where TL has been accomplished successfully in classroom practice? As a specific point of departure, we suggest a triadically formulated question: *is translanguaging primarily a sociolinguistic, a pedagogical and/or an interactional concept?* And, if the conclusion to be drawn is that an affirmative answer is invited for each of the three dimensions, then how might one understand the various interconnections between these dimensions?

S. Slembrouck

Linguistics Department, MULTIPLES, Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

K. Rosiers (✉)

LaDisco, Center for Linguistic Research - Faculty of Literature, Translation and Communication, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, Belgium

Translanguaging and the Hybridity Turn in the Sociolinguistics of Globalization

The concept of translanguaging is predated by that of code switching (CS). CS, of the inter- and intra-utterance type, has since the 1960s been noted to occur commonly in bilingual and multilingual contexts as an outcome of language contact and a range of possible manifestations and communicative functions have been attributed to its occurrence, which play to the different functional aspects of language use in context. Referential aspects may be in the foreground (e.g. a CS into L_x occurs, because an idea is only available to the speaker in L_x), or interpersonal aspects (e.g. a CS into L_x counts as an accommodating gesture towards a specific (set of) interlocutor(s)), and/or text- and discourse building aspects (e.g. a CS into L_x occurs as a result of momentary word-finding problems experienced in another language). The Hallidayan functional triad (Halliday 1978) invoked here for purposes of exposition underlines the potential breadth in the possible functions of CS in bilingual and multilingual contexts of language use. Needless to add, many instances of CS in multilingual contexts bear on more than one level of meaning making. Nilep (2006) provides an excellent thematic overview. CS has been discussed as socially and situationally invited (a situation calling for a particular code, e.g. Fishman 1967) and as conversationally invited (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1998), that is, CS as a method of organizing a conversational exchange and as a way to make knowledge of or elements in the wider context in which conversation takes place relevant to an ongoing interaction—for example, elements of situation, speaker identity or background relevant to ongoing talk. Several studies, as Nilep (2006) notes, have attended to functional micro-connections between CS and conversational sequence, for example, CS to enhance turn selection, to soften refusals, to accomplish repair or mark dispreferred responses. The latter encompasses ‘stance’ and ‘footing’ (Goffman 1981) and the recognition of CS as a political strategy (e.g. Heller 1995: CS as resistance in a context where dominance is asserted through norms of language choice; see also McCormick 2002 on we/they-dynamics in conversational CS). Work of more recent decades has also stressed how CS,

in the form of ‘crossing’ or ‘stylizations’ (Rampton 1995), may be a matter of overlaying interaction with the voices of projected others and associated contexts of interpretation (compare also with a similar Bakhtinian take in Stroud 1992). A further terminological distinction between ‘switching’ and ‘mixing’ (Muysken 2000), although sparking considerable debate and confusion about the precise scope of each term, has in retrospect underlined a growing field of tension in prioritizing a particular perspective in analysis: recognized languages and varieties as the constituent linguistic resources drawn upon or, alternatively, the integrity of the speaker’s speech as reflective of his/her orientation in a situation.

Gardner-Chloros (2009: 9) notes how after the 1960s the subject of CS ‘took off – and there has been no sign of a downturn – as people realized that CS was not an isolated, quirky phenomenon but a widespread way of speaking’. And while the pedagogical advantages of CS have equally been widely noted, either as a strategy which bilinguals spontaneously resort to (Reyes 2004) or as an activity-specific strategy that can be promoted in classroom activities (Ferguson 2003), the concept of CS itself has historically for a long time been implicated in a sociolinguistics of separate languages. The main reason for this has been an unchallenged assumption that speakers alternate or switch between, or at times mix two recognized or named languages or language varieties. If Milroy and Muysken (1995: 7) in the introduction of their edited volume somewhat euphorically assigned CS the status of ‘perhaps the central issue in bilingualism research’, in today’s sociolinguistic climate, such aspirations are thwarted by a swelling critique of the very concept of separate languages.

The latter has barely been the case for the more recently formulated concept of translanguaging (TL). The term is of more recent theoretical coinage, although a genealogy of its current uses will reveal how its emergence is intimately connected with the ‘history’ of CS sketched in the previous paragraphs. For García (2009: 45), translanguaging ‘goes beyond what has been termed code-switching [...] although it includes it’. While TL tends to be more broadly and also more loosely defined as shuttling between different components in a language repertoire in a natural manner (Park 2013), and there are many different ways in which this can be done, TL, as a theoretical concept, originally referred to a pedagogical

move to deploy CS strategically: a deliberate reversal of input and output language in Welsh bilingual classrooms (Williams 1994, 2002). García (2009) and Baker (2011) extended the term's scope to a range of linguistic and discursive practices in which students appropriate the language practices of school into their own linguistic repertoire and move freely and flexibly within and between the resources they have at their disposal. As Wei (2011: 1223) notes, TL is just as much about the creation of a social-behavioural space for multilingual speakers 'by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitudes, beliefs and performance'. As the coinage originates in an educational context, TL is arguably first of all about the optimization of the educational interactional environment for purposes of learning. The point then is that this is done in ways which promote a continuity with the language practices which multilingual speakers spontaneously resort to. While the concept of CS, as originally developed, may, as a result of the growing popularity of TL, have been 'exposed' as theoretically lacking in some respects because of prevailing underlying assumptions about the nature of language and language use, it is probably safer to assume that the diverse range of practices that have been previously noted and studied under the heading of CS lie within the scope of TL.

The set of developments around the concept of TL comes at a time when sociolinguistic enquiry, which is inevitably about more than observing classroom contexts, stresses the empirical complexities posed by hybridized and category-defying forms of language use in different spaces and activities. These forms have posed fundamental challenges to the historically inherited categories which thus far had largely dominated (socio) linguistic enquiry. The challenges emanated from necessary attempts to understand how language practices bear testimony to trajectories of migration, as well as gauging the impact and significance of locally emerging interactional regularities in language use which may be in the process of becoming more durably inscribed in urban linguistic soundscapes. Examples are 'flexible bilingualism' (Creese and Blackledge 2010), 'truncated multilingualism' (Blommaert et al. 2005), 'metrolingualism' (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015) and so on. The comparison with non-Western contexts has been invoked in support of the 'new' formulations about the nature of language, more generally, and urban multilingualism,

more specifically. For instance, García (2009: 150) writing about TL refers to Mühlhäusler (1996) to bring out how the category of 'language', as more traditionally understood, has limited applicability outside modern European-type nation-states. Quoting Romaine (1994: 12) with reference to Papua New Guinea, the category is more of 'an artifact of classificatory procedures than a reflection of communicative practices'. In a similar vein, Makalela 2018, in this volume connects the boundaries between black languages in the South African multilingual spaces of higher education in Limpopo with communication obstructing walls inherited from the Apartheid era: introducing TL in a teacher training course, among other things, has had the liberating effect that the course takers discovered mutual intelligibility between named languages which were previously perceived by the participants as separate languages. The theoretical ramifications of such observations are of course equally located at the doorstep of advanced Western European industrial societies which are experiencing the sociolinguistic effects and implications of successive waves of migration. When Creese and Blackledge (2010) formulated the concept of 'flexible bilingualism' in the British context, they did so in part because of a wish to develop concepts which place the shifting speaker in the centre of empirical attention (rather than talk about a speaker's 'separate linguisticisms'). A related concept such as 'polylinguaging' (Jørgensen et al. 2011: 30) stresses the combined use of features associated with different 'languages' even when speakers' knowledge and use is restricted to only few features associated with (some of) these languages. Polylinguaging is a term for capturing contemporary on-the-ground practices of language use in superdiverse contexts. Some of the concerns in redrafting the sociolinguistics of multilingualism have been language political. One such consideration is how monolingual assumptions about ideal nation-states and language communities which originate in the nineteenth century have informed concepts of linguistic purity and exclusiveness, which in their turn have fed conceptually into a view of separate constituent languages which is presupposed in many treatments of CS and bilingualism. A second one has been the uncomfortable relationship of education to hybridity and diversity, with corresponding dichotomies which have been posited between elite multilingualism ('added monolingualisms', as sanctioned by official state

and educational policy) and non-elite forms of multilingualism (as brought to the classroom by children with mainly a minority background).

Yet, in one and the same breath, it must be noted that TL in principle has an open-endedness to it, which empirically does not rule out the pedagogically effective use of two or more named languages 'side-by-side', and although the formulation of TL as a concept was partly enabled by sociolinguistic enquiry coming to terms with the empirical and theoretical complexities of linguistic hybridity, one of the risks is indeed the kind of slippage which would canonize category-defying hybridity and reify it as a kind of superior form of TL, so as to become its ultimate language ideological datum. The contemporary globalization-affected dynamics of multilingual uses is sociolinguistically more complex than what is perhaps at times too easily captured by a one-sided stress on forms of language use which challenge the empirical identification or the existence of boundaries between received and recognized languages or varieties. Jørgensen et al. (2011) correctly note that the connection between 'features' of use and 'languages' must be dealt with in its own right, as a matter of sociocultural categories. The connections reside in the field of language ideologies. But, more is at stake here than state and officialdom. The connections also reside in the field of user perceptions and normative expectations that are associated with gatekeeping contexts in which language users seek to reap the fruits of their language learning efforts (e.g. tests, examinations that lead to a qualification, job interviews). The question of hybridity/fixity, including the identifiability of languages and language varieties, is caught up in a complex field of reality construction with real-life consequences for those who have to participate in it. It is an uneasy field characterized by tensions, between (scientific) categories of analysis and interpretation and (user) categories of experience. If one turns to some of the observed sociolinguistic realities in the Ghent classrooms which form the empirical focus of this chapter, one can note how some learners experientially capture language-crossing practices in terms which are arguably echoed in some of the more recent scholarly definitions, while other learners continue to voice their experiences mostly with reference to separate lingualisms. To simply discount the latter group as

folk linguistic error would be to insist on theoretical hygiene, possibly at the expense of pedagogical and social emancipatory gain. The question of boundedness-fixity/fluidity-hybridity is in part a matter of data interpretation and the sobering realization is that the superdiversity/hybridity-analysis benefits as less from being overstated, as it does from being underestimated. As Otheguy et al. (2015: 283) argue what is at stake is proficiency in ‘the many situations where the watchful adherence [to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages] ought to be relaxed, and in the relatively rare, but still unarguably important situations where it is to be engaged’. One may add to this that, from the point of view of classroom interventions, the categories of experience constitute primary arenas within which we must seek to develop pedagogical leverage, and this means that we have to engage fully with the complexities of multiple conceptions of language, including the tensions between them, the attendant paradoxes and even outright contradictions. As Creese and Blackledge (2010: 112) report with reference to the complementary schools which they studied in urban settings in the UK:

[...] [F]lexible bilingualism is used by teachers as an instructional strategy to make links for classroom participants between the social, cultural, community, and linguistic domains of their lives. Pedagogy in these schools appears to emphasize the overlapping of languages in the student and teacher rather than enforcing the separation of languages for learning and teaching. We acknowledge, however, that within complementary schools ideologies often clash, with as many arguments articulated for separate bilingualism as for flexible bilingualism.

TL as a Pedagogically Relevant and Activity-Specific Set of Distributions Which Has Consequences

A second key question pertains to the actual distribution of TL practices across educational settings. Educational practice includes a diverse range of activities, for example, teacher-centred exposition, individual exercises,

group work with reporting back, tests, examinations and so on. While TL can and has been fruitfully invested in classroom activities of learning, work and—in some grades—play, it has already been hinted at that some arenas of knowledge production and reproduction appear to be excluded from the possibilities advocated by a TL approach.¹ Activities in educational spaces can be mapped on a cline of relative formality, in the multi-layered sense outlined in Irvine (1979).² At one end, there is peer-centred activity in smaller groups and, at the other end, we find formal sit-down tests and examinations. Teacher-group interaction is somewhere in the middle. It would appear then that the more informal end of the cline is more susceptible to TL practices than the more formal end. And, while the more informal end of classroom activities is undoubtedly where the talk more explicitly revolves around establishing and maintaining relations (there is also more interactional space in which to do so), the more formal part of the cline of activities culminates at the point which is most explicitly oriented towards the formulation of knowledge (e.g. sit-down exams in which roles and relationships are fixed and beyond negotiation). So far we have not come across any instances where freely moving between languages was being formally allowed and encouraged in situations where learners' knowledge is being tested or examined formally.

There are immediate implications for our understanding of the effects of TL. The Ghent *Home Language in Education* project (2008–2013) noted enhanced well-being (qualitative interviews) and gain in confidence (quantitative surveys) as two important outcomes of introducing and encouraging home language use in the classrooms that had joined the experiment for the duration of the pedagogical intervention (see chapter by Slembrouck et al. 2018, in this volume). While increased well-being and confidence gain are undeniably tacit benefits and welcome gains beyond the actual situations in which home language use was being explicitly encouraged and resulted in TL practices, the two (home language use and the TL it gives rise to) largely disappear from view when the learners find themselves in test and exam situations. Realism instils us to note that one fundamental observation is probably that dialect use or the use of other languages than the dominant language will be encouraged more straightforwardly and will occur more

commonly (even when not positively sanctioned) as we move to the informal end of the cline of activities, while at the opposite (more formal) end the production of knowledge is prototypically required to be in the standard variant of the societally dominant language (often *only* in that variety). This is the point where monolingual expectations and standardization surveillance are at their highest (cf. Jaspers 2005: 296). One may even expect a sharp boundary being drawn at some point on the cline, one which normatively rules out and even negatively sanctions features of dialect use or a pupil's home language, and possibly also colloquial language features, more generally.³ García and Wei (2014: 133–5) similarly note how, despite policy makers' views of assessment as one of the main catalysts to improve the education of students, standardized assessment is usually administered in one language only, at the risk of confounding knowledge with language ability. This is especially troubling for bilinguals. The view of bilingualism as parallel lingualisms, they observe, is further reflected in particular accommodating practices such as (in the context of New York end-of-year exams) the provision of exam papers in two languages with the requirement to respond in one language only. In the pages that follow, García and Wei programmatically entertain the possibility and potential of standardized assessments being done in TL ways, but they note in conclusion that 'accepting TL in assessment would require a change in epistemology that is beyond the limits of what most schools (and teachers) permit and value today' (2014: 135). Undoubtedly adding to the programmatic pessimism, the question must be raised whether a fundamental shift in schools would have much effect, unless it is paralleled by comparable shifts in other gatekeeping situations (e.g. job interviews, state selection exams). More than thinking about transforming classroom and school culture, one may at this point wish to stress the need to pedagogically engage with both an adequate and a strategic sociolinguistic vocabulary, one which, in addition to conceptualizing multilingualism, also has sufficient realism in it to recognize that education is also about equipping pupils to deal with and attain real-life goals in contexts where linguistic-theoretical rigour and pedagogical integrity do not inform the criteria to get through.

TL Is an Activity: It Is Interaction and It Is Accomplished Conversationally and Sequentially

It is difficult to separate an analysis of TL practices in classrooms (or elsewhere) from an analysis of social activity and interactional sequence, and this arguably includes that we pay attention to the interplay between interactional behaviour and the social valuations placed upon its constituents. Before developing this point further, allow us to refer briefly to one of the examples noted in Rosiers's (2016) analyses of practices of code selection, switching and mixing by primary school children in a fourth grade classroom in Ghent.⁴ The children had been encouraged to make use of their home language, but rules of conduct stipulated that they could do so with interlocutors who share the same home language. Rosiers notes the relevance of small shifts in participation structure, including how in a language homogenous sub-group of Turkish-speaking children the presence of the camera resulted in a switch from (home language) Turkish into (medium of instruction) Dutch. The camera's entry resulted in a change in footing (Goffman 1981), and it is one which reflects the value orientations in the symbolic market (e.g. the presence of the camera invited 'on record' language use). Similarly, when the teacher joined a language homogenous sub-group of pupils, this typically resulted in a code switch from Turkish into Dutch, a shift in alignment which not only accommodated the repertoire of the teacher (which does not include Turkish) but also counted, language politically speaking, as a recognition of the dominant language as representative of the educational system in which the pupils participate.

As noted in earlier work (Blommaert et al. 2005: 207ff.; Slembrouck 2009), Goffman's frame analysis (Goffman 1974) and its precursor (Goffman 1961) draws, among other things, attention to how physical spaces shape the conditions for establishing recognized social activities but views the establishment of such social activities, including the way in which they are 'framed' physically and socio-cognitively, as outcomes of focused encounters. Spatially organized frames provide the locus for the establishment and organization of situated social activities. This happens

sequentially. Frames and frame layers, both when understood more cognitively (a definition of the situation) and more physically (an enactment), are foci of interaction, in the sense that Goffman invites analytic attention to the unfolding dynamics and flux in managing the shifting arrangements which are made manifest in the course of social activity. The latter comes with implicit and explicit forms of spatial boundary marking, often with short- or longer-lived relationships of inclusion and exclusion as a result. Inclusion/exclusion then is attentional, physical and cognitive. Thus, the dynamically unfolding sub-groupings and re-groupings which may occur in the interactional flow of a spate of classroom activity not only show visibly in the room; they are also attended to by the participants: verbally, body-actionally and multi-modally, with spates of attention paid to speech, written text, visual displays, pens, blackboards and so on. At various points then the frame itself, its physical design, its physically positioned interlocutors and its status as a particular definition of the situation with particular role expectations will surface as the topic and focus of the talk (e.g. turn allocations, metapragmatic commentary, etc.).

The Goffmanian lead which allows to chart the complex 'social choreography' (Aronsson 1998) of language use, gesture, movement and bodily positioning across physical space during social activities comes with the additional programme of recognizing the often subtle valuations which accompany particular forms of participant alignment and the ways in which these are expressed. As we indicated with our earlier examples, choice of linguistic resource in which to say something is among them. Goffman's (1981) distinction between dominating and subordinate communication further emphasizes the multiplicity of simultaneously occurring frames and frame layers, which are subject to assessment and sanctioning: for instance, there may be multiple points of view on the legitimacy of particular space partitionings, as well as multiple interpretative perspectives on a singular sequence of activity. One example is how pupil A's question to pupil B in the home language about a concept just raised in the larger group may count as a request for clarification when it is seen from within the dominant teaching frame. However, from within the subordinating frame, the same question may voice a protest at peer

level against the experience of being excluded. Practices of TL are amenable to a wide range of possible ‘things done with words’ (joking, instructing, scolding, exposition, etc.), but it is not enough to just document the range of possibilities and actualities. The social field of symbolic market valuations (Bourdieu 1984) that come with this multitude of possibilities needs to be brought within view, that is, if one wants to be realistic about implementing and optimizing a pedagogically relevant project founded on the possibilities afforded by TL.

The point of underlining the importance of the interactional dynamics needs to be taken one step further still. In as much as the social valuations of forms of translanguaging are hard to separate from the accomplishment of interactional task and sequence, in a very similar way, pedagogics and interaction are inextricably intertwined in a reflexive relationship. The latter point is cogently developed in Seedhouse (2004: 99). Seedhouse’s more general point is that the development of a particular pedagogical strategy and its implementation talks the institutional context and institutional identities into being. For instance, pedagogically motivated forms of providing feedback and ‘correcting’ pupils in classroom activity always also manifest themselves as conversational sequences of repair. The relationship between pedagogy and interaction is not simple and unidirectional; instead, it is complex and reflexive. As Seedhouse (2004: 178–9) continues, pedagogical recommendations may have unforeseen interactional consequences which may even undo or work in opposition to pedagogical intention and effort. For instance, efforts to persuade language learners that it is alright to make linguistic errors become transformed by the conversational-interactional organization of the classroom into the message that errors are embarrassing and result in learners speaking up only in instances where they feel confident about getting it right. One implication from Seedhouse’s position is therefore: if we wish to be serious about a ‘pedagogics of translanguaging’—or, expressed more generally, the potential of putting multilingual repertoires to use and effect in school learning environments—then we need to develop an adequate understanding of how interactional dynamics may offer leverage, or fail to do so.

TL in Kindergarten: An Interactional Analysis of Two Related Video-Recorded Sequences

We now move to the empirical part of the chapter, with an analysis of two video-recorded sequences. In our analysis, we want to concentrate in particular on how the teacher stage-manages, and hence ‘frames’, the contributions in the home language. The setting and scene of the activity is a group of children in second and third year of kindergarten in the city of Ghent. The school is a neighbourhood school, run by the city council. It has been described as a ‘village school in an urban setting’ (e.g. they have a chicken run on the playground). The school participated in the Home Language in Education project (2008–2013), and the data are drawn from a collection of video recordings made in the course of the pedagogical implementation. There are two sequences that we have singled out for detailed attention, a first sequence in which the teacher activates a TL strategy to include a newly arrived child, M, into an activity. The second sequence offers a similar moment of TL activation when, following an activity, the group re-assembles as a group and the children report on the activity just concluded (pasting images of toys onto a piece of paper).

In the first sequence, the teacher, while setting up the activity, activates a TL strategy to include a recently arrived child (M) into the activity by inviting another child (S) to explain the activity in Turkish, their shared home language. We can note first of all how, before that, quite routinely a body-actional and interactional space around a small table is being created and monitored. This involves placing chairs, handing out paper, distributing pens and so on. The teacher’s inviting question ‘M wil jij meedoen?’ (‘M do you want to join in?’) is echoed by S in Turkish. The teacher gets up and moves a chair across the table and instructs S, ‘S, jij moet vertellen aan M wat zij moet doen’ (‘S, you must tell M what she has to do’). The instruction is completed (‘zeg haar wat er moet gebeuren met die xxx’, ‘tell her what needs to be done with those xxx’) as the teacher moves back to the other side of the table. After that, the interaction between S and M continues to unfold in Turkish (see circle) (Fig. 1).

Two points merit particular analytical attention. First, the teacher’s staging actions are accomplished routinely but professionally: for instance,



Fig. 1 S (right) instructs M (left)

her movement of the chair is supported by a verbal act of ‘naming’ (e.g. ‘Ik zal een stoel daar zetten’, ‘I’ll put a chair over there [for you]’), she has adjusted her tempo of speaking, she uses emphatic and clear articulation, there is abundant body-actional underlining by the use of pointing gestures (fingers and arms). One may thus conclude: this is sound pedagogical practice, irrespective of the multilingual context. The teacher is successfully doing ‘being a teacher’. Second, as can be seen in the two video stills represented below, the instruction ‘you have to tell M what she has to do’, the teacher briefly touches S as an attention-drawing gesture (see Fig. 2) and she waits until eye contact is established so as to secure recognition of understanding (see Fig. 3). The TL instruction is enhanced by matching body-actional behaviour: it is to be taken seriously.

In the second sequence, the group has re-assembled for feedback. Four benches are arranged in a square. S is invited by the teacher to report in Turkish: ‘S, wat heb jij gedaan met dit werkje?’ (‘S, what have you done with the task?’). Next, a TL strategy is activated: ‘vertel het eens – doe maar in het Turks’, ‘tell me – do it in Turkish’. Various children start



Fig. 2 T relies on touch to accomplish impact



Fig. 3 T secures eye contact with S to secure comprehension



Fig. 4 B translates into Dutch

answering, before S attempts a response herself, in Turkish. Another child, B, with pointed finger, consecutively provides a translation in Dutch. This happens spontaneously (Fig. 4).

In both instances, the teacher, who is not proficient in Turkish, relinquishes control over the interaction; she lets go by allowing the initiated interaction to take care of itself in a language that she doesn't speak herself. The first time, she does this by retreating from the dyadic interactional space which has been established between S and M. She is excluding herself from a Turkish-speaking sub-frame, now owned by M and S. Arguably, as the aim is that children work on their own or in small groups, there is nothing remarkable about this retreat. In the second sequence, the relinquishing of co-participation is perhaps less straightforward: a switch into Turkish is encouraged while interacting with the whole group. And, as we explain below, interestingly this switch is not matched by a corresponding physical retreat from the enacted participation structure. On the one hand, the teacher lets the situation take care of itself by allowing her own understanding of what is being said to become dependent on a form of mediation (translation by another child). She has

little or no control over the translation and the translation surfaces spontaneously. The teacher resumes after that by voicing positive feedback: 'pico bello'. During the analysed stage in the feedback sequence, the local dominant language has been interactionally backgrounded, while the child's home language is momentarily projected as the preferred code. Translation into Dutch follows spontaneously. On top of this, note how focal attention is body-actionally sustained. With the switch into Turkish, the teacher does not physically backseat herself by adopting the bodily position of an 'overhearer' who does not have access to the code being used. Instead, she maintains the posture of a focal participant, as if she is the primary addressee during the reporting back in Turkish. In doing so, she again lends legitimacy to the use of Turkish when the class interacts as a group (Fig. 5).

This kind of behaviour is not undocumented in the multilingual interaction literature: one can compare the teacher's sustained posture as a 'primary addressee' with the body-actional orientations that are typically adopted in situations of interpreting. While we may be interactionally inclined to direct our attention to the interlocutors whose repertoire we share, professional end users will be instructed by interpreters to continue to direct their gaze at the client, and position themselves as if they are speaking to him/her directly, without mediation. It is a posture of treating the interactional reality of the message being relayed by the interpreter on the 'disattend' track. In the classroom context, the teacher's behaviour provides one illustration of how interactional stance may be monitored reflexively vis-à-vis an intended pedagogical strategy.

Discussion. Translanguaging and/or Functional Multilingual Learning? Where Do We Take the Concepts Next?

Although, historically, TL originates conceptually in a pedagogical context of 'organized code-switching for the benefit of learning', it is potentially characterized by a wide range of possible shapes and manifestations. It is a practice which crosses the boundaries between minority and majority



Fig. 5 T maintains focal gaze directed at S

languages, a practice which aligns with what children spontaneously do in a multilingual environment, as well as a practice with language learning potential. TL can be teacher-monitored (as in the two examples analysed above) or it can occur between peers without teacher direction, and so on. García (2009: 156) concludes that TL is 'an important practice, pedagogically to teach, but also cognitively to learn'. How does TL then

relate to Functional Multilingual Learning? Functional Multilingual Learning (FML) (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2014; Van Avermaet et al. 2015) is primarily about the adoption of a positive orientation to the linguistic repertoires which children bring to school and a commitment to the productive exploitation of these repertoires as didactic capital, for example, as a scaffold for learning the language of schooling or, more generally, for acquiring knowledge. FML is a multilingual social interactional model for learning.

Naturally, there is no reason why TL or FML would only be of value in language learning classes. While the concept of TL was initially developed in a context of bilingualism, the formulation of FML has been tied up with more diverse educational contexts, characterized by the simultaneous presence of multiple home languages. The larger aspiration of FML is to offset some of the disadvantages for some learners that come with their subjection to a strictly monolingual learning environment, especially when such an environment is defined in terms of social groups which can advantageously rely on home context uses for access to the language of schooling. FML appears then to have much in common with TL, but are there also differences? TL has been observed as common linguistic practice across contexts, while FML comes with a stress on learning. TL and FML both present themselves as school-specific learning strategies, oriented to bridging detrimental gaps between school, home and peer environments. Undoubtedly there is also a case to be made for FML in non-educational, informal learning environments. And, in both cases we must therefore raise the question about the promotion of durable language habits beyond practices of supporting children in educational environments. García (2009: 151) writes about TL in terms of ‘building blocks of bilingualism’, because TL is inevitably out there, in the twenty-first century and in multilingual societies at large. Its promotion in school environments and classroom practice is both a matter of recognition and indispensable mastery, and it calls for the development of ‘more heteroglossic multilingual education programmes’ (2009: 157). In this chapter, we have advocated the importance of a powerful learning environment in which sociolinguistic concerns are integrated in a strategic understanding of interactional dynamics. This accords with the perspective of TL and FML. There is much to be gained in learning from one another’s experiences.

In this chapter, we have also drawn attention to some of the difficulties which surround such a programme. There are a number of caveats: one is that most situations of testing or examination continue to be more rigidly defined in terms of standardized monolingual practice. A second one is that it is probably not wise to censor theoretically or pedagogically forms of TL that appear to appeal to ‘older’ forms of language awareness, understood by users and teachers in terms of CS between separate lingualisms. It is probably worth building further on the many pedagogically relevant insights that have been articulated in the CS literature of past decades. A further caveat purports to the point that we have sought to develop in greater detail in this chapter, namely, the need to contextualize TL practices, not just as multilingual practice but as pedagogical practice and interactional behaviour. In doing so, we must elaborate how TL depends on interactional dynamics that do not apply exclusively to multilingual environments. While it is important that we face these issues head-on, TL and FML continue to remain important concepts and strategies for thinking about improving the educational environment of multilingual minority children in today’s world.

Notes

1. We are assuming here that TL as an educational practice is not exclusively a matter of relying on language bridging strategies in the construction of learnt knowledge; it equally extends into the management of social relationships.
2. Relative (in)formality as an observable characteristic of human social interaction then simultaneously applies to at least three axes of restriction/leeway. The relevant dimensions are the topics that can be talked about, the appropriate styles in which to formulate and thirdly the relational identities and activity-specific foci that are typically or can be invoked.
3. Preston and Niedzielski (2009) repeatedly observe how in user perceptions dialect features and colloquial features are grouped together with erroneous features as ‘bad language’.
4. The data were collected in the context of one of the seven sub-projects of the SBO-IWT-funded project, titled ‘Valorising Linguistic Diversity’ (VALIDIV, 2012–2015). PI of the sub-project: S. Slembrouck.

References

- Aronsson, K. (1998). Identity-in-interaction and social choreography. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 31(1), 75–89.
- Auer, P. (1998). *Code-switching in conversation: Language, identity and interaction*. London: Routledge.
- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & Communication*, 25(3), 197–216.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Ce que parler veut dire : L'économie des échanges linguistiques*. Paris: Fayard.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103–115.
- Ferguson, G. (2003). Classroom code-switching in post-colonial contexts: Functions, attitudes and policies. *AILA Review*, 16, 38–51.
- Fishman, J. A. (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; Diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 23(2), 29–38.
- García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalising the local* (pp. 140–158). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2009). *Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Encounters: Two studies in the sociology of interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

- Heller, M. (1995). Code-switching and the politics of language. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.), *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 158–174). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Irvine, J. T. (1979). Formality and informality in communicative events. *American Anthropologist*, 81(4), 773–790.
- Jaspers, J. (2005). Linguistic sabotage in a context of monolingualism and standardization. *Language & Communication*, 25(3), 279–297.
- Jørgensen, J., Karrebaek, M., Madsen, M., & Møller, J. (2011). Polylinguaging in superdiversity. *Diversities*, 13(2), 23–37. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002147/214772e.pdf#214781>. Date Accessed 20 May 2015.
- Makalela, L. (2018, this volume). Teaching African languages the *ubuntu* way: The effects of translanguaging among pre-service teachers in South Africa. In P. Van Avermaet, S. Slembrouck, K. Van Gorp, S. Sierens, & K. Maryns (Eds.), *The multilingual edge of education* (pp. 261–282). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McCormick, K. (2002). *Language in Cape Town's District Six*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Milroy, L., & Muysken, P. (1995). *One speaker, two languages: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (1996). *Linguistic ecology: Language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region*. London: Routledge.
- Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual speech: A typology of code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nilep, C. (2006). “Code switching” in sociocultural linguistics. *Colorado Research in Linguistics*, 19(1), 1–22.
- Otheguy, R., García, O., & Reid, W. (2015). Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6(3), 281–307.
- Park, M. S. (2013). Code-switching and translanguaging. Potential functions in multilingual classrooms. *Columbia University Working Papers in TESOL & Applied Linguistics*, 13(2), 50–52.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2015). *Metrolingualism: Language in the city*. London: Routledge.
- Preston, D., & Niedzielski, N. (2009). Folk linguistics. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *The new sociolinguistics reader* (2nd ed., pp. 356–373). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Longman.

- Reyes, I. (2004). Functions of code switching in schoolchildren's conversations. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 28(1), 77–98.
- Romaine, S. (1994). *Language in society: An introduction to sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rosiers, K. (2016). “Nederlands om te rekenen, Turks om te roddelen? De mythe ontkracht. Een interactie-analyse naar translanguaging in een Gentse superdiverse klas.” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* (3): 155–179.
- Seedhouse, P. (2004). *The interactional architecture of the language classroom: A conversation analysis perspective*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Sierens, S., & Van Avermaet, P. (2014). Language diversity in education: Evolving from multilingual education to functional multilingual learning. In D. Little, C. Leung, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Managing diversity in education: Languages, policies, pedagogies* (pp. 204–222). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Slembrouck, S. (2009). Goffman's frame analysis. A recent rejoinder. In S. Slembrouck, M. Taverniers, & M. Van Herreweghe (Eds.), *From 'Will' to 'Well'. Studies in linguistics offered to Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen* (pp. 381–392). Ghent: Academia Press.
- Slembrouck, S., Van Avermaet, P., & Van Gorp, K. (2018, this volume). Strategies of multilingualism in education for minority children. In P. Van Avermaet, S. Slembrouck, K. Van Gorp, S. Sierens, & K. Maryns (Eds.), *The multilingual edge of education* (pp. 9–39). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stroud, C. (1992). The problem of intention and meaning in code-switching. *Text*, 12(1), 127–155.
- Van Avermaet, P., Slembrouck, S., & Simon-Vandenbergen, A.-M. (2015). *Talige diversiteit in het Vlaamse onderwijs: Problematiek en oplossingen. Standpunten*, 30. Brussel: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten.
- Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222–1235.
- Williams, C. (1994). *Arfarniad o ddulliau dysgu ac addysgu yng nghyd-destun addysg uwchradd ddwyieithog*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, Bangor.
- Williams, C. (2002). *Extending bilingualism in the education system. Education and lifelong learning committee*. <http://www.assembly.wales>

Part III

**Perception, Experiential Voice and
Narrative in Accounts of
Multilingualism**

Double-Edged Valorizations of Urban Heteroglossia

Jürgen Jaspers

Introduction

Teachers often report opinions on home language use that are quite sympathetic to the official language policy, leaving an image of teachers as loyal ‘soldiers of the system’ following out and appropriating policies without much consideration for their implications (cf. Shohamy 2006: 78–9). Also in Flanders (Belgium), survey and case study research repeatedly finds that teachers report (very) negative attitudes towards pupils’ non-standard and non-Dutch home languages. Blommaert et al. (2006), for example, describe how teachers disqualify the non-normative literacy skills of recently immigrated children as wrong rather than using them as a stepping stone for further literacy acquisition. Other ethnographic work shows that teachers consistently problematize the use of other languages and frame a Dutch-only policy as a matter of elementary politeness, linguistic inclusiveness and transparent communication, if not as

J. Jaspers (✉)

Faculty of Literature, Translation and Communication, Center of Research in Linguistics, Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB), Brussels, Belgium

the prime vehicle for emancipation (Jaspers 2005). Similar findings are reported in Agirdag's (2010) interview study, which reveals that Dutch monolingualism in Flemish schools 'is strongly imposed in three different ways: teachers and school staff strongly encourage the exclusive use of Dutch, bilingual students are formally punished for speaking their mother tongue, and their home languages are excluded from the cultural repertoire of the school' (2010: 317). Survey research and interview analysis by Van Avermaet et al. (2014) equally demonstrates that 'a majority of teachers was convinced that there is no space for other languages than Dutch at school', that 'one third of the respondents was convinced that in the interest of the students, they should be punished when speaking their home language at school' and that '[o]nly one out of eight teachers agreed [...] that the school library should also include books in the different home languages of the students' (2014: 5). More still, they discovered that a higher percentage of pupils with immigrant background was positively correlated with a greater emphasis on Dutch and that teachers' beliefs in the benefits of a monolingual policy correlated with their lower confidence in pupils' abilities, reflecting wider stereotypes about school composition, perceptions of language and educational quality. These findings are echoed in Agirdag et al. (2014), who establish correlations between the frequent use of Turkish at school and pupils' reduced sense of school belonging and argue this may be due to 'the very negative school climate about their language background' (2014: 23). Agirdag et al. (2013) in their turn demonstrate that teachability expectations are lower in schools with a higher percentage of pupils coming from working-class or immigrant homes and suggest that 'staff working in schools with a large share of non-native pupils communicate their lower teachability expectations by arguing that the incorrect use of Dutch and speaking the mother tongue result in poor academic achievement' (2013: 35), inviting a 'higher sense of futility and futility culture' among pupils (2013: 35). Flemish teachers' gusto for linguistic diversity thus appears to be almost non-existent.

To explain this readiness to wield the axe at pupils' home language use, the above studies refer to long-standing ideologies in Flanders insisting on monolingualism and Standard Dutch in order to protect and distinguish the Flemish nation in the state of Belgium (Blommaert et al. 2006;

Jaspers 2005). Teachers are also argued to have interiorized the widespread belief that speaking another language than Dutch at home is the ultimate cause of school failure or to have been influenced by minority middle-class parents who themselves have internalized, and subsequently promote, the 'doxa' (cf. Bourdieu 1994) that minority home languages are orthogonal to school success (Agirdag et al. 2014). Since research consistently disputes the idea that school failure and speaking a different home language are causally related, these outcomes are serious reason for concern. They have led many of the above authors to insist on changing teachers' attitudes with regard to pupils' linguistic backgrounds, so that higher teachability expectations, a reduced sense of futility and a higher feeling of belonging at school may ensue. Ultimately this change in attitude is hoped to precede a wholesale change in educational policy towards bi- or multilingualism.

Yet, while it is self-evident that official recognition of pupils' home languages (including them in the curriculum) would bring welcome linguistic relief to hard-pressed schools, there are few signs at this stage that nation-states are soon going to change their linguistic policies, at least not in a way that proponents of multilingual education have in mind. This would not only seem to bedevil any broad attitudinal change among those working in governmental service. It also implies that, at least for a while, schools will continue to have to deal with the complications that arise from the conflict between the official language policy and the linguistic diversity on their premises in as best a way as they see fit. In this light, and with a view of understanding the ways in which schools are facing up to these complications, it is of increasing interest to know 'how ideologies motivating (monolingual) linguistic hegemony are formulated [...], if and how linguistic diversity surfaces under conditions that are clearly disfavoured, and why or why not this happens' (Karrebæk 2013: 356). Much research into Flemish schools can answer the first of these questions fairly directly, but it has a lot more difficulty answering the second and third. To be sure, although the image of Flemish teachers imposing a monolingual Dutch regime probably is correct as a broad appreciation, we can only surmise how, exactly, these teachers impose a Dutch-only regime (explicitly or also implicitly, adamantly or rather matter-of-factly, consistently or intermittently). Little is known too of

the conditions under which teachers may look more favourably on linguistic diversity (less during lesson time, but perhaps more during breaks and lunch times?); what differences exist among teachers or between primary and secondary schools; or how, after decades of training them to foster an inclusive classroom climate, teachers reconcile the disciplinary role that the imposition of the language policy implies with the more inviting and friendly persona that their pedagogical aims call for (cf. Harris and Lefstein 2011). The available work cannot tell us much either about how school belonging and recognition of pupils' identities are encouraged in other ways than through home language acknowledgment. There is a similar paucity of description of Flemish pupils' varied responses to the language regime they are confronted with (but see Jaspers 2005).

One reason for this perhaps is methodological: interview data and survey responses often engender idealized accounts of practical activity, with little consideration for the ambiguity and inconsistency that characterize everyday interaction. Such accounts, however, sit uncomfortably with a growing body of research that documents teachers' various modulations of policies they find hard to work with (see, among others, Delarue 2013; McCarty 2011; Menken and García 2010). Language policy students insist that teachers are never the passive implementers of policy, that all policies must be negotiated and that this is a creative, unpredictable process. '[T]he line of power does not flow linearly from the pen of the policy's signer to the choices of the teacher', Johnson and Freeman (2010: 27) argue in this sense, while Ball (1997: 270, cited in Creese 2010: 34), points out that 'policies pose problems to their subjects, problems that must be solved in context. Solutions [...] will be localized and should be expected to display 'ad hoc-ery' and messiness'. Unless Flanders is a highly exceptional case then, we can expect a wider range of responses from teachers than the rather homogeneous soldiership that studies have hitherto produced.

Another reason for the scanty attention to localized solutions may be the polemical state of mind in which some of the above work is produced, in which a relative disinterest to the specifics of policy imposition is perhaps necessary for the greater good (i.e. for bi- or multilingual education). Without a description of the varied responses to policy teachers develop, however, we risk making sweeping assumptions of schools as

arenas of undiluted policy imposition; of teachers as ‘cardboard cut-out people, one-dimensional caricatures’ who are either ‘conservative and narrow-minded’ or ‘romantic resisters’ (Ball 1997: 270); and of pupils as mere dupes of their school and society (but see Jaspers 2011). Such broad sketches have their value, since they underline sharply the need for a fundamental rethinking of education in a globalized world. But they also have distinct limitations in that they are quite indifferent to the complex, ambivalent *modus vivendi* that teachers and pupils develop in anticipation of structural changes and so constrain our understanding of how schools practically navigate contemporary complications. In this chapter therefore I want to report on recent ethnographic fieldwork that demonstrates in particular how heteroglossia can be valorized at an officially monolingual school by a teacher who is generally in favour of the linguistic policy. But this valorization came with a price, since it simultaneously typified heteroglossic language use as unusual and as acceptable only in the margins of official activity (see also Jaspers 2014, 2015). The data that I will be using to illustrate this were collected at a Brussels secondary school.

A Brussels Dutch-Medium Secondary School

The data drawn on here were collected in a Catholic, state-subsidized, ethnically mixed, Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels (henceforth, ‘Sacred Soul’).¹ Brussels is officially bilingual since 1963, but its schools only offer education in either Dutch or French (the international schools excepted) since they are subsidized by Flemish or French community authorities. French schools outnumber their Dutch equivalents, in accordance with the city’s French-dominant character, but there has been a genuine rush on Dutch schools in the last two and a half decades by pupils from non-Dutch-speaking homes. This soaring popularity can in part be related to the successful marketing of Dutch-medium schools by the Flemish community authorities as the ideal breeding ground for the multilingual skills the booming service industry in Brussels has come to reward. Another reason is the superior image of Dutch-medium schools on account of their higher funding by more prosperous authorities

(Van Mensel 2014). To illustrate this rush, in 1991 more than 75 per cent of pupils in Dutch schools still had two Dutch-speaking parents, and 17 per cent one Dutch-speaking parent; these numbers have dropped in 2011 to 28 per cent for pupils from Dutch-speaking homes and rose to almost 30 per cent for pupils with one Dutch-speaking parent. The number of French-only speakers has increased considerably (3.7 per cent in 1991, 21 per cent in 2011); the number of pupils from other language homes has almost multiplied by ten (2.6 per cent in 1991, 22.2 per cent in 2011).² Apart from raising ideological concern about the fate of Dutch in institutions that were meant to safeguard and promote it, this also causes serious pedagogical challenges: more and more pupils have difficulty with the instruction language, while teachers are obliged to work with a curriculum designed for pupils with Dutch as home language.

Sacred Soul epitomizes this rush on Dutch schools. Only a handful of pupils come from (all or partly) Dutch-speaking homes, which makes the school staff the largest group speaking Dutch at home. The school offers technical and vocational secondary education from age 12 and ranks among the most challenged, attracting pupils from a highly diverse range of working-class homes across Brussels who have often tried but failed a grammar-type trajectory elsewhere. A significant number of pupils arrive without primary school certificates. Research took place in 3 *Kantoor* ('3 Office Skills', henceforth: 3OS), a third year vocational class receiving courses in bookkeeping, typing, office computer skills, a so-called general skills class, religion as well as Dutch, French and English language courses. 3OS counted 17 pupils (7 girls, 10 boys) with ages between 13 and 16. All except one were born in Brussels. Eight pupils had a Turkish-speaking background, six of them a Moroccan background (with parents speaking Arabic, Berber, or both, or only French), two pupils were Belgian white and came from French-speaking homes, one pupil had a mixed Netherlandic-Congolese background and spoke French and some Lingala at home.

Three of 3OS's teachers were bilingual Dutch-French; all other teachers were Dutch speaking, with significantly varying skills in French. All pupils, not only in 3OS, spoke and wrote Dutch with difficulty, and with much interference from French or other home languages. Teachers did not always understand pupils when the latter spoke Dutch, while pupils

often struggled with the language of textbooks, tests or teacher instructions. Teachers constantly corrected pupils, explained the meaning of words and echoed particular unidiomatic contributions to make pupils reflect and self-correct. Some pupils, mostly of Turkish descent, struggled not just with Dutch but also with French, the urban (and informal school) *lingua franca*.³ Many of these pupils thus faced robust linguistic challenges as they attended school, and their disfluencies in that setting were constant reminders of the wide gap between pupils' actual skills and the ones the official curriculum takes for granted. For most teachers, these difficulties only demonstrate the necessity of a Dutch-only policy.

Imposing a Dutch School Language Policy

The official school policy firmly insisted on the use of Dutch. Pupils as well as their parents received the school mission statement which asserted the Dutch-speaking character of the school. Pupils were frequently reminded of this, if not through teacher admonitions ('speak Dutch to me', 'you have to say it in Dutch', 'Speak Dutch, or else I'll have to give you a stamp') and encouragements ('You may know other languages quite well already, like French and Turkish, but you still need a lot of practice in Dutch'), then through posters in the classroom reminding pupils that 'the Dutch-language character of the school cannot be drawn into question [...] You can be penalized for not speaking Dutch. A small effort thus prevents unnecessary penalties'. Many pupils during the fieldwork received a stamp in their diary for failing to speak Dutch that their parents had to sign off. Accumulating such stamps did not augur well for pupils' reputation. Pupils misbehaving in other ways usually had to sign a personalized contract that often contained a linguistic paragraph insisting on the use of Dutch.

Older teachers, however, indicated that punishing home language use or French had been severer ten years ago—when some pupils found themselves booked for weekly Wednesday afternoon detentions until the end of the year—but that inspection, upon hearing of this, had demanded that this be changed. Different forces within Flemish education thus seem to be working against each other, contrary to a view of these as

unvaryingly imposing a Dutch-only policy. When I asked pupils who had gone to other schools before Sacred Soul what they thought of the linguistic regime, they too said that their previous school had been more repressive in that regard. So, while they are all accountable to the official language policy, Flemish schools develop different language regimes. Sacred Soul in particular illustrates that a softer image in terms of language policy imposition (at least in the eyes of pupils and older teachers) can go together with a firm insistence on Dutch.

Younger teachers were beginning to ask themselves questions, though. Mr K, the German teacher in his late 30s (who did not teach 3OS), said he thought implementing the school policy was like facing an uphill struggle, and he wondered if the staff were not undermining their authority by asking the impossible. But he did not want to be disloyal to what had been agreed upon at school. Mr S, the French teacher (30) who was bilingual Dutch-French and had gone to a Dutch-medium school as a French speaker, said:

Example 1

‘I’m actually one of the strictest teachers when it comes to maintaining the school language policy, in contrast to that whole table over there’, he said, pointing to a group of older teachers sitting nearby. ‘As a French speaker I know how difficult it is. But I’m really starting to ask myself questions about this policy, because it’s hard to impose, and it creates negativity around Dutch.’ (Fieldnotes⁴)

Apart from exemplifying Mr S’s doubts about the negative effects of imposing a policy he himself supports, this quote also demonstrates that teachers were different in their willingness to impose the language policy. A simple observation of 3OS’s teachers in and out of class also showed that, while at first sight maintaining it, they all imposed the language policy in different ways, and not always in the same way for each individual teacher. Thus, while Mr A (+25), the accounting teacher, regularly insisted on the language policy (saying, among other things, ‘I’d like to hear Dutch’), he certainly did not do so every time non-Dutch language use was hearable, and unlike 3OS’s English and French teachers, he never

meted out punishment for not speaking Dutch. Inconsistent behaviour could also be noticed with Mr D, the bilingual IT teacher (+25) who in the same hour could be heard saying ‘if you don’t stop talking French now you’ll be going to the office’, but also agreed at the end of class to call up his colleague Mr S, whose birthday it was, which involved the use of French⁵:

Example 2

Félix implores Mr D in French to put it on loud speaker: à l’haut-parleur hein! No reaction to Félix’s French. As Mr S picks up Mr D tells him in French il y a une classe ici qui veut chanter pour toi (‘there’s a class here that wants to sing for you’) before the class bursts out in a terribly loud, out of tune, and French joyeux anniversaire (‘happy birthday’). Mr S is quite amused. After putting down the phone Mr D tells the class in Dutch ‘I’m sure he’s crying now’. (Fieldnotes)

Still other teachers (such as the teachers of Catholic religion and Dutch⁶), who were often facing serious class management problems with 3OS, could only sometimes be heard commenting on the language being used, certainly not in proportion to the very high frequency of non-Dutch language use during class. Teachers could thus be quite different in their impositions of the language policy, strict on one occasion and lenient on another, and it was clear that this often seemed to depend on their attention to other, more pressing issues such as maintaining the lesson flow or addressing disciplinary issues.

In addition to this, the linguistic policy could be the object of humour. This is perhaps not surprising for pupils, who regularly faked their adherence to the policy, for example, through reminding other pupils in a disruptive way that they ought to speak Dutch (‘HEY! HEY HEY! DUTCH SPEAKING SCHOOL!’) or by recruiting it to comment implicitly on other pupils’ poor linguistic performance (‘Dutch please!’, one pupil demanded grinningly after Sébastien (15, French speaking) had read something in Dutch with much difficulty). But also teachers referred to or mentioned the language policy in humorous

ways. So, when Ilhame (14, French-Arabic-Dutch speaking at home) on one occasion was trying to explain something but could not find the right words, Mr A cheekily asked her ‘and now in Dutch Ilhame?’ Similarly, Mr D at the end of a museum trip downtown jested in French parlez le néerlandais (‘speak Dutch’) to Nour and Ilhame who were standing in front of the traffic light, to which they replied *Meneer u mag geen Frans praten!* (‘Sir you mustn’t speak French!’). Also Mr S played with linguistic regulations. When he saw a pupil secretly texting during the Free Podium afternoon—using cell phones was forbidden at school, and Mr S was known for confiscating them—he said ‘hey!’ but immediately added ‘or is it in Dutch?’ and chuckled. Mr S thus good humouredly suggested he was willing to turn a blind eye to one infringement of the school rules if the pupil was at least following another (*viz.* texting in Dutch). In spite of its explicit discourse on the necessity of Dutch, then, there were numerous openings in its imposition process that make it difficult to say that Sacred Soul created an unambiguously negative school climate on account of its linguistic policy, even if pupils could get punished for failing to live up to it.

In fact, while the openings described above may all have a relatively informal character, other languages than Dutch could also enjoy a semi-official recognition: Mr S and other bilingual teachers were occasionally appealed on by the head of school or their colleagues for their skills in French whenever non-Dutch-speaking parents had to be called up or invited to school. Another semi-official recognition of other languages was the greeting card all pupils received on the occasion of Eid al-Adha (the Muslim festival of the sacrifice) in November 2011. The card wished all pupils in Dutch as well as in French:

Example 3

On the occasion of the Festival of Sacrifice we wish to congratulate all Muslims! United in Abraham we dare hope for a good understanding among everyone. Let us become angels of peace... (Fieldnotes)

Below the card was written ‘Let us become angels of peace’ in Arabic, Hebrew and Turkish. Congratulating pupils with their non-catholic holidays was part of the school’s pluralist mission (it also allowed girls to wear

the hijab) and an example of recognizing pupils' identities in a non-linguistic way, which in this case could even briefly override linguistic exclusivity. Further examples of these flakes in the school's monolingual make up were produced by the author and inspirator of the card, Mr S, who apart from being 3OS's French teacher mostly taught religion in other classes. Mr S was very well-liked, a devout catholic, engaged in a range of charity events, and, as we shall see now, he had an appetite for urban heteroglossia.

Valorizations of Heteroglossia

Mr S was not the only teacher who was aware of urban heteroglossia (this would have been hard to ignore in a school such as Sacred Soul), nor the only one who was playful with language. But he certainly was more playful and creative with language than many of his colleagues. Like other teachers, he often revoiced what pupils had said to him in the staff room. Apart from revoicing his pupils' accented Dutch, telling his pupils, for instance, that many of them note down *feezd van de aardbei* ('strawberry feast') in their diaries instead of *feest van de arbeid* (literally 'labour feast', i.e. Labour Day) and saying how funny this is, he repeatedly sang a multilingual welcoming song when his pupils arrived ('Wilkommen, bienvenue, welcome!', from the musical *Cabaret*); he occasionally used Italian and Spanish; he sometimes engaged in mock insults in German with pupils from other classes in the corridor just before their German class (*Ruhig! Schwein!* ['Quiet! Pig!']). He also sincerely and regularly crossed (Rampton 1995) into pupils' home languages for greeting them as they came into class, saying *merhaba* ('welcome') or **salam aleikum** ('peace be with you'). He used various phrases for other ritual acts, saying **inshallah** ('if God wills'), reproaching someone by saying *c'est haram de sjieker* ('It's forbidden to chew gum'), or apologized with **smahli** ('sorry') as in this example:

Example 4

Mr S at a certain moment says that Kemal has to take off his coat but it's Antal he should be saying it to. He gets his mistake pointed out and says ah mais vous vous ressemblez hein ('ah but you look like each other'), and

then a bit later he says to Antal non non, je m'excuse smahli ('no no, I'm sorry I'm sorry'), and he bows lightly. (Fieldnotes)

Thus, after mixing up Kemal and Antal, Mr S first accounts for his mistake ('you look like each other') and then proceeds to a genuine apology about either his mistake or his account, saying this in French (during French class) but also adding an Arabic **smahli**, which is not entirely apposite given that Kemal and Antal are Turkish speaking, but there are no signs that the apology is formulated in jest. In fact the light bow accompanying the words indicates that Mr S produces a small, highly ritual apology. Apart from this Mr S often asked for translations (such as 'how do say yes and no in Turkish?', 'how do you say "my ass" in Turkish?'). Sometimes such questions for translation even happened as he was threatening to punish home language use: Derya je vais mettre un ... Comment est-ce qu'on dit stempel en turc? ('Derya I'm going to ... How do you say *stamp in Turkish?*'). He equally used some of the words that he had learned for managing the classroom or driving home a particular aspect of subject matter.

Example 5

Zaki wants to ask something, but Mr S ignores him. Zaki then says: ça c'est shmet ('that sucks'). Mr S explains why he does not want Zaki to take a turn now but Zaki waves his finger as if suggesting 'blah blah blah I'm sure you do, now get to the point', to which Mr. S replies non, c'est shmet de faire ça ('no doing that sucks.') (Fieldnotes)

So rather than using an Arabic word to draw attention upon himself, Mr S recruits **shmet** in the same way as Bilal does, only to disagree about its referent at hand. A similar non-jocular use of Arabic occurs in this example where it supports curriculum content:

Example 6

Participants and setting: October 2011. French class, the last hour on Friday. Mr S and 3OS are listening to 'Superstar', a nineties MC Solaar song. Pupils have lyrics before them on a sheet with blanked out words. Halfway through the class Mr S stops the tape again to see what they have understood.

	Original recording	Translation
1	Mr S Da was een demo, hé	That was a demo, right
2	<u>demonstration</u> demonstratie	demonstration demonstration
3	da was gewoon, stelde nie veel	that was just, didn't mean
4	voor [...] <u>MAIS</u> Zaki	much [...] BUT Zaki
5	Zaki <u>je n'étais pas s- je n'étais pas le</u>	I wasn't the- I wasn't the only
6	<u>seul, mais j'ai fermé ma gueule</u>	one, but I shut my mouth
7	Mr S <u>j'ai fermé ma gueule. Alors</u>	I shut my mouth. So 'mouth',
8	<u>'gueule', regardez bien parce</u>	look closely because yeaah
9	<u>que oueee 'ta gueule ta gueule</u>	'your mouth your mouth your
10	<u>ta gueule ta gueule ta gueule...'</u>	mouth your mouth your
11	<u>'gueule' ça s'écrit comme ça</u>	mouth....', 'mouth' that's
12	<u>hein (tu comprends)</u>	written like this (you see)
13	? [spells:] g - u - e - u - l - e	m - o - u - t - h
14	Mr S <u>hein? D'accord? Oui et pas</u>	right? Agreed? Yes and not
15	<u>eeeeeeehh autrement</u>	uuuuuhmm otherwise
16	? <u>dis ()</u>	say ()
17	Mr S BILLEH	I SWEAR
18	[..]	[..]
19	<u>mais j'ai fermé ma gueule,</u>	but I shut my mouth, because
20	<u>parce que ses groupies ne</u>	his groupies didn't want to
21	<u>voulaient pas le laisser seul</u>	leave him alone

In this example, Mr S first clarifies the word démo ('demo') in Dutch (lines 1–4) and then gives the floor to Zaki to read the next line they have just been listening to, filling out any blanks, in this case gueule ('mouth') (lines 5–6), which very frequently occurs in the abbreviated ferme ta gueule ('shut your mouth') (lines 9–11). Mr S writes gueule on the whiteboard to point its particular spelling, and although it's not entirely clear why he switches to Arabic in line 17, this does not cause any laughter and appears mostly to underline the veracity of the spelling of gueule before proceeding to read the next line of the song (lines 19–21).

Mr S's linguistic escapades appeared to be part of a more general appreciative attitude towards his pupils' backgrounds. He expressed an interest in Turkish (hyper-sweet) soda drinks and names of Turkish beer brands, he danced along when a couple of pupils were singing Turkish in the

playground. He liked to talk to pupils about non-curriculum-related matters such as brands of clothing they were wearing, the upcoming birth of his own son, his friends, cars and other things. All this appeared to be conducive to a positive classroom climate. Mr S in any case was 3OS's favourite teacher, while he too thought they were 'a wonderful group to work with'. This positive climate at least partially depended, it seems, on Mr S's play with language:

Example 7

Derya (15): 'Mr S is a teacher who always laughs with us. That's funny, actually, and we also teach him dirty words [in Turkish] and then he comes in and suddenly says that word [...] we teach it to him and he remembers it.' (Interview 4 November 2011)

In sum, while it is true that by and large in this school, as elsewhere in Flanders, 'immigrant languages are heavily discouraged' (Agirdag 2010: 316), we can see in the examples above that despite of this, they could also be valorized. Not just through suggesting they are valuable, albeit informal, targets for learning how to exchange courtesies and dirty words, but also by using them to insist on a specific aspect of the curriculum (Example 6) or as a part of managing relations in class (Example 5), and through temporarily, even if fleetingly, giving pupils an expert linguistic role in a context where they are not usually thought to have much expertise. But there was a double edge to these valorizations as well.

Larger-Scale Inflections

That Mr S was much liked by 3OS obviously also implied that many teachers were unlike him and that his behaviour was relatively exceptional. It is important to note though that he was also quite alike other teachers in his emphasis that pupils pay attention, behave, work hard and pass the obligatory tests. There are various moments in the data when pupils initiate a digression but where Mr S cuts them short and redirects their focus on the work that needs to be done. Mr S was

equally similar to other teachers in his overall insistence on the linguistic policy. In fact, if the above examples might indicate an overall change in his attitudes, later in the year his adherence to the policy appeared unchanged, when I heard him reproach Kemal for speaking Turkish in class, saying that ‘it’s not because your contract has been annulled that you’re now free to do as you like’. When I asked about the contract (see above) afterwards, Mr S said it was ‘for speaking Turkish’ and in all seriousness asked me if I didn’t agree that their use of Dutch had increased compared to the beginning of the year. Valorizations of urban heteroglossia thus seemed to work in tandem with maintaining the school linguistic policy.

More importantly, and what gives these valorizations a double edge, was that they also represented urban heteroglossia in a particular way. Linguistic anthropologists have long been arguing that language use in the classroom does not only transfer curriculum content but also orients pupils to pervasive views about appropriate social conduct, ways of speaking and the status and value of different linguistic resources (and their typical speakers) (see, e.g. Jaffe 2009). While they are used to transfer information, in other words, linguistic resources are accompanied by a metapragmatic regimentation (Silverstein 1993) or, so to say, instructions for appropriate use. Such instructions can be fairly explicit in the form of straightforward directives (‘speak Dutch to me’) or evaluations (saying how funny *feezd van de aardbei* is). But pupils also learn about the value of linguistic resources implicitly, through the distribution of linguistic choices across specific activities and their association with models of personhood. Such implicit regimentation also happened in Sacred Soul’s 3OS class.

To be sure, if we look at where urban heteroglossia and humour around the linguistic policy was usually allowed to emerge in the interactional flow, this predictably happened on transitional moments, when participants were increasingly aware of social and interactional boundaries and sensitivities (cf. Rampton 2006: 303ff.): when mistakes were made (Example 4) and courtesies exchanged; on special occasions (Example 3, during the Free Podium), just before or after class (welcoming pupils, Example 2), and when interactional trouble or sensitivities were in the air (Examples 5 and 6). So, the occurrence of het-

eroglossia appeared to be attuned to those junctures when participants were shifting in and out of institutional roles and identities, when politeness was at issue or when pupils were moving from one discursive zone (say, the playground) to another (the classroom). From this perspective, non-Dutch language use was mostly zoned off to the margins of official business at school, just before or after the real action, as a sidekick to the linguistic protagonist. This may have been the expected fortune of linguistic resources that go unrecognized by the official language policy. But scholars have observed a similar marginalization occurring in classrooms with officially sanctioned supplementary teachers (speaking the home language of pupils needing extra support for English). Such teachers usually find themselves positioned ‘as marginal to the main action of the class; at the same time, the bilingual resources they brought to the classes [are] contained within a primarily monolingual order of discourse’ (Martin-Jones and Saxena 2001: 136; Creese 2010). Consequently, positioning bilingual teachers as mere assistants gave ‘quite clear messages [...] to the children about the relative value of the languages being used’ (Martin-Jones and Saxena 2001: 135), that is, it embedded assumptions about the relative value of their linguistic skills in relation to the school’s official language. Similar messages appeared to be given about the value of urban heteroglossia at Sacred Soul through its location in specific interactional intervals.

Next to this, home language use was not only typified through its location in interactional junctures that flanked the more curriculum-oriented moments of the day but also through its regular association with modes of interaction and social personae that diverge from what one generally expects at school. Thus, a couple of exceptions notwithstanding (Example 5), urban heteroglossia was used in relation to a more jocular, relational type of interaction, with dirty words and physicality (‘how do you say “my ass” in Turkish?’) or swearing (Example 6)—in sum, it was mostly associated with topics, modes of interaction and emotions that are orthogonal to, and less valued than, the serious, curriculum-oriented activity and rational behaviour one expects at school. In this way, it looked as though the heteroglossic interstices that regularly occurred at Sacred Soul, while they were facilitative of a good relationship and undeniably recognized pupils’ linguistic backgrounds, also socialized pupils

into understanding where such heteroglossia belonged in relation to predominant, larger-scale ideas about the relative value of linguistic resources, the typical persons using them and their subsequent appropriateness in specific contexts of use at school and beyond.

Discussion and Conclusion

In contrast with an image of Flemish teachers as unambiguously imposing a Dutch-only policy, the data above from one secondary school in Brussels demonstrate that while the language policy was certainly imposed in a general sense, in actual practice the picture could be much more differentiated, up to the point that a teacher who was in favour of the policy and regularly imposed it could at the same time be observed valorizing his pupils' home languages in and out of class. Nevertheless, taking into account when and how these valorizations occurred, it looked as though they simultaneously represented urban heteroglossia as something that was mostly acceptable in the margins of officially treasured activity and as a type of language use associated with activities, social personae, topics and modes of being that were orthogonal to what is considered crucial at school, namely, a non-playful, curriculum-oriented, Dutch-only and rational type of language use. In this sense the valorization of urban heteroglossia at Sacred Soul 'did not sever the links between linguistic difference and social stratification' (Rampton 2006: 270), that is, Mr S's efforts, despite their contribution to a positive classroom climate, also evidenced and communicated an understanding of the differential value of linguistic resources in the world beyond Sacred Soul, where urban heteroglossia, its commodification in certain types of music perhaps excepted, is usually framed as a problematic type of multilingualism. The positive outcomes of Mr S's small-scale valorizations of his pupils' home languages were thus eventually inflected by larger-scale value schemes for language. As Reay et al. (2007: 1054) argue, such an upshot may be hard to avoid in a situation of enduring stratification and inequality, and it may even foster inconsistency as the typical behaviour for those who 'are negotiating an impossible situation that individually they can do little to improve'

without risking negative career sanctions. Rather than attributing such inconsistency to the moral failure of individual teachers who must change their attitudes, we may have to recognize that they are working in complex circumstances that an attitude change campaign will probably hardly affect. Advocating that these circumstances be changed, with specific attention to pupils' home languages, is a crucial step towards indispensable educational reform. But the ambiguous responses teachers display as they negotiate a complex, stratified society that does not for the moment promise to change its language policy soon offer useful insights into how teachers and pupils reconcile the irreconcilable and find an endurable working consensus. The outcomes of these negotiations may not offer much to rejoice about, but in revealing what individuals are capable of in difficult circumstances they can only partially influence, they are deserving of our close attention.

Notes

1. Data collection involved five months of participant observation (September through December 2011 and May 2012, three days a week), individual audio recording (35 hours), classroom audio recording (35 hours), interviewing and retrospective interviewing (10 hours), taking pictures and befriending pupils on *Facebook* through a special research account. All names are pseudonymized.
2. Flemish Community commission statistics: <http://www.vgc.be>.
3. Neither could their proficiency in home languages as Arabic, Berber or Turkish be taken for granted.
4. Fieldnotes were written in Dutch. Participants' use of French was noted in French.
5. I will use different fonts hereafter for the various source languages: French, *Dutch*, **Arabic**, **Turkish**, unless stated otherwise.
6. 3OS were taught by two different teachers of religion and Dutch since both positions had to be refilled in the middle of the year.

References

- Agirdag, O. (2010). Exploring bilingualism in a monolingual school system: Insights from Turkish and native students from Belgian schools. *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 31*(3), 307–321.
- Agirdag, O., Van Avermaet, P., & Van Houtte, M. (2013). School segregation and math achievement: A mixed-method study on the role of self-fulfilling prophecies. *Teachers College Record, 115*(3), 1–50.
- Agirdag, O., Jordens, K., & Van Houtte, M. (2014). Speaking Turkish in Belgian primary schools: Teacher beliefs versus effective consequences. *Bilig – Journal of Social Sciences of the Turkish World, 70*(3), 7–28.
- Ball, S. J. (1997). Policy sociology and critical social research: A personal review of recent education policy and policy research. *British Educational Research Journal, 23*(3), 257–274.
- Blommaert, J., Creve, L., & Willaert, E. (2006). On being declared illiterate. Language-ideological disqualification in Dutch classes for immigrants in Belgium. *Language & Communication, 26*(1), 34–54.
- Bourdieu, P. (1994). Structures, habitus, power: Basis for a theory of symbolic power. In N. B. Dirks, G. Eley, & S. B. Ortner (Eds.), *Culture/power/history: A reader in contemporary social theory* (pp. 155–199). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Creese, A. (2010). Two-teacher classrooms, personalized learning and the inclusion paradigm in the United Kingdom: What's in it for learners of EAL? In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policy makers* (pp. 32–51). New York: Routledge.
- Delarue, S. (2013). Teachers' Dutch in flanders: The last guardians of the standard? In T. Kristiansen & S. Grondelaers (Eds.), *Language (de)standardisation in late modern Europe* (pp. 193–226). Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Harris, R., & Lefstein, A. (2011). *Urban classroom culture: Realities, dilemmas, responses*. London: Centre for Language, Discourse & Communication King's College.
- Jaffe, A. (2009). Stance in a Corsican school. In A. Jaffe (Ed.), *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jaspers, J. (2005). Linguistic sabotage in a context of monolingualism and standardization. *Language & Communication, 25*(3), 279–297.
- Jaspers, J. (2011). Talking like a “Zerolingual”: Ambiguous linguistic caricatures at an urban secondary school. *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(5), 1264–1278.

- Jaspers, J. (2014). Stylisticisations as teacher practice. *Language in Society*, 43(4), 371–393.
- Jaspers, J. (2015). Modelling linguistic diversity at school: The excluding impact of inclusive multilingualism. *Language Policy*, 14(2), 109–129.
- Johnson, D. C., & Freeman, R. (2010). Appropriating language policy on the local level: Working the spaces for bilingual education. In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policy makers* (pp. 13–31). New York: Routledge.
- Karrebæk, M. (2013). “Don’t speak like that to her!” Linguistic minority children’s socialization into an ideology of monolingualism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 17(3), 355–375.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (2001). Turn-taking and the positioning of bilingual participants in classroom discourse: Insights from primary schools in England. In M. Heller & M. Martin-Jones (Eds.), *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference* (pp. 117–138). Westport: Ablex.
- McCarty, T. L. (Ed.). (2011). *Ethnography and language policy*. New York: Routledge.
- Menken, K., & García, O. (Eds.). (2010). *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policy makers*. New York: Routledge.
- Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Longman.
- Rampton, B. (2006). *Language in late modernity: Interaction in an urban school*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reay, D., Hollingworth, S., Williams, K., Crozier, G., Jamieson, F., James, D., & Beedell, P. (2007). A darker shade of pale? Whiteness, the middle classes and multi-ethnic inner city schooling. *Sociology*, 41(6), 1041–1060.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language Policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Silverstein, M. (1993). Metapragmatic discourse and metapragmatic function. In J. A. Lucy (Ed.), *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics* (pp. 33–58). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Avermaet, P., Pulinx, R., & Sierens, S. (2014). *Conflicts and contradictions in language policy and practice*. Lecture at KVAB Symposium on Urban Multilingualism in the European Union, 4 April 2014.
- Van Mensel, L. (2014). *Language labels, language practices. A multiple case study of parents with children enrolled in Dutch-medium education in Brussels* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Université de Namur.

From the Margins to the Centre: Multilingual Teachers in a Monolingual System: Professional Identities, Skills and Knowledge

Jean Conteh

Introduction

This chapter considers multilingualism in the education system in England from the perspectives of multilingual professionals working in mainstream primary and secondary schools. The main argument is that multilingualism must be regarded as a pedagogic resource for teachers as well as learners in order to promote academic achievement for learners, professional recognition for teachers and social justice for all. Despite the huge changes in British society over the recent years, which have led to the ever-increasing numbers of ‘EAL’ (English as an additional language) pupils in mainstream schools, language diversity is still largely regarded as a ‘problem’ in education (Safford and Drury 2013). ‘EAL’ is the term used in policy to categorise those pupils in state-funded schools in England whose first language is other than English. The latest statistics show that the number of such pupils now surpasses 1 million, with 18.7 per cent of pupils in primary schools and 14.3 per cent in secondary

J. Conteh (✉)

School of Education, University of Leeds, Leeds, UK

schools categorised as EAL.¹ Despite this, teacher expertise and confidence related to language and cultural diversity is still very limited. Moreover, the numbers of qualified multilingual, minority ethnic teachers have not really changed over recent years. The latest available figures (DfE 2014), which indicate ethnicity using National Census categories rather than language, show that about 12.5 per cent of teachers are not from ‘White British’ backgrounds, which is a crude indication at best. Since 2004, many skilled and experienced education practitioners have moved to the UK from EU accession countries. Because many lack accredited qualifications to become teachers, they currently fill low-status posts in schools. They are often given responsibility for EAL learners, but, in most settings, they do not have the professional status, nor the development opportunities to use their expertise to the fullest.

This chapter has four sections. Section “[Cultural and Linguistic Diversity and Teacher Professionalism in England](#)” provides a critical historical overview of the ways in which the education system in England has responded to growing cultural and linguistic diversity, particularly in relation to teacher education. Section “[Theoretical Frameworks of Language, Learning and Teacher Identity](#)” introduces the theoretical frameworks that help us to understand the identities, skills and knowledge of multilingual teachers. Following this, section “[The Professional Experiences and Identities of Multilingual Teachers in England](#)” provides a brief historical review of research with multilingual teachers in the UK as a context for new data about the insights of a small group of multilingual practitioners, which show how they construct their own professional identities, skills and knowledge. Finally, section “[Concluding Remarks](#)” draws the chapter together with some brief conclusions.

Cultural and Linguistic Diversity and Teacher Professionalism in England

The history of muddle and missed opportunities in relation to language diversity in the education system in England is well documented (Bourne 2001; Conteh 2007a, b; Robertson et al. 2014). In this section, following

a historical overview, I discuss the current challenges faced by the ‘EAL workforce’. This was the term used in a large, nationally funded research project conducted between 2008 and 2010 (Wallace and Mallows 2009), the only study of its type in recent years. The findings largely revealed what was already known by most practitioners in the field; that ‘EAL’ was in almost every way marginalised in school provision, that there was no real understanding of the complexity of the issues entailed in making the best provision for multilingual pupils and that theoretical understandings of multilingualism were lacking throughout the whole system. Moreover, practitioners in schools with expertise in working with children with special educational needs (SEN) were (and still are) often also given responsibility for EAL learners (Wallace and Mallows 2009). This unhelpfully conflates language needs and learning needs, usually to the detriment of both multilingual learners and those with SEN alike. The ‘discourse of deficit’ comes through loud and clear, contributing to the prevailing perception in England that language diversity is a ‘problem’ (Safford and Drury 2013). Pearce (2012: 460) argues that such views are directly linked with wider societal attitudes and beliefs:

... in the context of England, as in the USA and Australia, for example, it is because the dominant, white, group is monolingual that multilingualism is seen as problematic.

In initial teacher education (ITE) and continuing professional development (CPD), there is currently no recognised, principled training for general practitioners, nor career progression for teachers wishing to develop as ‘EAL specialists’.

This official neglect of EAL and language diversity in teachers’ professional development should be a major national concern—it is no secret. I argue that it reflects wider political currents and discourses and, in England, runs the risk of becoming part of a much more dangerous ideology in which diversity is frequently linked with threats to national security and terrorism. David Cameron’s recent speech at the Munich Security Conference (Cameron 2011) illustrates this in the way he links ‘multiculturalism’ with community segregation, which—he asserts—undermines ‘our values’:

We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values ... Freedom of speech. Freedom of worship. Democracy. The rule of law. Equal rights regardless of race, sex or sexuality.

Cameron makes direct links to education by going on to call for ‘immigrants’ to ‘speak the language of their new home’ and to suggest that everyone be ‘educated in elements of a common culture and curriculum’. This led quickly to policy changes in teacher education, including the introduction of new standards (DfE 2011) for teachers. In these, ‘not undermining “fundamental British values”’ is explicitly stated as a requirement that all teachers must meet.

Tensions between ‘diversity’ and ‘inclusion’ are deeply embedded in the education system in England and can be traced back through policy and practice guidelines over many years. From the positive assertions of the Bullock Report (Department of Education and Science (DES 1975) and the more equivocal stance of the influential Swann Report (DES 1985), rapidly followed by the ‘entitlement to English’ ethos of the National Curriculum (Legislation.gov.uk 1988), policy has been reactive and reductionist. In its attempts to map out a model of ‘education for all’, the Swann Report promoted an equal opportunities ideology that has led to some contradictory outcomes. The report was emphatic about the need to ensure that all pupils were given opportunities to achieve their potential. As part of this, it laid down that multilingual pupils should not be disadvantaged by their lack of knowledge of the English language. But at the same time, the imperative for inclusion meant that their needs should be provided for in mainstream classrooms. This brought to an end the ‘withdrawal model’ that many local authorities had previously adopted, where newly arrived pupils were placed in separate language centres or classes until their English language was at a suitable level for them to join mainstream classes. To meet the needs of the new mainstreaming policy, Swann proposed the introduction into the system of ‘bilingual assistants’, who would be expected to provide

... a degree of continuity between the home and school environment by offering psychological and social support for the child, as well as being able

to explain simple educational concepts in a child's mother tongue, if the need arises, but always working within the mainstream classroom and alongside the class teacher. (DES 1985: 407–8)

From the start, the expertise of these bilingual assistants was subordinated to the control of the (usually monolingual) class teacher. Multilingualism, to use Martin-Jones's metaphor (2007: 166), was 'contained' at the margins of the classroom. Moreover, as Bourne (2001) argued, teacher-pupil discourses in English primary classrooms have always been strongly hierarchical, leading to the construction of pedagogies where one powerful voice silences all others. In a similar way, as Creese (2004: 108) argues, in secondary schools bilingual 'support teachers' are positioned as having less important expertise than subject teachers. Bilingual assistants now hugely outnumber fully qualified bilingual teachers, and in some large schools, there can be 30 or 40 on the staff. While they perform a vital job for individual and small groups of pupils, often with great skill, their power to promote multilingual learning more widely remains very limited. Research by Martin-Jones and Saxena (1995, 1996, 2003) illustrates this well. More recent research (Robertson et al. 2014) shows that things have not really changed over the years. Becoming a bilingual assistant is often the only option open to newly arrived multilingual teachers, who may be well qualified and experienced in their countries of origin but not accredited to work as qualified teachers in England.

Alongside this, government surveys and other evidences (NALDIC 2013) consistently show how students at the end of their ITE courses in England generally feel ill-prepared to meet the needs of multilingual pupils and anxious about the demands of working in culturally diverse classrooms. Such professional uncertainties continue into teachers' careers. Cajkler and Hall (2012: 225), using evidence from interviews with newly qualified teachers (NQTs), conclude that learning 'on the job' is not a viable way forward for developing professional expertise and confidence. Conteh and Riasat (2014: 616) provide evidence of the lack of professional confidence of 'monolingual' teachers who encounter multilingual pupils in their classrooms. One of the teachers interviewed in their study revealed her ambivalence about language diversity, expressing

positive personal interest but professional uncertainty in the idea of allowing children to share their different languages in her classroom:

That would be interesting ... I can't pick up any languages at all ... they tell me words, I do some of that sometimes, but I don't pick any of it up at all, I can't remember it ... it's good the majority of the time, but then somebody uses a rude word, and I can't understand it all and the class is in uproar.

Her comment about the outbreak of 'uproar' reflects current preoccupations with 'behaviour management' by school managers and inspectors, her fears about the breakdown of discipline exacerbated by the awareness that a noisy classroom would mean negative judgements about her teaching ability.

Theoretical Frameworks of Language, Learning and Teacher Identity

In order to understand how the complexities of the issues sketched above influence the professional identities and skills of multilingual teachers, we need theoretical frameworks that allow us to map the interplay between the local and the global and to understand the actions and interactions of all the participants in multilingual classrooms. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model is a multi-layered framework that can reveal the ways in which individual teachers' and learners' experiences in classrooms are linked to family, community and school contexts and to national and global events. It sits well alongside sociocultural theories of learning, such as 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzalez et al. 2005), which foreground the importance of understanding what learners bring to classrooms from home and family contexts and argue that the interactions between teachers and pupils are important sites for the co-construction of knowledge. Sociocultural analysis can reveal how some teachers seem to be better than others at constructing affordances for supporting their pupils' thinking and learning as part of what have been termed 'culturally relevant pedagogies' (Osborne 1996). One important theoretical question in this

kind of research is whether teachers who share the cultural and language heritage of their pupils may be able to mediate their learning—and so contribute to their success—more effectively than teachers who do not.

Along with such models of learning, we need new ways to conceptualise language that reflect the diverse expertise of all participants in multilingual contexts. Conteh and Meier (2014: 3), positing the ‘multilingual turn’ in languages education, argue that the focus needs to ‘shift[ed] from the native-speaker or deficit view to the bilingual or asset view’. The myth of the monolingual nation needs to be challenged (May 2014) and the concept of a unitary standard language seen as no longer viable. A language can no longer be seen as owned only by those who speak it as a ‘first language’ (Ortega 2014), but by all its users, in different ways. For English language speakers, varieties such as dialects and ‘world Englishes’ (Jenkins 2006) need their place in pedagogies, and for speakers of other languages, the phenomenon of ‘native speakerism’ (Holliday 2006) no longer has any place in teaching and learning. At the level of the classroom, languages need to be understood as resources with which participants make sense of their experiences, express their meanings and accomplish their goals. Concepts such as ‘translanguaging’ help us to move beyond the constraints of the ‘monolingualising’ ideology of the English education system and draw our attention to the ways that language diversity feeds into thinking about pedagogy. Blackledge and Creese (2010: 109) see translanguaging as enabling the learner to ‘make meaning, transmit information, and perform identities using the linguistic signs at her disposal to connect with her audience in community engagement’. So far, the concept has been used mainly to consider the ways that learners use languages. I suggest it can just as effectively be used to consider what teachers do and have the potential to do. But it is important always to remember that there are significant gaps between what is known theoretically through research and may be considered common knowledge in academic discussion and what still holds sway over policy and practice and thus imposes demands on teachers working in multilingual settings.

Varghese et al. (2005: 22) argue that to understand language teaching and learning, we need to understand teachers and ‘the professional, cultural, political, and individual identities which they claim or which are assigned to them’. The study of what has become known as ‘teacher

cognition' (Woods 1996) has a long tradition in ELT and TESOL contexts, but has been slow to move into other fields of teaching, particularly mainstream schools. In their review of three studies of language teachers' work in different settings, Varghese et al. (2005) argue that 'teacher identity' is a 'crucial component in determining how language teaching is played out'. They advocate a research approach that recognises the contributions of multiple theories to understanding teacher identities, emphasising the importance of 'a continuous theory/practice dialogue' (p. 24). One of the most salient attributes that needs investigating, they suggest, is the ways that power and status play out, not just in the relationships between teachers and learners, but among teachers themselves, especially in 'the hegemonic relations between native-speaker (NS) and non-native speaker (NNS) teachers' (p. 23).

The ideological position of the English language globally is a key factor that makes the situation in England different from other European countries. Holliday (2006: 385) argues that 'native-speakerism can be seen in many aspects of professional life', intertwined as it is with the history of British colonialism, the export of English and the growth of the massive global industry of EFL. Leung et al. (1997), for example, suggest that it has a powerful influence on the ways that (monolingual) teachers perceive their multilingual learners in mainstream schools. From the perspectives of teachers, Braine's (1999) groundbreaking book, which foregrounds the identities of and provides 'a forum for language educators from diverse geographical origins and language backgrounds' (p. ix), emphatically challenges the 'native speaker fallacy', which privileges so-called native speakers as teachers of English.

The Professional Experiences and Identities of Multilingual Teachers in England

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, as the numbers of multilingual pupils in mainstream schools began to rise, the UK government—briefly—took an interest in the make-up of the teaching profession. The recruitment of teachers from multilingual, minority ethnic backgrounds

was actively promoted, but practical initiatives into raising recruitment, such as the TC21 project,² met with only limited success. A factor in this was that government-funded research viewed multilingual trainees and NQTs largely in terms of the support they needed, rather than the positive contributions they could make (Carrington et al. 2000; Hobson et al. 2009). Research by Cunningham and Hargreaves (2007) revealed the teachers' own perceptions of a 'lack of recognition and respect for teachers' expertise' which 'was considered to distance minority ethnic communities from the education system' (p. 5). Such views are echoed in more recent research with multilingual student teachers. Safford and Kelly (2010: 408ff.) report how, in a multiplicity of ways, multilingual students' linguistic skills and knowledge are sidelined by the 'monolingual mindsets' of mainstream education, pointing out how their 'vibrant and richly textured language histories' (p. 410) have to be 'cast off' as they cross the thresholds of their classrooms.

To date, very little work has been done in England that reflects the voices of multilingual teachers themselves. Ghuman (1995) and Osler (1997) provide detailed case studies of the experiences of ethnic minority teachers using life history narratives. Callender (1997) provides evidence, including classroom interaction, from research with African-Caribbean heritage teachers which shows the importance of culturally familiar patterns of interaction for children's success. Conteh and Toyoshima (2005) present evidence of the views of multilingual teachers gained from 'structured conversations' between multilingual teachers and teacher-researchers. Conteh (2007a, b, 2010, 2015) focuses on the experiences of multilingual teachers working in a bilingual complementary class where the relationships between school, home and community are key to the 'bilingual pedagogies' that develop. Finally, Conteh et al. (2014) bring together the experiences of three multilingual teachers working in very different settings—a 'frontiseria' school in Cyprus, a Key Stage 2 classroom with 8–9-year-old pupils in Yorkshire, England, and a complementary school teaching GCSE Panjabi in the English Midlands. Through examples of classroom interaction and interview data, they show how 'each teacher works with their students to open out multilingual spaces for their learning' (p. 158).

Research into how multilingual and ethnic minority teachers themselves perceive their professional roles and expertise is, so far, very limited in England. The main sources of data are small-scale studies, often carried out by research students or teachers themselves pursuing higher-level courses. The benefit of this is that the data that emerge can be very rich and illuminating, such as those presented here, which come from a small group of multilingual professionals all working in mainstream schools, mainly in the West Yorkshire region of England. All are women and members of a two-year part-time Master's course at the University of Leeds, which aims to provide practitioners with the theoretical understandings to analyse their own practices and develop the skills and expertise to become EAL specialist teachers. As the course leader, I interviewed several of the participants about their personal and professional backgrounds, their current roles and their hopes for the future. The quotes presented here are from six of the teachers, four of them from European countries (Mila from the Ukraine, Elizabeta from Bosnia, Barbora from Lithuania and Dorota from Poland), who have all lived in England at least eight years. The fifth, Zahida, arrived as a refugee from Kurdistan (Iraq) about five years ago. Finally, Janina was born in Yorkshire of Polish parents who arrived as displaced persons after the Second World War. Three of the participants (Mila, Dorota and Zahida) qualified as teachers in their countries of origin and the remaining three qualified in England. In the rest of this section, the teachers' voices are heard. I use the theoretical frameworks outlined in section "Theoretical Frameworks of Language, Learning and Teacher Identity" to present sustained extracts from their interviews, thematically organised in four subsections:

- Personal and professional backgrounds;
- Views on UK society and education;
- Views on the current situation in their schools;
- Professional responses and aspirations for the future.

These reflect the layers of their experience and through this reveal their awareness of the ways in which trends in the wider society influence their work in schools as well, as the links they make between their professional experiences in England and their former experiences.

Personal and Professional Backgrounds

For all the interviewees, being multilingual and having experience of teaching in different contexts are clearly positive attributes linked in natural ways, as the following extracts from three interviews show. Janina, born in Yorkshire in the 1960s to Polish parents who had migrated after the Second World War, did not learn to speak English until she entered mainstream school. She is strongly conscious of the personal benefits of her multilingual and multicultural background:

As a bilingual Yorkshire girl, my adult role models were predominantly from Poland and, as such, I became familiar with the ways that different people developed their linguistic and employment skills which ultimately led them to become increasingly 'settled immigrants' with a joint identity

...

... as I developed competence and understanding of the language and customs of northern England my parents benefited too from my 'cultural-linguistic-anglicisation' supported, of course, by their own experiences in the British workplace ...

Similarly, Barbora's story illustrates the seamless way in which she was able to move across countries, languages and teaching contexts to develop a portfolio of professional expertise:

I was born in Lithuania (former USSR) to Russian parents. I grew up bilingual, although attending a Russian speaking school but passing all exams in Lithuanian only. I went to college in Norway when my mum remarried. After finishing at an American university in Lithuania, with BA in English language and literature with TESOL as a major, then I moved to Leeds, where I completed my CELTA³... then I started working as an EMA⁴ teaching assistant in a secondary/high schools in Huddersfield, and worked there for 5 years.

Finally, Zahida arrived in Leeds as an asylum seeker from Kurdistan/Iraq and was quickly able to put her language skills and teaching qualifications to good use:

I have BA in English language and literature in my home country and (Hons) BA in Learning and Teaching from University of Leeds in UK. My first language is Kurdish (Badini dialect) and I have fluent Arabic language and not bad English language. In my home country, I was an English language teacher in a secondary school for about 10 years and worked as lecturer for about two years in the institute for preparing teachers (an institute that prepares primary school teachers in two years after GCSE). In UK, I worked for less than 2 years as a TA in a highly multilingual primary school (Year 5). Now, I'm a teacher in an Arabic community school in Leeds.

Views on UK Society and Education

In talking about their personal and professional experiences, the participants show strong awareness of the links between the 'outer layers' of life in society and the 'inner layers' of the daily lives of their families and of the teachers and pupils they work with. Janina, born in the UK in the 1960s to Polish parents, was able to take a long view on the experiences of recent arrivals, compared with those who arrived earlier. She tactfully describes the shift in political perspectives in England over the years:

... arrivals in the UK over the last couple of years are faced with a somewhat different Britain to that of their predecessors ... they have arrived in Britain at a time when the job market may be fiercely competitive in a political climate which may not always be vocal in its support ...

Her gentle closing comment in the above extract belies the harsh negative attitudes towards immigration currently expressed in the media and by many politicians in England, which have such negative effects on the education of multilingual learners and on the attitudes of their teachers.

Dorota, one of the more recent arrivals from Poland, is more forthright in her views about the ways in which national ideologies impinge on school provision, influencing teachers' views and attitudes towards their multilingual pupils and setting up what she sees as a damaging cycle of mistrust and suspicion:

The main problem is that the government and politicians make a lot of fuss out of the fact that there is so many immigrants. As long as they consider it as a big problem, the EAL students will be also considered as a problem. First they allowed us to come and work legally here and now we are considered as a problem. I don't really want to dwell too much on politics but I think that it is a key thing, and that is why there aren't many official documents with any kind of guidance of support from the government if it comes to EAL students ...

... many mainstream teachers make the impression that they are scared of foreigners. They don't allow them to speak in their First Language and whenever the students actually speak they usually accuse them of swearing and the students get excluded for a day or two. Many times students don't understand why they are not allowed to speak in their language. They feel frustrated and alienated ...

Views on the Current Situation in Schools

An experienced geography and science teacher from the Ukraine, Mila worked in a range of service roles in England before becoming an educational teaching assistant with SEN pupils in a primary school in West Yorkshire. She analyses the complexities and contradictions of multilingualism in a monolingual system from first-hand experience:

... I have observed that not all children, especially EAL pupils, achieve their full potential. At my school the 'problem' of EAL pupils is recognised and regularly addressed at review meetings. All teachers in the school strive to ensure EAL pupils achieve their best. However, I have noticed that, with all their determination, teachers are educating bilingual pupils as monolinguals. They do not see bilingualism as an asset. They try to 'fix' it and overcome it as a 'problem'.

... the school itself has a fantastic multicultural ethos. However, the use of first languages by EAL pupils is considered totally unacceptable anywhere within the school's grounds, even at break times, even with parents

...

... for some time I held the view that the school's approach was simply a reflection of the teaching staff's misunderstanding of bilingualism and how it could be used to support EAL pupils' learning. However, in May

2014 during a conversation with the headteacher, I was surprised and encouraged to discover that she shared my view about the importance of the supporting role of first cultural languages in learning English. The headteacher explained that many of the teachers at the school had expressed a strong interest in this subject and felt that they would benefit greatly from professional training and development in this area. She also expressed her concern regarding the unavailability of courses that could provide such training ...

In the above extracts, Mila is very careful to avoid explicit criticism of her colleagues and school managers. While clearly being very aware of the shortcomings of the school's practices, she talks about its 'fantastic multi-cultural ethos' and of how everyone 'strive[s] to ensure EAL pupils achieve their best'. She has clearly become an important resource for the head teacher, who seems to hold somewhat contradictory views about the role of her pupils' home languages in their learning as well as an awareness of the need for professional development in the school.

In contrast, as we might expect from her words above, Dorota is more outspoken in her views about the current situation in schools than Mila. In the eight years she has spent in England since arriving as an experienced teacher of English from Poland, she has worked in both primary and secondary schools. Her professional expertise and ability to analyse the situation is strong, as is her awareness of the contradictions she finds in the system in England:

When I came to this country I learned a lot, the differences in teaching and learning between the British Educational system and Polish are enormous. When I first started to teach at Primary School as a Year 1 teacher, I found that in this country the system is 'adjusted' to the learner which means that we as teachers have to differentiate everything what we teach, according to the students' levels. In Poland on the other hand it is students' responsibility to learn and achieve the most of it, it is as if the learner had to 'adjust' himself to the system. So when I finally understood the whole 'differentiation thing' and was able to deliver lessons in the way it was expected, I did it for 4 years at that primary school. But when I started to teach at the current school and I found out that nobody actually does that I was very disappointed ...

... I suggested some additional changes, improvements of different things such as dividing the group into two smaller groups, or introducing 'Guided Reading Intervention' and so on that never took place even if it was agreed to be done, but when some problems arose and some of the teachers started to struggle and mentioning that the kids cannot read. Then there was a special person employed called an 'EAL Coordinator' who actually comes now twice a week. After observing our work and talking to myself and other staff, she mentions what I had already suggested long time ago, but [*then*] it was never seriously taken into consideration. In that way the school pays additional money for something that has already been recognised as a problem but I am not 'powerful' enough to be listened to. So for me the only way/method to achieve my ideas or changes is actually telling that 'EAL coordinator' what are my concerns and solutions and she passes them on as her own improvements and thanks to that at least in that weird way I can achieve my target.

Dorota is clearly professionally very frustrated about the ways in which the power structure in the school leads to lack of recognition for her own experience and limits her capacity to make changes. She points out how an outsider brought into the school seems to have the power to effect change while she does not. But she has found ways to subvert the system and feed in her own ideas. Coincidentally, I met the 'EAL Coordinator' mentioned by Dorota at a professional meeting, and she spoke very warmly of Dorota, showing respect for her professional expertise. Perhaps the coordinator is not aware of the difficulties Dorota is experiencing in developing her professional role.

In another part of her interview, Dorota expresses her views about her relationships with her colleagues. In her role as 'EAL teacher', she is responsible for deciding when pupils are ready to join mainstream subject lessons in the school and she is justifiably frustrated when subject teachers are unwilling to accept them into their groups. Of course, the subject teachers have their own pressures in meeting externally imposed targets in national tests:

... what really annoys me in my school, is when we actually decide to send some new students from Language Department to the mainstream (because we assess them and we think they are ready to join their peers) after a few

weeks when the students (or more likely teachers!!!) cannot cope with the huge difference or the gap within one group, are sent back!!!! The teachers don't want them in their groups! It did not just happen once. It happened few times. I tried to talk to the teacher who clearly struggled or did not want to bother to differentiate for the EAL kids but it did not work. I tried to convince her that most of our students are very vulnerable, they had a hard situation in their own countries where they were separated, bullied etc ... but the Teacher just said that the gap is too big and they will never catch up.

There is no doubt that Dorota used the interview to get off her chest some issues that clearly were a source of great irritation to her. But her description of the system of having new arrivals taught separately from their 'peers' (a word which reveals her own inclusive attitude to her pupils) until their skills in English improve and her difficulties in persuading mainstream teachers to take them into their classes reflect some of the historic systemic issues identified in section "[Cultural and Linguistic Diversity and Teacher Professionalism in England](#)". In most schools, there was never a principled process for transition from a policy of withdrawal to a policy of full mainstreaming and the lack of professional expertise and confidence among mainstream teachers in addressing the needs of EAL learners is often a key factor in how things play out in practice.

Professional Responses and Aspirations

Elizabeta, who comes from a family of teachers in Bosnia, qualified as a teacher in England about ten years ago. She is now a well-established primary class teacher with responsibility for language in her school. She sums up the highs and lows of her professional satisfaction in the English context:

The most enjoyable moment is when you finish your part of talk and show and step back to see children working as a team being engaged and interested, then coming on the playground to tell you something they found out about the topic you have first taught them about, long after the lesson has finished ...

... the least enjoyable is the constant target chasing – teachers evidently need good clear guidance but then they also need the freedom and support to implement these tapping into their specialist skills, without constant fear of negative scrutiny.

Like Elizabeta, Dorota clearly gets a great deal of satisfaction and pleasure from her relationships with her pupils and is aware of the way she can act as a cultural mediator for them:

... what I enjoy most is that students say that they enjoy my lessons and that they learn a lot from those lessons. They are happy when I teach them how to read, for some of them it is for the first time in their life. They struggle to control their emotions, many times they find it hard to settle in a new environment. They bond with me because I am the first one who explains many things which are completely new to them. English rules, English customs and traditions, school policy and classroom rules ...

In her concluding comments, Dorota again shows her understanding of links between the inner layers of her daily life as a teacher with the outer layers of negativity towards outsiders that are so prevalent in English society:

I know that the knowledge I have, which I gained in Poland during my Teacher Training Studies I could easily share it with colleagues and other teachers! I would love to do that! And if only they wanted to listen. I don't think that my abilities, knowledge and experience are appreciated by anyone at school. I think many people still have the impression that Polish Educational system is probably much lower than English and they don't think that I may know more than them. And especially now when there was such a big number of Polish migration to UK.

Dorota clearly has much to offer to her colleagues, which would enhance their own professional understandings and possibly change their attitudes to diversity in their classrooms. Her articulation of her frustration in not being able to do this illustrates how multilingual teachers' experiences could contribute to the success of all pupils but are sometimes not recognised. In addition, they could vitally contribute to 'mono-

lingual' teachers' understandings of diversity generally and of positive approaches to promoting learning with their multilingual pupils.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have shown how the education system in England, as a whole, is seriously lacking the expertise it needs to make the best provision for the rapidly growing numbers of multilingual learners that are being educated in our schools. I have suggested that the complex reasons for this are rooted in the history of language education, as well as being linked to wider societal attitudes and global trends. Through a focus on the ways that language diversity is mediated in teacher education and a review of the research to date, I have shown how multilingual practitioners are, in general, undervalued in the system and their skills marginalised. Following this, using an ecological framework of analysis and foregrounding the voices of individual professionals who encounter the complexities of the 'big issues' in the everyday detail of their professional lives, I have attempted to present a different view about multilingual professionals from the one that commonly prevails in the system. To do this, I have presented evidence of and developed arguments for the potential value that multilingual practitioners have for the education system in England. I argue that the professional knowledge and skills they offer are vital for improving provision for multilingual learners and indeed for promoting a more equitable experience for all pupils in a multilingual society. The fact that this is currently not recognised represents a loss to the system.

As I indicated in section "[Cultural and Linguistic Diversity and Teacher Professionalism in England](#)", despite official neglect and lack of policy direction, practitioners working in increasingly diverse classrooms are calling out for professional development and guidance. The rapid growth in the use of commercially available packages of 'training' that provide practical advice and suggestions for teachers working with EAL learners in England also attests to this. Such provision is no doubt filling a gap in the market, but the risk of it becoming mere 'tips for teachers'

with no clear theoretical underpinnings is strong. What is needed is a much more principled approach to developing the kinds of ‘multilingual pedagogies’ that could turn the ‘problems’ of language diversity into assets. In developing this approach, I suggest that multilingual professionals need to take a central role and—indeed—have the potential to take the lead.

Notes

1. <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2014> (date accessed 17 March 2015). All references to official documentation and statistics in this chapter refer only to England, though there are extensive parallels across the UK on the issues discussed.
2. <http://www.tc21.org.uk/>.
3. CELTA = Certificate of Teaching English to Speakers of Other languages.
4. Ethnic Minority Achievement.

References

- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2010). *Multilingualism: A critical perspective*. London: Continuum.
- Bourne, J. (2001). Doing “what comes naturally”: How the discourses and routines of teachers’ practice constrain opportunities for bilingual support in UK primary schools. *Language and Education*, 15(4), 250–268.
- Braine, G. (Ed.). (1999). *Non-native educators in English language teaching*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cajkler, W., & Hall, B. (2012). Multilingual primary classrooms: An investigation of first year teachers’ learning and responsive teaching. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 35(2), 213–228.
- Callender, C. (1997). *Education for empowerment: The practice and philosophies of black teachers*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

- Cameron, D. (2011, February 5). *Speech at Munich Security Conference*. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference>. Date Accessed 5 Jan 2016.
- Carrington, B., Bonnett, A., Nayak, A., Skelton, C., Smith, F., Tomlin, R., Short, G., & Demaine, J. (2000). The recruitment of new teachers from minority ethnic groups. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 10(1), 3–22.
- Conteh, J. (2007a). Opening doors to success in multilingual classrooms: Bilingualism, codeswitching and the professional identities of “ethnic minority” primary teachers. *Language and Education*, 21(6), 457–472.
- Conteh, J. (2007b). Bilingualism in mainstream primary classrooms in England. In Z. Hua, P. Seedhouse, L. Wei, & V. Cook (Eds.), *Language learning and teaching as social interaction* (pp. 185–198). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Conteh, J. (2010). Making links across complementary and mainstream classrooms for primary children and their teachers. In V. Lytra & P. Martin (Eds.), *Sites of multilingualism: Complementary schools in Britain today* (pp. 149–160). Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Conteh, J. (2015). “Funds of knowledge” for achievement and success: Multilingual pedagogies for mainstream primary classrooms in England. In P. Seedhouse & C. Jenks (Eds.), *International perspectives on ELT classroom interaction* (pp. 49–63). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Conteh, J., & Meier, G. (Eds.). (2014). *The multilingual turn in languages education: Opportunities and challenges*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Conteh, J., & Riasat, S. (2014). A multilingual learning community: Researching funds of knowledge with children, families and teachers. *Multilingua Special Double Issue*, 33(5–6), 601–622.
- Conteh, J., & Toyoshima, S. (2005). Researching teaching and learning: Roles, identities and interview processes. *English Teaching Practice and Critique*, 4(2), 23–34. <http://education.waikato.ac.nz/research/journal/view.php?article=true&id=91&np=1>
- Conteh, J., Copland, F., & Creese, A. (2014). Multilingual teachers’ resources in three different contexts: Empowering learning. In J. Conteh & G. Meier (Eds.), *The multilingual turn in languages education: Opportunities and challenges* (pp. 158–178). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Creese, A. (2004). Bilingual teachers in mainstream secondary school classrooms: Using Turkish for curriculum teaching. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7(2–3), 189–203.

- Cunningham, M., & Hargreaves, L. (2007). *Minority ethnic teachers' professional experiences: Evidence from the teacher status project* (DfES Research Report RR 853). London.
- Department for Education (DfE). (2011). *Teachers' standards*. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/283566/Teachers_standard_information.pdf
- Department for Education (DfE). (2014). *School workforce in England: November 2014*. <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-school-workforce>
- Department of Education and Science (DES). (1975). *A language for life* (The Bullock Report). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
- Department of Education and Science (DES). (1985). *Education for all – The report of the committee of inquiry into the education of children from ethnic minority groups* (The Swann Report). London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
- Ghuman, P. A. S. (1995). *Asian teachers in British schools: A study of two generations*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gonzalez, N., Moll, L., & Amanti, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities and classrooms*. New York: Routledge.
- Hobson, A. J., Malderez, A., Tracey, L., Homer, M., et al. (2009). *Becoming a teacher: Teachers' experiences of initial teacher training, induction, and early professional development*. Department for Children, Schools and Families Research Report DCSF-RR115.
- Holliday, A. (2006). Key concepts in ELT: Native-speakerism. *ELT Journal*, 60(4), 385–387.
- Jenkins, J. (2006). Points of view and blind spots: ELF and SLA. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 16(2), 137–162.
- Legislation.gov.uk. (1988). *Education Reform Act 1988*. <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1988/40/contents>
- Leung, C., Harris, R., & Rampton, B. (1997). The idealized native speaker, reified ethnicities and classroom realities. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31(3), 543–560.
- Martin-Jones, M. (2007). Bilingualism, education and the regulation of access to language resources. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 161–181). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (1995). Supporting or containing bilingualism? Policies, power asymmetries and pedagogic practices in mainstream

- primary classrooms. In J. Tollefson (Ed.), *Power and inequality in language education* (pp. 73–90). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (1996). Turn-taking, power asymmetries, and the positioning of bilingual participants in classroom discourse. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1), 105–123.
- Martin-Jones, M., & Saxena, M. (2003). Bilingual resources and “funds of knowledge” for teaching and learning in multi-ethnic classrooms in Britain. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6(3–4), 267–281.
- May, S. (Ed.). (2014). *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education*. New York: Routledge.
- National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC). (2013). *EAL and the initial training of teachers*. <http://www.naldic.org.uk/eal-initial-teacher-education/ite-programmes>. Date Accessed 5 Jan 2016.
- Ortega, L. (2014). Ways forward for a bi-multilingual turn in SLA. In S. May (Ed.), *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education* (pp. 147–166). New York: Routledge.
- Osborne, A. B. (1996). Practice into theory into practice: Culturally relevant pedagogy for students we have marginalized and normalized. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 27(3), 285–314.
- Osler, A. (1997). *The education and careers of black teachers: Changing identities, changing lives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Pearce, S. (2012). Confronting dominant whiteness in the primary classroom: Progressive student teachers’ dilemmas and constraints. *Oxford Review of Education*, 38(4), 455–472.
- Robertson, L., Drury, R., & Cable, C. (2014). Silencing bilingualism: A day in the life of a bilingual practitioner. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 17(5), 610–623.
- Safford, K., & Drury, R. (2013). The “problem” of bilingual children in education settings: Policy and research in England. *Language and Education*, 27(1), 70–81.
- Safford, K., & Kelly, A. (2010). Linguistic capital of trainee teachers: Knowledge worth having? *Language and Education*, 24(5), 401–414.
- Varghese, M., Morgan, B., Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2005). Theorizing language teacher identity: Three perspectives and beyond. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 4(1), 21–44.

- Wallace, C., & Mallows, D. (2009). *English as an Additional Language (EAL) provision in schools – Ten case studies*. London: Institute of Education under contract from the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA).
- Woods, D. (1996). *Teacher cognition in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Children's Bilingualism: An Inspiration for Multilingual Educational Practices

Anastasia Gkaintartzi, Roula Tsokalidou,
Evi Kompiadou, and Evi Markou

Greek Education and Inclusion: Is There Space for Diverse Voices?

Bilingualism has been evident throughout the history of Greece, albeit largely overlooked. The country has been the destination for immigrants mainly since the 1990s, and different minority communities have enriched its cultural map. Albanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Pakistanis, Kurds, Filipinos, Georgians, Nigerians and so on are some of the immigrants who form the linguistic diversity of Greece together with the Muslim minority of Thrace (northeast Greece), the Gypsy community and the other communities of Greek and non-Greek origin, who speak languages other than Greek (e.g. the Vlach, Ladino, Slav Macedonian, Armenian and others) (Archakis and Kondylli 2002; Marvakis et al.

A. Gkaintartzi (✉) • R. Tsokalidou • E. Kompiadou
School of Early Childhood Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki &
'Polydromo' Group, Thessaloniki, Greece

E. Markou
Institute of Education, UCL, London, UK

2001). The 2011 Hellenic Census recorded that 8.34 percent of the total population was of a non-Greek nationality. However, due to the difficulty in registering unofficial immigration, this number could be much higher (IMEPO 2008).

Regarding Greek education, the European Union (2013) reports that 12 percent of the children attending the Greek school speak an additional language at home other than Greek. The majority of these students has Albanian background (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b; IPODE 2009). In the Greek educational policy, students of immigrant background are referred to as '*allodapi*', in literal terms meaning 'of another country'. Even though this term refers to the students' nationality status, we find this bureaucratic term problematic. As many of these students have little (if any) experience of their parents' country of origin, the term denies them their lived realities (Markou 2015). Similarly, we uphold that the term '*alloglossii*' ('speaking another language') mistreats the fact that these students are emerging bilinguals, whose literacy is usually restricted in the dominant Greek language. The term is not only unfair to bilingual students, but we suggest that it may contribute to their marginalization within the educational system (Tsokalidou 2005).

Even though some steps have been made toward an inclusive education, Greek state schools keep multiethnicity and bilingualism largely on the margins of their educational planning and practice. In our text we adopt UNESCO's (2005, pp. 13–15) definition of 'inclusion' as:

a process of addressing and responding to the diversity of needs of all learners through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. [...] It aims towards enabling teachers and learners both to feel comfortable with diversity and to see it as a challenge and enrichment of the learning environment, rather than a problem.

There are currently two main educational provisions which aim to respond to the learning needs of ethnic minority students: the intercultural schools and the Language Support and Reception Classes. Intercultural schools, established in 1996 (Law 2413), are either newly established schools or existing schools converted into 'intercultural' ones.

The aim of these schools has been to 'provide education to young people with a specific educational, social or cultural identity' (the Ministry's translation), and one of the requirements is that 45 percent of the student population consists of 'foreign' students. In total 26 designated 'intercultural' schools were established: 13 primary schools, 9 secondary and 4 high schools. While the policy promised special curricula and provisions and an emphasis on the promotion of the students' languages and cultures, it was flawed both in text and practice. The intercultural educational policy aims at 'particular'—ethnic minority—students and their learning needs, while it does not consider the sensitization of the total student population toward diversity (Damanakis 1997). Moreover, being restricted to only 26 schools, rather than being widely implemented, suggests that intercultural education is limited to specific students and schools. This way, ethnic minority students are isolated as 'special' students in 'special' schools, and so their 'otherness' is legitimized by the policy (Damanakis 1997).

In addition, criticism suggests that the curriculum of intercultural schools is not substantially different to that of mainstream schools (Nikolaou 2005; Damanakis 1997). Even though there are some arrangements, such as the educational directive expressed in the policy, the recruitment process for teachers (e.g. teachers' special qualifications); the language support and special arrangements for the assessment of immigrant students (e.g. oral instead of written exams), these are not enough in order to constitute the schools inclusively (Damanakis 1997). Teaching material and resources, as well as teacher training on multiculturalism and bilingualism, are insufficient (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011; Skourtou 2011; Tsokalidou 2005). This is also the situation for mainstream schools. There are no other official arrangements for the inclusion of ethnic minority students in mainstream schools apart from the language support and reception classes and the lenient grading of students with difficulties in the Greek language. The exclusion of ethnic minority students from the daily school processes is well documented in various research data (e.g. see Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011; Markou 2015), while other research findings criticize the Greek educational system for its ethnocentrism (Frangoudaki and Dragona 1997; Katsikas and Politou 1999) and monolingual practices (Kiliari 2005). The teaching of the

home language is another point where policy lets down immigrant families, as it was never implemented, although promised. Regrettably, the blame was put on the immigrant parents, who were allegedly not interested in requesting it from their children's schools (Mitakidou et al. 2007).

During 2010–2013 and in order to address the above educational shortcomings, the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki carried out the program titled 'Education of Foreign and Repatriate Students' which was launched by the Hellenic Ministry of Education (co-funded by the European Union and national resources). The program was implemented on a national scale and included the running of more language support classes, intercultural school projects, principal and teacher training on intercultural education and the connection between school and immigrant families (see www.diapolis.auth.gr). Even though the program was reported to be influential, its findings have not been incorporated in the official educational planning.

Our account does not suggest that all intercultural and mainstream schools are 'bad' or 'deficient' schools. Our experience attests that there are schools that fight to promote a genuine educational program promoting interculturalism. What we argue for is that any policy on intercultural education takes on a sophisticated approach to inclusion and that it applies to all schools, so that interculturalism and bilingualism do not remain on the margins of educational practice.

Previous Research in Immigrant Background Children's Bilingualism

As mentioned earlier, children's bilingualism remains largely 'invisible' in Greek state schools (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011; Tsokalidou 2005) which is attributed both to the school's monolingual policies and the inadequate knowledge of teachers on the matter. In fact, Greek school teachers are often unaware of their students' cultural and linguistic background, while they often express the view that speaking another language at home will 'confuse' the children. Based on this misconception, they advise migrant parents to speak only Greek with them (Gogonas

2007; Mitakidou et al. 2007). Literature review on teachers' views about bilingualism and language teaching attests that, despite their progressively positive attitudes toward bilingualism in general and heritage language education, they still hold the perception of bilingualism as an obstacle to school language learning and as a right, which exclusively concerns immigrant families (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b; Skourtou 2011; Tsokalidou 2012). Greek school teachers' language ideologies, which are overtly or covertly reflected through their language practices, attitudes and school discourse, reflect the legitimization of the Greek language as the 'only language for all', driven by the ideology of monolingualism, which nonetheless remains highly 'invisible' to them (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014b; Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011).

Research into bilingualism in Albanian immigrant families involves a number of sociolinguistic studies, which have as a common finding the fact that second-generation speakers of Albanian origin demonstrate higher competence in Greek in comparison to Albanian and a preference for the majority language, especially when communicating among siblings and peers (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a). Thus, research data point to the fact that a language shift among Albanian immigrant children is currently under way, in the form of distinct patterns of language use and competence (see Gkaintartzi et al. 2014). However, research in immigrant background children's views and practices is rather scarce in Greece and has not adequately investigated and brought out their own voices, in order to study their complex sociolinguistic realities from their viewpoints and experiences (Gkaintartzi 2012). Recent large-scale quantitative research data have pointed out that the majority of immigrant background students in Greek state schools do know and use their heritage languages in specific fields and with specific interlocutors, having however developed mostly speaking language skills (Kiliari 2014). They do express their willingness to improve their language skills, both receptive and productive, in the heritage language (Kiliari 2014). Qualitative data on immigrant background students' discourse reveal that they adopt a broader identity that includes references both to their homeland and to the host country, keeping a bond with their past while adjusting in the host country (Archakis 2014). The ethnographic study presented below sheds light on the bilingual children's own voices and practices, demon-

strating how they perceive and experience bilingualism at the intersection of multiple, complex and also contradictory language discourses and ideologies.

Voices from the Inside: Immigrant Background Children's and Parents' Perspectives

The present ethnographic study aimed at investigating the language views and practices of children of Albanian immigrant background as well as their teachers' and parents', through a sample of 19 students, who attend Greek state primary school and kindergarten (compulsory preschool education at the age of five) (Gkaintartzi 2012). The overarching aim of the research was the study of the language ideologies, in the context of which children perceive and enact their bilingualism, through the analysis of their own, their parents' and their teachers' discourse on bilingualism. The research examined its questions through the composite investigation of the three perspectives—the children's, their parents' and teachers'—with an ultimate focus on the bilingual children's views and practices, as they were shaped under the influence of the home and school context. The research, based on the combination of three sources of data perspectives, aimed at gaining a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the way bilingualism is dealt with, both in terms of language views and of language practices. The teachers' and parents' perspectives serve as a valuable lens in understanding the children's language views and sociolinguistic behavior (Forbes 2008). Thus, it contributes significantly to the previous research, since it is the first study which investigates its research questions through the perspectives of immigrant parents, children and their teachers, focusing on the voices of bilingual families themselves in relation to bilingualism in their sociolinguistic reality.

The research objectives regarding the children were the investigation of their views and practices concerning:

- The role of the two languages and the value of bilingualism in their lives

- The use of the Albanian language in the Greek school
- The use and learning of Greek and the maintenance and learning of Albanian

Research Context

The research was conducted during the years 2008–2010 at a mainstream (i.e. not intercultural) primary school and its neighboring kindergarten, which were located in a coastal, tourist and rural region in Thessaly, Central Greece. The study site and population can be considered as typical of the ethnic community in question; the area was inhabited by a high percentage of Albanian immigrants, who were employed mainly as construction workers and farm laborers. As was the case with most Albanian immigrants, it was mostly men who arrived in the area after 1992; a few years later, their families would join them (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a).

The Schools

The two state schools (primary and kindergarten) were selected on the basis of their high percentage of pupils of Albanian background and the preexisting close relationship between the researcher and the schools. The children of Albanian immigrant background amounted to almost half of the total student population in both schools. In addition, the researcher had worked in the primary school as an English language teacher before the time of the research. The researcher's relationship with the schools not only provided easy access to the field but also facilitated the collection and the analysis of the data (Lincoln and Guba 1985; van Lier 1988; Watson-Gegeo 2002).

The Children's Profiles

The sample of the children was selected based on their bilingualism (Greek-Albanian) and their ethnic (Albanian) background. It consisted of 19 students, 11 of whom attended the first, second and third grade (B,

Table 1 Profile of bilingual children born in Albania

Children (pseudonyms)	Class and age (2009–2010)	Length of residence in Greece	Languages spoken at home
1. Zamira	D class (9 years old)	8 years	Mostly Albanian
2. Entri	B class (8 years old)	7 years	Mostly Albanian
3. Elona	C class (8.5 years old)	7 years	Mostly Albanian
4. Laura	D class (9)	5	Mostly Albanian
5. Ilir	D (10.5)	4.5	Mostly Albanian
6. Florim	C (9)	4	Mostly Albanian
7. Entona	C (9)	3	Mostly Albanian
8. Arta	B (9)	2–2.5	Mostly Albanian
9. Lule	A (6)	2–2.5	Mostly Albanian
10. Bardi	A (7)	3	Albanian

Table 2 Profile of bilingual children born in Greece

1. Rea	D class (9 years old)	Greek, Albanian, Vlachika ^a
2. Aggela	A class (6 years old)	Greek, Albanian, Vlachika
3. Ariana	A (6)	Mostly Albanian
4. Bora	A (6)	Mostly Albanian
5. Rezarta	A (6)	Mostly Albanian
6. Marsela	A (6)	Albanian and Greek
7. Kostadin	A (6)	Albanian and Greek
8. Fatmir	A (6)	Mostly Albanian
9. Tarik	A (6)	Mostly Albanian

^aEastern Romance language which is spoken in Southeastern Europe. It shares many features with modern Romanian, including similar morphology and syntax, as well as a large common vocabulary inherited from Latin. Whereas Romanian has been influenced to a greater extent by the Slavic languages, it has been more influenced by Greek, with which it has been in close contact throughout its history (source: Wikipedia)

C and D classes in Tables 1 and 2) of primary school, and 8 attended kindergarten (A class in Tables 1 and 2). All children came from Albanian immigrant families. Ten of them were born in Albania and had immigrated with their parents to Greece at a very early age (from one to four years old). The rest were born in Greece. All of them could communicate orally in Albanian, without being able to read or write and spoke both languages with different competence in their everyday life.

Data Collection

Selecting a qualitative ethnographic methodology to study the research questions, we used the ethnographic methods of participant observation within the school context, informal interviews with the participants in the field and semistructured (individual and group) interviews with the children, their teachers and parents. Throughout the two-year course of the study (2008–2009 and 2009–2010), the researcher observed the children's sociolinguistic behavior in the school context, in their classes (first, second, third grade and kindergarten) on a weekly basis as well as during playtime, 'all-day' (after-class) school and other extracurricular activities. In parallel, the researcher conducted semistructured interviews (individual and group) and informal conversations in the field with the children, their teachers and the parents in order to obtain an 'emic' perspective and thus provide a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973). The 'base line' (van Lier 1988) between the researcher and the field played an important role in the process of the participant observation and ethnographic interviews, allowing the researcher as 'legitimate member' (Lave and Wenger 1991) of the school communities to penetrate into the 'emic' perspectives of the participants while her engagement with the field prolonged over the two-year field work (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 1986; Watson-Gegeo 2002). In this way, the ethnographer could utilize the sense of 'common ground' between herself and the setting (i.e. the baseline, Van Lier 1988 p. 5) accumulated from her prolonged involvement in the field and thus uncover the 'culturally based perspectives, interpretations and categories used by members of the groups' (Watson-Gegeo 1988, p. 580), the emic (inside) perspective, taking though always into account her own subjectivity.

All interviews and informal conversations with the children were held in the school, in the computer lab, within their school timetable and whenever it was convenient for them. The first set of interviews were individual and the second were focus groups. The in-depth, semistructured interviews followed core questions as guidelines, which were open-ended and informal, in order to give them the opportunity to express their views concerning bilingualism and elaborate on the issues which

were of most concern to them. The interviews were tape-recorded with the pupils' permission and transcribed verbatim. In the kindergarten, the interviews were conducted in the context of participant observation in class, within free activities/school play or during lunch time. The interviews were multimodal and involved writing activities for older children and drawing for smaller students focusing on the research questions, such as drawing about their countries, their house in the homeland or talking in groups about their trips to their country.

The Data Analysis

In order to study the language views and practices of the participants (children, parents, teachers) of the larger study, we employed the interpretive method of qualitative analysis in combination with Critical Discourse Analysis based on van Dijk's (1993, 1998) theoretical model. The ideologies coded in their talk were examined by focusing on structures of discourse and specific linguistic features, mostly lexical forms, word meaning, word choices, in order to trace the propositions and implied presuppositions, which 'index' ideology (van Dijk 1998, p. 205).

Findings

Through our data analysis, it became apparent that the children develop and express awareness concerning their language competence and use. They are conscious of the importance of bilingualism in their lives and express its significance, as it emerges as an integral part of their everyday realities. In the following excerpt, Ilir voices the way he experiences and perceives bilingualism in his life:

Excerpt 1

Researcher: Do you remember what you had told me that you have forgotten the Albanian language a little?

Ilir: Yes.

- Researcher:* Why do you think this happens?
Ilir: Because we speak Greek more here, in class.
Researcher: And what do you think about that?
Ilir: It's bad.
Researcher: Why?
Ilir: Because then you cannot speak with your mum, your the dad... your uncles.

Ilir is conscious not only of the language shift, which is currently under way, but also of the factors affecting it, for example, the use of Greek at school and in the community. However, the importance of maintaining the Albanian language is expressed as closely related to communication and contact with the family and relatives (in the homeland), while feelings of anxiety and distress are implied.

Excerpt 2

- Laura:* Yes [Albanian is important] because if you want to go to Albania, to your family, you won't want be able to speak in Albanian.
Researcher: So, it is important. Are both languages, Greek and Albanian important?
Laura: Yes, one language in order to have friends and talk to them and Albanian to be able to talk with your relatives.

Laura openly states the importance of bilingualism in her life, perceiving Greek as a vehicle for social inclusion and acceptance and Albanian as the language for communication and contact with the extended family and homeland. From the children's data, it is shown that the Albanian language is alive, it is a necessary part of their sociolinguistic realities and it will thus emerge, in one way or another, regardless whether the Greek state school recognizes it, deals with it or not. Its role is not only symbolic, interpreted as a value, closely related to their cultural identity, but also functional, as it is the private code they need to communicate with the family and maintain bonds with the homeland, which they often

visit. Zamira expresses directly in the following excerpt the way her life is interconnected with bilingualism.

Excerpt 3

Zamira: I want to speak Greek with my friends and Albanian with my family and my friends.

Researcher: Are both languages important to you?

Zamira: Yes, because in Greek I want to talk to my friends and in Albanian to my cousins, my brothers and sisters.

Researcher: What is it like? To speak two languages in your life?

Zamira: Difficult.

Researcher: Why?

Zamira: Because you have to remember both countries, not to forget either Albanian or Greek.

Excerpt 4

Researcher: What languages do you speak?

Florim: At home?

Researcher: Which are your languages?

Florim: At home I speak Albanian and at school Greek, sometimes I speak Albanian with Entona and you.

Researcher: Where?

Florim: At school...nobody sees us ... we speak it secretly...

Researcher: Secretly...why?

Florim: Because other children can hear us and then they will tell the teacher that they speak Albanian.

Entri: And that they are foreigners.

Researcher: Why do you think you can't speak Albanian at school?

Florim: Because it is not an Albanian school.

Researcher: So, must we all speak one language?

- Florim:* Yes
Entri: Yes
Florim: I don't know.

Bilingualism seems to be experienced and articulated by the children, like Florim above, as having a specific structure and dynamic. The two languages are enacted and perceived as relatively separate in their lives and as autonomous codes with different roles and values in their complex sociolinguistic realities. Albanian is the language of the home, of the family and the homeland; it is the private code which has a specific significance and holds not only symbolic, sentimental value but also instrumental, since they need the language to communicate with their family and relatives in the homeland. On the other hand, Greek is the public language, which they need for social inclusion and acceptance, as well as school success and socioeconomic development. Bilingualism seems to be experienced as 'parallel monolingualism' (Heller 1999) since the children perceive, enact and express a dichotomy between Albanian as the private and Greek as the public language in their lives. This dichotomy is drawn in the context of the school language ideologies and the messages conveyed as well as their parents' language ideologies and practices. However, it seems that the maintenance of the Albanian language is not just preserving a remnant of past, a symbolic part of their heritage and identity, but it is a code which is alive and dynamic and fulfills specific social purposes in their lives. It may be enacted privately, as an in-group language and 'secretly' in more public domains such as the school; still it is part of their sociolinguistic reality since it is functional in their communication with their family and relatives.

Excerpt 5

- Researcher:* What would you say to children who come from Albania and gradually forget the Albanian language?
Entri: To speak Albanian with their mothers and fathers.

Researcher: So as not to forget it?

Entri: Yes.

Researcher: Do you do it?

Entri: ...Yes, once I almost forgot it, and I spoke with my father in Albanian so as to remember it again.

Researcher: Do your parents tell you so?

Entri: My parents yes...so as not to forget it ...otherwise I won't be able to talk with my grandmother and with the others.

From the analysis of the children's data, bilingualism is depicted as language use. The children's bilingualism is their reality, their way of life since it is integrally related to their social and communicative needs. Both languages are important but for different social purposes and functions. Both languages are functional but in different ways. This is the 'dynamic' of bilingualism, which lies upon communication itself and does not conform to the rules of monolingualism, of the constructed 'norm'. The Albanian language may be restricted to specific private, family domains and may be excluded from the 'legitimate' school language use and practices, but it is there and it will emerge even though 'secretly'.

Apart from language use, bilingualism also emerges from the data as language ideology. It is a value, which is consciously recognized and appreciated by the children, and it is cultivated by the language ideologies of most parents (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a). The children of the ethnography maintain, enact and appreciate their bilingualism even in the context of the Greek monolingual school, revealing resistance to monolingualism and supporting bilingualism. In the intersection of the school monolingual ideology, which reproduces a language hierarchy between Albanian and Greek (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011) and their parents' language ideologies, which echo an ambivalent, 'in-between' stance toward bilingualism (Gkaintartzi et al. 2014a), the children perceive and articulate the complexities, dichotomies and multiplicity of their sociolinguistic realities.

Initiatives Promoting Bilingualism in Greece: The Case of 'Polydromo' and the Greek-Arabic Project

The Greek social and educational context, as we described it in the previous section, and the need for initiatives that support bilingual children have inspired the creation of the group 'Polydromo' (www.polydromo.gr). The group consists of academics, researchers, educators and parents that share an interest in bilingual and multicultural issues. The main goals of the group are to study, promote and disseminate the knowledge and research findings regarding bilingualism and language contact, while creating a forum for discussions and activities with immigrant parents and children (www.polydromo.gr). The site of the group 'Polydromo', www.polydromo.gr, provides a wealth of useful information and resources to be utilized and expanded by educators and parents for the benefit of bilingual children at home and at school. Moreover, the multilingual periodical (*Polydromo*) published by the group combines theoretical and research papers with personal and interactive texts, the combination of which makes the periodical a unique forum of interaction and dialogue between immigrant communities, researchers, educators and bilingual children on a local and international level. The majority of the periodical's papers are published in Greek, English, Albanian and Russian, while other languages may also find a place in it occasionally.

Moreover, 'Polydromo' group organizes conferences and seminars for adults and multilingual workshops for children on a regular basis, and it seeks the cooperation of educators who are willing to carry out projects that promote multilingual and multicultural awareness in their classes. One such project of the 'Polydromo' group that was carried out in a pre-school class was the 'Greek-Arabic Project'.

The project was implemented during the school year 2011–2012. Over a period of three months, the two kindergarten teachers involved worked closely with the researchers in order to involve the children in practices of raising awareness of the Arab culture and language, bringing out possible stereotypes that the students had formed in relation to the Arab culture. The teachers dedicated two hours on a weekly basis on



Fig. 1 Children's drawings

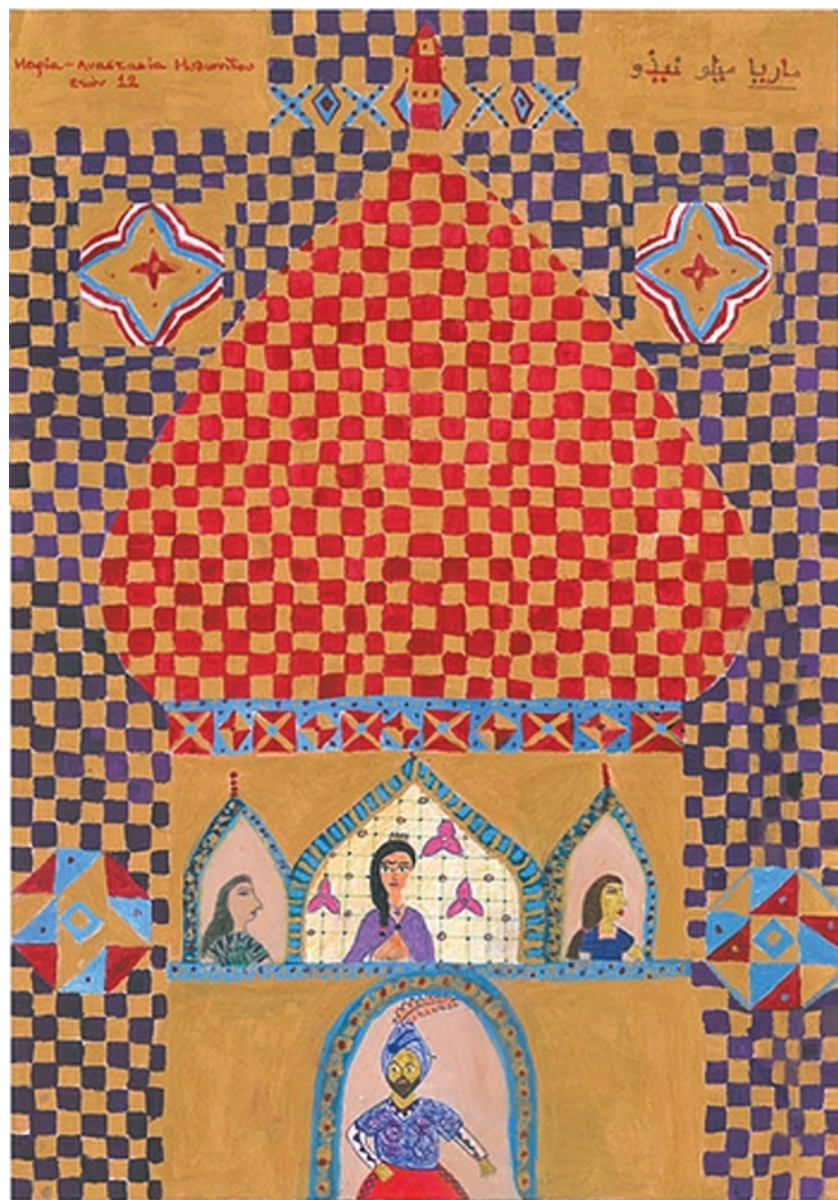


Fig. 2 Children's drawings



Fig. 3 Children's drawings



Fig. 4 Children's drawings

discussions and presentations concerning the Arab culture and language. The project was set off as an Arab-speaking parent was invited to the preschool class and talked about his country of origin, answering questions raised by the children on the way of life in Lebanon, the dress code, the food, the everyday life in the country that was the country of origin of one of the preschoolers. The visit motivated the students to realize that their fellow student had another cultural and linguistic capital to share with them. In the weeks that followed, the children cooked Lebanese food, read stories about the Arab culture, listened to traditional and modern Arab music, danced wearing belts, studied bilingual and trilingual texts (in Arabic, English and French) and were involved in learning about the Arabic language. They were very motivated to learn how to write their names in Greek and Arabic and make drawings about the stories they read. The researcher visited the class and worked with the teacher who also had a lot of questions regarding Arab traditions and Arabic. The challenge was great for all parties involved but the children's enthusiasm was even greater. Below are some of the children's drawings with their names in Greek and Arabic.

The project resulted in the book *My First Book on Bilingualism: Between the Greek and Arab Worlds* which we present below. In the book, the two protagonists talk about themselves and their identities, but, at the same time, call upon other children to identify with their stories and to express their own texts. Due to its double role, we can approach the book as an 'identity text' and 'identification text', respectively (Kompiadou 2013; Kompiadou and Tsokalidou 2014). The text can become a dynamic element of identity and an authentic piece of self, using children's speech at the time of its creation, authentic and genuine, less mannered, less ornate. Below are some sample pages of *My First Book on Bilingualism: Between the Greek and Arab Worlds*.

Jim Cummins describes identity texts as 'the products of children, creative works or performances, carried out within the pedagogical space, orchestrated by the classroom teacher'. Identity texts seem to 'hold up a mirror to students in which their identities are reflected' in a positive way (Cummins and Early 2011, p. 3; Skourtou et al. 2006) and which can be shared with a wide audience. As a result, the children's cultural and linguistic background come to the foreground and find a way of expression.



Fig. 5 Sample pages of my first book on bilingualism: *Between the Greek and Arab Worlds*

Identity texts can become a means of expressing ideas, languages, thoughts, homelands (Skourtou et al. 2006).

In other words, identity texts constitute ideal pedagogical tools, especially for children belonging to cultural minority groups (Gavriilidis n.d.) whose language and culture are often absent from the official school texts. Prerequisite for the pedagogical use of these texts is the teachers' willingness to listen carefully to and record as many narratives as he/she can. Every child can find in the text a detail that may reflect and echo internal

concerns, and even possible conflicts or problems (Anagnostoulou 2007). However, school encourages 'linear' and 'organized' narratives and texts and not those which children are familiar with from their family environment, as teachers 'systematically underestimate' children's narratives (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos 1999, pp. 267–268).

We propose that *My First Book on Bilingualism: Between the Greek and Arab Worlds*, written in Greek-English-Arabic, can act as a motivation for other cultural and linguistic references, beyond the Arabic one. Since its creation, the book has been used by teachers-members of 'Polydromo' to invest in issues of intercultural and bilingual awareness (Tsokalidou 2005) by exposing, utilizing and experiencing linguistic and cultural diversity in class. The teachers have reported that the book provided the opportunity for children at preschool and early primary school age of various immigrant backgrounds to come forward and express their own cultural and linguistic capital, thus making their 'invisible' multilingualism and multiculturalism an asset for the whole class. The book proposes an interdisciplinary model with teaching practices that are presented below (Gkaintartzi 2009). It aims at raising intercultural and bilingual awareness, through the engagement of all children in various languages and cultures. (The book is available at <http://moodle.community.ecml.at/mod/book/view.php?id=212&chapterid=4> login as guest, VOC, Section 7, How to create multilingual resources). Such an approach is in agreement with a pedagogy of multiliteracies which assumes that 'language and other modes of meaning are dynamic representational resources' that can achieve various cultural purposes as being remade by their users (Cope and Kalantzis 2000, p. 5). The dialogue between the school and the children's families can be achieved through the invitation and implication of students' parents in class, in order for them to present elements of their languages and cultures or be interviewed by students about their migration stories and share family photos, as was the case with the Greek-Arabic Project discussed above. The Didenheim project (Helot and Young 2005) with parents and teachers actively cooperating in class in order to raise linguistic and cultural awareness is indicative of such an approach.

Conclusions

Relevant research into languages and cultures in contact within the Greek context bring forward issues that have been noted internationally. Once we openly discuss the issues of the dominant monolingual ideology that permeates the overall school and social context, our effort needs to focus mainly on creating ways of cultivating a school culture which is truly multicultural and multilingual, giving space to the life experiences and languages of immigrant communities, bilingual families and children (Gkaintartzi et al. 2012). Initiatives such as those undertaken by the 'Polydromo' group have showed us that the schools can open up to languages and cultures other than the dominant school ones for the benefit of all those involved in the educational process, children, teachers and parents. Monocultural perspectives can be replaced by intercultural ones, making students the protagonists of their learning process through the use of identity texts and parental involvement.

References

- Anagnostoloulou, D. (2007). *Literary intake in preschool and primary education*. Athens: Patakis.
- Archakis, A. (2014). Immigrant voices in students' essay texts: Between assimilation and pride. *Discourse Society*, 25(3), 297–314.
- Archakis, A., & Kondylli, M. (2002). *Isagogi se zitimata kinonioglossologias* [Introduction to issues of sociolinguistics]. Athens: Nisos.
- Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (Eds.). (2000). *Multiliteracies – Literacy learning and the design of social futures*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Cummins, J., & Early, M. (2011). Introduction. In J. Cummins & M. Early (Eds.), *Identity texts: The collaborative creation of power in multilingual schools* (pp. 3–19). UK & Sterling: Trentham Books.
- Damanakis, M. (1997). *I ekpedefsi ton palinostoundon ke alodapon mathiton stin Elada. Diapolitismiki prosegisi* [The education of repatriated and foreign pupils in Greece. An intercultural approach]. Athens: Gutenberg.
- European Union. (2013). *Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children: Final report*. Luxemburg: Publications Office of the European Union.

- Forbes, C. A. (2008). *Agency, identity and power: Bilingual Mexican American children and their teachers talk about learning English in school*. PhD thesis, University of California.
- Frangoudaki, A., & Dragona, Th. (Eds.). (1997). *Ti in 'I patrida mas?' Ethnokentrismos stin ekpedefsi* ['What is our country?' Ethnocentrism in education]. Athens: Alexandria.
- Gavriilidis, S. (n.d.). *Multicultural children's literature*. Available from: http://www.polydromo.gr/httpdocs/files/Epistimoniko/epistimonikh_vivliografia/Multicultural_Children's_Literature_Gavriilidis%20Sofia-2011.pdf. Accessed 10 Apr 2015.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Georgakopoulou, A., & Goutsos, D. (1999). *Text and communication*. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.
- Gkaintartzi, A. (2009). Teaching practices for the development of intercultural and bilingual awareness. *Polydromo*, 2, 52–56.
- Gkaintartzi, A. (2012). *Zitimata diglossias se pedia sholikis kai prosholikis ilikias: Kinonikes kai ekpedeftikes diastasis* [Issues of bilingualism in pre-school and early primary school children: Social and educational dimensions]. PhD thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Gkaintartzi, A., & Tsokalidou, R. (2011). “She is a very good child but she doesn’t speak”: The invisibility of children’s bilingualism and teacher ideology. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 588–601.
- Gkaintartzi, A., Markou, E., & Tsokalidou, R. (2012). Communication with immigrant parents: When is it feasible and effective? *Polydromo*, 5, 13–16.
- Gkaintartzi, A., Chatzidaki, A., & Tsokalidou, R. (2014a). Albanian parents and the Greek educational context: Who is willing to fight for the home language? *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 8(4), 291–308.
- Gkaintartzi, A., Kiliari, A., & Tsokalidou, R. (2014b). “Invisible” bilingualism – “Invisible” language ideologies: Greek teachers’ attitudes towards immigrant students’ heritage languages’. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 17(3), 111–123.
- Gogonas, N. (2007). *Ethnolinguistic vitality and language maintenance in second-generation migrants: A study of Albanian and Egyptian pupils in Athens*. PhD thesis, University of Sussex.
- Heller, M. (1999). Alternative ideologies of La Francophonie. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3(3), 336–359.
- Helot, C., & Young, A. S. (2005). The notion of diversity in language education: Policy and practice at primary level in France. *Journal of Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 18(3), 242–257.

- IMEPO (Instituto Metanastefikis Politikis). (2008). *Ektimisi tou ogkou ton alldapon pou diamenoun paranoma stin Ellada* [An estimate of the volume of aliens that dwell illegally in Greece]. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Interior.
- IPODE (Institouto Pedias Omogenon ke Diapolitismikis Ekpedefsis). (2009). *Statistika stichia gia tin katanomi palinostoundon ke alodapon mathiton* [Statistical data on the distribution of repatriated Greek and foreign students in Greece]. Available from: <http://www.ipode.gr>. Accessed 23 Jan 2011.
- Katsikas, C., & Politou, E. (1999). *Ektos taksis to diaforetiko? Tsigani, mionotiki, palinostoundes ke alodapi mathites stin eliniki ekpedefsi* [Is "Difference" out of "Order/the Classroom"? Roma, minority, repatriated and immigrant students in Greek education]. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Kiliari, A. (2005). *Poliglossia kai glossiki ekpedefsi, mia kinonioglossiki prosegisi* [Multilingualism and language education, a sociolinguistic approach]. Thessaloniki: Vanias.
- Kiliari, A. (2014). Mathites alvanikis katagogis ke alvaniki glossa: stasis, deksiotites, epithimies [Students of Albanian background and Albanian language: Stances, skills, wishes]. In A. Gkaintartzi, S. Kamaroudis, V. Hystuna, & M. Viskadouraki (Eds.), *Crossroads of languages and cultures: The Greek-Albanian contact: Proceedings of the Second International Conference 'Crossroads of Languages and Cultures* (pp. 39–45). Thessaloniki: Polydromo & School of Education, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Kompiadou, E. (2013). *Educational exploitation of linguistic and cultural diversity in kindergarten*. Masters thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Kompiadou, E., & Tsokalidou, R. (2014). Identity texts. *Polydromo*, 7, 43–47.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Law 2413. (1996, July 17). I elliniki pedia sto exoteriko, I diapolitismiki ekpedefsi ke alles diataxeis [The Greek Education Abroad, the Intercultural Education and other arrangements]. *Gazette*, 124, 2437–2469.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, 30, 73–84.
- Markou, E. (2015). *Real principals in real multiethnic schools: The (im)possibilities for inclusive principal practice*. PhD thesis, UCL Institute of Education, London.
- Marvakis, A., Parsanoglou, D., & Pavlou, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Metanastes stin Ellada* [Immigrants in Greece], Athens: Ellinika Grammata.

- Mitakidou, S., Tressou, E., & Daniilidou, E. (2007). Cross-cultural education. A challenge or a problem? *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research & Practice: Reconceptualizing Childhood Studies*, 8(1), 67–81.
- Nikolaou, G. (2005). *Intercultural didactics: The new environment, basic principles* [Diapolitismiki Didaktiki: To neo perivallon, vasikes arches]. Athens: Ellinika Grammata.
- Skourtou, E. (2011). *I diglosia sto scholio* [Bilingualism at the School]. Athens: Gutenberg.
- Skourtou, E., Kourtis Kazoullis, V., & Cummins, J. (2006). Designing virtual learning environments for academic language development. In J. Weiss, J. Nolan, & P. Trifonas (Eds.), *International handbook of virtual learning environments* (pp. 441–467). Norwell: Springer.
- Tsokalidou, R. (2005). Raising “bilingual awareness” in Greek primary schools’. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(1), 48–61.
- Tsokalidou, R. (2012). *Horos gia dio: Themata diglosias kai ekpedefsis* [Place for two: Issues of bilingualism and education]. Thessaloniki: Zigos.
- UNESCO. (2005). *Guidelines for inclusion: Ensuring access to education for all*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- van Lier, L. (1988). *The classroom and the language learner*. London: Longman.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly*, 22(4), 575–592.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2002). Mind, language and epistemology: Toward a language socialization paradigm for SLA. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88(3), 331–350.

Teaching African Languages the *Ubuntu* Way: The Effects of Translanguaging Among Pre-Service Teachers in South Africa

Leketi Makalela

Introduction

Despite Sub-Saharan Africa's complex multilingual resources that are used for a range of social functions, teachers of African languages to speakers of other languages have always adopted monolingual approaches that do not fit the sociolinguistic contexts in which these languages are used (see Brock-Utne 2015; Makalela 2015). A plethora of research shows that teachers in African classrooms tend to take an isolationist approach in order to guard against cross-contamination between languages. This approach is in line with orthodox language teaching practices which were imbued by colonialism and the Enlightenment language ideologies of one-ness (Makalela 2013; García 2009; Shohamy 2006). These ideologies have not only favoured monolithic classroom interactions but have also fuelled beliefs that using more than one language creates mental confusion and that the use of one language alone is well

L. Makalela (✉)

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

suiting to building the ideal nation state (see Baker 2011). It is noteworthy, however, that the increased national and international mobility of people in the globalized world has made it difficult to sustain such claims as the number of pure monolingual and monocultural communities have, inadvertently, become ever fewer.

In response to the global mobility of people and rapid changes in super-diverse communities, researchers have questioned the validity of language boundaries under the umbrella concept of translanguaging (e.g., García and Wei 2014; Makoni and Pennycook 2007). Although translanguaging has acquired various definitions when applied in different contexts, it is generally understood as a language alternation phenomenon where input and output are exchanged in two or more languages (e.g., Hornberger and Link 2012). This phenomenon, according to García and Wei (2014), should be conceived as a social, rather than purely linguistic, practice that is used by multilingual speakers to know, to be and to make sense of the world. In Sub-Saharan African contexts, translanguaging has been re-conceptualized as a culturally appropriate pedagogical strategy to scaffold language learning, to enable fluid access to knowledge and to affirm the complex multiple ways of being that are indigenous to African value systems (Makalela 2015). It is noteworthy, however, that this phenomenon has not been adequately documented in multilingual communities where three or more languages are used simultaneously in a wide array of social interactions. To this end, and in order to advance the theory and practice of translanguaging in African sociolinguistic milieus, I led the design of a language course in Sepedi, one of South Africa's official languages, after being inspired by the ancient value system of *ubuntu* (*humanism*) to underscore its pedagogical principles. In this chapter, I report on how the *ubuntu* and the principles of translanguaging principles have been used effectively in teaching Sepedi to speakers of other African languages at a university in South Africa. In the end of the chapter, I coin the concept of *ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy* (UTP) to explain this translingual phenomenon as it applies to African world views of interdependence and general use of languages without boundaries.

South African Multilingualism: From Ubuntu to 11 Official Languages

I have observed elsewhere (Makalela 2014, 2015) that the nature of South African multilingualism can be traced as far back as the pre-colonial period in the Limpopo Valley. Research shows that the Limpopo Valley, an area bordering South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe, is the cradle of civilization in Southern Africa (Fouché 1937; Carruthers 2006). The inhabitants of the valley were polyglots who used a variety of languages and belonged to different ethnic groups such as Sotho, Nguni, Kalanga, Khoe and San (Khoza 2006). What connected these inhabitants was a value system of *ubuntu*, a philosophy originating from the mythology that all human beings came from the reed and that we all have a common origin. This conception of being is found in all Bantu languages as in the following phrase: *I am because you are, you are because we are*. It is in this connection that Khoza (2006) observes that *ubuntu* propagates a belief system that interdependence is superior to independence. Taking this observation further, recent studies by Makalela (2014, 2015) applied this world view to language use and showed that there was a high level of linguistic fluidity among the speakers of these languages who traded mineral resources, intermarried and moved between and within their respective communities. The hill that was known as the ‘hill of the jackal’ or Mapungubwe became a cultural centre of *ubuntu*, which was shared across a wider spectrum of Bantu-speaking people (Khoza 2006) as follows:

...the people of Central and Southern Africa share something of a common ancestry in the kingdoms that rose to power in the savannah woodlands south of the Congo forest during the middle and late Iron Age, about 1000 years ago. (p. 66)

Here it is important to stress the role of African languages as a means by which these ancient communities developed their environment and life styles and became the force of civilization that they were. We further glean that:

This was a city-state rich in technology and merchant expertise. It traded with its cousins at Great Zimbabwe and others in Africa further north, including those in the Congo during the late-Iron Age. Through East Africa, Mapungubwe pursued trade in gold and ivory with countries in Arabia and Asia. (Khoza 2006: 66)

Due to the linguistic predisposition of the Mapungubwe era, one can deduce that the inhabitants of this valley used a variety of languages in developing this city state (Khoza 2006; Makalela 2014, 2015). Studies in archaeology have shown that these languages included variants of early Shona, Sotho, Tlokwa, Birwa, Kalanga, Karanga, San and Ngoni as seen from different modes of production that were traceable to different ethnic groups (Fouché 1937). Yet it was also possible for these groups to establish systems that enabled them to engage in international trade without reliance on a common language. It is this fluid and eclectic multilingualism that became the cultural competence of the Southern African communities, and which finds its source in the value of *ubuntu*. When framed in this light, *ubuntu* as practised in Limpopo Valley was a social and cultural way of life where not one language was complete (independent) without the others.

It is instructive to observe that multilingual discourse practices that were based on the *ubuntu* world view were disrupted by colonialism, which invariably imposed the use of foreign languages in South African public spaces. First, the Dutch in 1652 sought to replace the cultural and linguistic landscape of the local people by introducing Dutch as the only language of business, education and government (see Makalela 2005). Second, the English arrived in 1795 and sought to replace Dutch with English as the main language of the colony. After many years of struggles over linguistic, cultural and economic domination, the British and Dutch settlers shed blood in what is known as the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). South Africa was then divided into four linguistic colonies as the Dutch and the English could not live side by side. These were Cape Colony (English), Natal (English), Orange Free State (Dutch) and Transvaal (Dutch). African languages, on the other hand, were subdivided into linguistic tribes by the missionary linguistic groups who worked in different parts of the country without central coordination (Makoni 2003).

When the Afrikaners took power in 1948, they reinforced the division of Black South Africans into linguistic groups, also physically forcing them to live in different camps, referred to as Bantustans (reserves for Bantu language speakers) under the Apartheid's Group Areas Act. Dr H.F. Verwoerd declared that Africans who spoke different languages should stay in different quarters, resulting in ten Bantustan homelands (Alexander 1989). I use the notion of linguistic tribes to describe the Bantustan homeland system. The system existed from 1953 till the early 1990s, with ten reserves which were founded on perceived language differences and restrictions of mobility for the speakers of indigenous African languages (Makalela 2005, 2014). Until 1995, English and Afrikaans were the only two official languages of the Republic, while the African languages were restricted to the Bantustan homelands.

In 1996, the Constitution declared Afrikaans, English and nine indigenous African languages as official languages (Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, isiZulu, isiXhosa, SiSwati, isiNdebele, Xitsonga and Tshivenda). This 11-language policy was aimed at ensuring parity of esteem and the promotion of previously marginalized languages. While the Bantustan linguistic boundaries have been eliminated in the new sociopolitical dispensation that started in 1994, discrete linguistic units are still used administratively as strong identity markers and also in education. The outcome of the policy was predicted to reproduce linguistic separation by scholars who viewed it as an 'artificial construction' (Makalela 2005) and 'disinvention' (Makoni 2003) of linguistic entities that will yield monologic pedagogical practices.

In more than 20 years of constitutional commitment to multilingualism and enshrinement of several legislative frameworks such as the language policy for higher education, it has remained virtually impossible to implement the objectives of the multilingualism policy. The higher education sector has generally seen very little progress, if any, on multilingual classroom practices in historically English medium universities. Until recently encouraging progress was being made towards establishing bilingual universities in historically Afrikaans-medium institutions (Du Plessis 2006); however, protests of linguistic racism at these universities compelled them to gravitate towards English unilingual practices. More conspicuously, the pedagogy of African languages, especially for the teaching

of African languages to speakers of other African languages as additional languages in higher education, has been relatively unknown to date.

Translanguaging

The post-modern school of thought that links sociology, political science, sociolinguistics and ecology has recently questioned our understanding of each language as a static category, with clear boundaries separating it from other languages (e.g., Jørgensen et al. 2011; Pennycook 2010). Representative studies by García (2009, 2011), Hornberger and Link (2012), Makoni (2003), Makoni and Pennycook (2007), Mignolo (2000), Wei (2011) and Shohamy (2006) have all revealed that old notions of additive bilingualism and stable diglossia have lost space in the global world due to their separatist orientation towards languages. Below follows a description of the translanguaging framework as an alternative paradigm to describe language systems as well as current research that supports its central tenets. It is important first to highlight competing concepts that relate to translanguaging. These concepts are metrolanguaging and polylinguaging, which both refer to hybrid interlingual interactions in super-diverse contexts of recent language contacts. Polylinguaging refers to the use of linguistic features related to different languages, including cases where the speakers know only very few features associated with a given language. It also includes instances where speakers are unaware of the linguistic codes from which these features are derived, or where language features cannot be traced back to a language system (Jørgensen et al. 2011). Metrolanguaging, on the other hand, refers to a conception of language as emergent from interaction, not from a preconceived stable entity (Pennycook 2012). In other words, when language is conceived to be in a continuous state of flux, there is no meaning to form, grammar and language ability outside of practice. While both concepts are useful to explain different degrees of language alternation in super-diverse communities, translanguaging is a useful heuristic for understanding discourses of input exchange in educational settings.

As a pedagogical strategy in bilingual classrooms, the idea of translanguaging can be traced back to the work of Cen Williams who studied the language practices of Welsh-English bilingual secondary school learners in Wales. As understood from an earlier version based on Williams' work, the phenomenon referred to a language communicative function whereby students receive input in one language and give output in another. This process allowed bilingual learners to use their home language at school and develop positive experiences with it. García (2009) extended this practice to include multiple discursive practices (p. 40) where, unlike a bicycle with two balanced wheels, the discursive practices are perceived 'more like an all-terrain vehicle whose wheels extend and contract, flex and stretch, making possible, over highly uneven ground, movement forward that is bumpy and irregular but also sustained and effective' (p. 45). Wei (2011) stretched the concept further to include the process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought and to communicate about using language (p. 1223). For Wei, translanguaging enables multilingual speakers to develop their metalinguistic awareness of going between and beyond linguistic systems as well as engaging in high-order thinking planes. He refers to the social space for multilingual language users as a 'translanguaging space', an on-going space created for language practices where multilingual speakers are constantly involved in making strategic choices that are situation-sensitive, about the language systems they use to achieve communicative goals (Wei 2011). When seen in this light, classroom language practices that are restricted to monolingualism can be an obstacle to multilingual spaces and can limit students' ability to be transformative, creative and critical about their learning.

It is noteworthy that translanguaging assumptions depart from the twentieth-century views which centred on the classroom language practices of double monolingualism (e.g., using two languages as separate entities in bilingual programmes). Research shows that teachers under the auspices of maintenance bilingual education have always encouraged monolingual classroom practices and, in turn, managed to create two monolinguals in one body (e.g., Blommaert 2010; Wei 2011). García (2011) elucidates the roles of teachers and language practitioners through her use of a flower garden metaphor. She compares the strict separation

of languages, as in the case of maintenance bilingualism, to a flower garden, where each flower plot is differentiated according to the colours of the flowers. She observes the outcomes of such language separatism as follows:

It was the strict separation of languages that enabled language minorities to preserve what was seen as their “mother tongue”, their “ethnic language,” while developing a “second language” that would never be a “first” or a “native” one, for those designations were reserved for the language majority which inhabited a separate space. (García 2011: 7)

García’s observation is that a separatist view of language and classifications of ‘first’, ‘second’, ‘mother tongue’ do not fit the sociolinguistic realities of the majority of language speakers in the twenty-first century. In order to take account of the more complex language use and match multilingual spaces in this century, classroom language practices of multilingual learners should be characterized by a discursive practice of ‘*linguaging*’. According to García (2009, 2011), *linguaging* refers to ‘social features that are called upon by speakers in a seamless and complex network of multiple semiotic signs’ (2011: 7). From this standpoint, language maintenance is not a desirable outcome. Rather, it perpetuates the understanding of a language as an autonomous and pure entity that is exclusively used by a specific group of people whose identity depends on it (Shohamy 2006). Because conservation of languages in their purest forms is not tenable, what is needed instead is to work with a linguistic system that is dynamic, fluid and future oriented (see also Makalela 2014).

One distinction made in translanguaging scholarship is how it is different, epistemologically, from code-switching. Unlike code-switching, translanguaging does not refer to the use of two separate languages or the shift from one language or code to another (e.g., García 2011; Hornberger and Link 2012; Makalela 2014). Instead, *linguaging* speakers ‘select language features and soft assemble their language practices in ways that fit their communicative needs’ (2011: 7). Furthermore, code-switching often carries language-centred connotations of language interference, transfer or borrowing of codes. On the contrary, translanguaging shifts

the lens from cross-linguistic influence to examining how multilinguals intermingle linguistic features that are administratively assigned to different languages or varieties (Hornberger and Link 2012: 263). In short, there is an epistemological difference in that code-switching treats language systems as discrete countable units into which speakers move in and out, while translanguaging is speaker-centred; it assumes a repertoire of language systems and focuses on what speakers do with the languages.

Research on classroom and programme practices has revealed a myriad of benefits of this latter approach showing the need for translanguaging pedagogy in multilingual contexts. These studies have found evidence that programmes in multilingual and bilingual education in the USA and elsewhere have been accepting learners who have different language profiles that do not fit traditional monolingual structures (Blommaert 2010; García 2011). In these new multilingual schooling contexts, notions such as additive bilingualism and transitional bilingualism have become questionable because they use a monoglossic curriculum that privileges one language over the other (García 2011: 6). By extension, the language-in-education policies that favour monolingualism as the target norm, irrespective of the changing language context, place a huge constraint on multilingual learners' linguistic flexibility.

Despite the restrictions placed on bilingual children by dominant monolingual practices, there is evidence that bilinguals have the tenacity to transform these restrictive discourse spaces. In a British monolingual schooling culture, for example, Wei (2011) investigated translanguaging spaces through a combination of observation of multilingual practices and metalinguistic commentaries by Chinese youths. A moment analysis, which is defined as a process of capturing what appears to be a spur-of-the-moment decision, revealed that the Chinese learners created more critical and creative spaces for themselves using all the linguistic resources they had (p. 1234). Schools that have accepted translanguaging as natural linguistic behaviour, on the other hand, recorded success of their programmes. The most notable schools are the ones studied by Creese and Blackledge (2010) who revealed the following benefits of a flexible bilingual pedagogy:

- Use of bilingual label quests, repetition and translation across languages;
- Ability to engage audiences through translanguaging and heteroglossia;
- Establishment of identity positions;
- Recognition that languages do not fit into clear bounded entities and that all languages are ‘needed’ for meaning to be conveyed and negotiated; and
- Endorsement of simultaneous literacies and languages to keep the pedagogic task moving (Creese and Blackledge 2010: 113).

While translanguaging presents an opportunity to understand the world view of the speakers of African languages in their plurality and advance a pedagogy based on languaging practices, there are practical challenges linked to the use of non-standard varieties. In their current form, these languages are treated in separate units, with teaching following the strict orthographic inscriptions of the missionary linguists of the eighteenth century (Makalela 2009). Expansion of standard variety forms will, in this context, involve broadening translanguaging spaces to assess the creativity and criticality (Wei 2011) of their multilingual speakers. There is therefore a need for a systematic enquiry into translanguaging pedagogical practices to establish the extent to which African language varieties are permeable in classroom interactions. It is against this background that this study reports on the efficacy of using the translanguaging phenomenon in teaching African languages to speakers of other African languages.

The Study

This study forms a part of a five year large-scale translanguaging research programme that was developed under the name ‘Wits Abafunde-bahlalefe Multilingual Literacies Programme’ (WAMLiP). The phrase ‘Abafunde’ is shared by Nguni languages (isiZulu, isiNdebele, Siswati and isiXhosa—with a slight spelling and pronunciation variance) meaning ‘Let them read’, whereas ‘ba hlalefe’ is derived from Sotho languages

(Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana), which means 'to be wise'. WAMLiP is a research programme that focuses on the cognitive and social benefits of using translingual discourse practices in multilingual classrooms. The studies in this programme involve a series of practice-based enquiries on students learning African languages as additional languages at the Wits School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand. The student participants for the study reported in this chapter consisted of six females and six males, all second year students with a mean age of 19 years and 7 months. They were mother tongue speakers of several Nguni languages, including isiZulu, siSwati, isiXhosa and isiNdebele varieties, and the majority of them came from regions where they had very little prior contact with speakers of Sotho languages (Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana). The researcher invited students to come for an end of term reflection about the course in a series of focus group sessions. Three sessions were conducted over a period of three days, and different gender groupings were used for the focus group discussions in order to control for potential gender effects in the discourses. These groups included the following categories: females only (n=6), males only (n=6) and female + male (n=6) groups. Composition of the groups was based on self-selection strategy to avoid putting pressure on students so that the conversations were as natural as possible. A trained research assistant led the focus discussions in probing for depth and in asking clarification questions. What follows next is the description of the course.

Ubuntu Translanguaging Course

I used the principles of *ubuntu* (I + We = I am because you are; you are because we are) to design a translanguaging language course, with Sepedi as an additional language for second year students with the goal of developing basic communication practices among the students. Unlike traditional language courses, this course emphasized the sociocultural aspect of language teaching and concentrated on what Sepedi speakers do with language rather than what the language looked like (i.e., linguistic structure). The aim of this shift was to socialize the student population from

the Nguni language cluster (isiZulu, Siswati, isiNdebele and isiXhosa) into Sepedi cultural and linguistic exchange and to enable them to identify the social practices achieved through the Sepedi language and compare and contrast these with their own. Using translanguaging principles of input and output exchange, a post-method approach (i.e., knowledge and use of more than one language receiving precedence over high proficiency in one language) was used while language structures were taught as they occurred in the context of communicative tasks. From ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy, I adopted and applied the following strategies:

1. Porous group interactions (group discussions were held in any of the languages self-selected by the groups)
2. Reading in Sepedi and responding in any of the Nguni languages
3. Listening in Sepedi and writing notes in Nguni languages or English
4. Reading in Sepedi and writing in home languages
5. Reading in home languages and providing versions in Sepedi

All these processes allowed for fluid communicative practices that were embedded within a functional-notional syllabus that includes thorough engagement with culturally sensitive content such as greeting friends and elders, asking for and giving directions and autobiographies and expressing ownership. While eliciting language use through this content, these functional categories were compared and contrasted with the students' home or other languages during the lessons.

In order to increase the pool of vocabulary items for the students, digital social networks were used to get the students interested in using the language via technology. Multilingual blogs and Facebook groups were created to enhance communication outside of the classroom. In addition, each student was expected to fill up a vocabulary list of 15 words acquired from any encounters they had in the week and place this in their individual blogs. The students were also encouraged to draw on examples from other related African languages they knew to expand their linguistic repertoires.

Data Analysis

The raw data collected from three sets of reflective focus groups (total of 270 minutes) were transcribed and coded using a hybrid inductive and deductive thematic approach where data-driven codes and theory-driven ones were integrated based on the tenets of translanguaging phenomena. The researcher read every transcript to elicit and confirm emerging patterns in the data until saturation points were reached. The themes generated from the data were supported by verbal reports.

Results

The results of the study have shown that translanguaging practices are resources that enhance epistemic access and affirm the students' multilingual identities. The responses are discussed under the following themes: crossing boundaries, co-indexical identities, translanguaging as a natural multilingual behaviour and Sotho language continuum.

Crossing boundaries

One of the well-established beliefs regarding the teaching of African languages is that these languages are multiple and mutually exclusive. The results of the study show that there is a boundary-crossing phenomenon that is natural to speakers of these languages. This view is revealed in Thoko's reflections below:

Thoko

Mina <I> have learned and understood the value of learning African languages. I was able to speak to isiXhosa and Siswati classmates in isiZulu. For me it made a big difference as I followed on the issues we discussed and many many times and I never thought about the languages used. Ka tseba hore <I know that> these languages can be used at the same time in the townships, but it never occurred to me that we could talk in the classrooms like the way we did in this course.

Thoko recognizes the importance of using more than one language in their class. While the focus of the class was to teach and learn Sepedi as a second language, Thoko saw the use of the other languages as an important highlight of the course in that this discourse practice allowed her to cross over to speakers of sister languages without consciously paying attention to the words and the languages used at any given time. When they cross from one language to the other either through hearing or speaking, the participants did not experience this as ‘switching’ the codes. The speakers were not conscious of the linguistic choices they made while in the heat of classroom discussions. This way of thinking about language is in tandem with conceptual lenses in the translanguaging literature. As mentioned previously (Makalela 2015; García and Wei 2014), the focus in translanguaging is on what speakers do with the language and not how the languages are structured. Thoko’s case shows that she was building rapport, crossing beyond the limits of boundaries between languages in order to achieve the communication goal. García (2009) reminds us that translanguaging students are involved in decision making of who they want to be. In the case of Thoko and her classmates, the Sepedi class has enabled them to reconnect with their everyday ways of meaning-making, which, as discussed above, resonates with the ancient value system of ubuntu, which is porous and overlapping. In this case, Thoko also performs translanguaging by drawing on other languages she knew to make her points in this extract.

Co-indexical identities

Learning to speak a language in a formal schooling environment versus outside of the schooling environment has always been a different experience. For multilingual learners, however, the classroom space is often a disabling space that imposes monolingual practices (Creese and Blackledge 2010). The results of the study show that the participants had a good grasp of the content as the classroom space provided a safe environment for them to use their multilingual resources for language learning. Translanguaging practices enabled the bridging of boundaries between classroom and out-of-classroom student identities as revealed in Makhosazane’s reflection.

Makhosazane

[Translated] Using more than one language looked like for the first time in my life, my two worlds came together. At high school we did use our home languages when discussing some information in English, but the teachers discouraged us. My lecturer at the university now encouraged us to use the languages- and I never thought that university can be a space for this.

This is a language account that shows how the gap between university classroom and home contexts can be harmonized through translanguaging. It appears that Makhosazane initially saw herself as divided between who she was in these differing contexts until she got exposed to the *ubuntu* translanguaging practices. There is a reference to high school environments where the learners' multilingual expressions occurred but in informal and restricted conditions. The merger of these sociolinguistic identities provides a sense of completion as well as indexical relations between separated identity spaces that are encouraged via monolingual classrooms. When framed in this light, *ubuntu* translanguaging provides optimal opportunities for the identities of multilingual speakers to co-index so they have a positive experience at school and have increased access and deepen their knowledge of the content material.

Translanguaging as a natural multilingual behaviour

Classroom interactions yielded opportunities for use of more than one language in the same meaning units. Sthembiso's presentation about his family history is revealing of translanguaging as an established practice among multilingual speakers.

Sthembiso

1. Leina la ka ke nna <my name is> Sthembiso.
2. Ngi hlala e <I live in>Thekwini no mama no sisi <with my mom and sister>.
3. Umama u sebenza <My mom works> at Woolworths as a cashier.

4. Ka letsatsi le lengwe<one day> be si hlele e mgwadeni<we were sitting by the roadside> and then gwa fihla pese ye kgolo ya ema <arrived a big bus that stopped>in front of us.

Sthembiso's presentation is a typical translanguaging discourse, which shows seamless transitions between more than two languages in the same speech unit. Sthembiso narrates a story about how he and his family were scared by a bus that almost hit them while they were playing by the roadside. The bus stopped as an emergency right next to them to avoid an accident. In line 1, Sthembiso chooses Sepedi to introduce herself, but in line 2 she uses isiZulu when she talks about her original home in Ethekwini (Durban). In line 3, her utterance shows an overlap between isiZulu and English. Her last utterance reveals the climax of the story and shows a combined repertoire including four languages: Sepedi, isiZulu, English and Sesotho. Here, the depth of the content as in the story reaching a climax resonates with increase in linguistic complexity where four traditional linguistic codes are used fluidly. Sthembiso, like many multilingual students who attended the class, found the use of more than one language as a natural discourse pattern available to them. The logical connection of the ideas from introducing the name, reporting on her mother's work and the near accident situation was carried out in four languages without direct prompt from the hearers. This is the *ubuntu* languaging competence that students bring with them to class, and when accepted, performance of cognitively demanding tasks such as deeper understanding and reasoning is enabled.

Sotho-language continuum

One of the recurrent themes that emerged from the reflections of the student teachers is the view that understanding Sepedi in class has enabled them to communicate in sister languages out of the classroom. Nhleko explains this phenomenon in the following extract:

After I had a few classes of Sepedi, I ventured out to find out that with my Sepedi I could have conversations with Batswana and Basotho. Ge ke re

dumela <when I say good day/evening>, they all respond to me. Also when I listen to them speaking back to me or to themselves, I understood most of what they were saying. When I finished this class, I felt I knew at least 7 languages – four Nguni used in class and then Sepedi with its two sister languages.

This extract shows that Nhleko had confidence to interact with speakers of sister languages of Sepedi. In his interaction with them, he found that the conversations were smooth and that he comprehended most of the conversations conducted in any of the three languages. Another component shown in the extract is the opportunities to speak and use some of the Nguni languages. The two processes, both of understanding the Nguni languages, as a repertoire of speakers from any of these groups already have, and using Sotho languages as target languages, provide an opportunity for interaction of the students with at least seven language allocations (if enumerated, the Nguni cluster has four language groupings and Sotho has three). This complex multilingual practice denotes that there are fluid boundaries between languages, which in turn provide optimal opportunities for metalinguistic awareness and abstraction. By comparison, the Mapungubwe inhabitants discussed above reached higher levels of creativity to mine gold and develop trade and civilization (Carruthers 2006). I have referred to this complex language use as interdependent multilingualism (IM) that is premised on the African value system of *ubuntu* where no one language is complete without the other (I + We).

Ubuntu Translanguaging Pedagogy (UTP)

The results of the study affirm that the use of the cultural competence of *ubuntu* translanguaging enhances positive learning experiences and reaffirms the student teachers' multilingual identities. In particular, the translanguaging principles have created a positive multilingual space and increased acquisition of the target language as well as its sister languages, without devaluing their own home languages.

One of the main findings of the study is that the students developed positive associations with the target language and realized that cultural values can be extended beyond socially received language boundaries. As I have observed previously, the students' positive motivation towards another African language became a strong indicator of how well they performed in the language and the sociocultural spaces of the target language (Makalela 2014). In addition, the students noted interconnections between sister language varieties: Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana, which are divided into separate language entities in conventional classroom spaces. This observation supports previous research conclusions on mutual intelligibility among African languages and the recommendation to break the boundaries or boxes that separate them (Makalela 2015; Makoni 2003). When the students move out of linguistic boxes, they are able to harness knowledge within and beyond the linguistic codes and reach high levels of abstractness, imagination and epistemic access.

Secondly, the use of UTP offered the students spaces to have their home and school language identities co-index. As seen in the previous studies, co-indexicality is an important identity formation construct whereby different components self-aggregate to offer multilingual speakers a sense of completion. The converse, where there is strict separation of languages, results in identity crises and disoriented selves (Makalela 2014). It is in this respect that the *ubuntu* translanguaging orientation that is biased towards completion (I am because you are= I + We) becomes a relevant pedagogical strategy to accord multilingual speakers affective and social benefits so they become who they need to become and to navigate their world through their multilingual lenses (García 2009).

It was further observed that the student teachers performed translanguaging optimally through the use of up to four language allocations in this class. In the same speech unit, the speakers are able to formulate high-order reasoning. From the speakers' points of view, they are not consciously making shifts between languages; rather they had a large repertoire that contains varying language units. In García's (2011) view, these speakers soft-assemble these interwoven systems of communication and select when they use any one of them. Using this heteroglossic vantage point, I argue that these speakers do not code-switch or mix languages. The data in this study shows complex multilingual encounters

where the speakers navigate seamlessly within their repertoires. It is in the context of this complex *I + We* competence that one is inclined to argue that code-switching is not a relevant construct to explain *ubuntu* languaging spaces of more than three languages in the same meaning unit. In effect, the *ubuntu* translanguaging approach fits in well with the view that these languages overlap and 'leak' into one another (Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

In sum, *ubuntu* translanguaging advances the theory of translanguaging to contexts outside of the bilingual programmes reported elsewhere (e.g., Creese and Blackledge 2010) to what I refer to as interdependent or fluid multilingualism. The UTP becomes an optimal pedagogy of integration that has a social justice component in liberating historically separated languages and affirming the fluid linguistic identities of their speakers. The UTP practices can be summarized as follows:

1. Porous group interactions (group discussions were held in any of the languages self-selected by the groups)
2. Reading in one language and responding in any of the languages available in class
3. Listening in one language and writing notes in any languages (usually more than one)
4. Reading in home language and providing versions in the target language

Conclusion

The aim of the chapter was to report on the efficacy of using *ubuntu* translanguaging techniques to teach an African language to pre-service teachers. The results of the study have showed that the UTP provides multilingual spaces where linguistic identities of the student teachers co-index and where the boundaries between language allocations become fluid, porous and versatile.

The UTP has shown in particular that traditional boundaries between clustered languages in the Sotho family are challenged by the freedom of moving between these languages during class interactions. This has impli-

cations for breaking the boundaries, which have exaggerated the number of languages accorded official status in South Africa. It is thus safe to conclude that the UTP approach advances both a linguistic and cultural transformation agenda in schools (Makalela 2014).

Perhaps the most important finding in the study is the multilingual student teachers' ability to navigate between four languages in the same meaning unit. This not only advances applications of translanguaging in complex multilingual spaces, it also debunks the myth that more than one language creates mental confusion (Baker 2011). On the contrary, the speakers in this study have shown complex thinking processes while soft-assembling language allocations to make meaning and to become who they wanted to become (García and Wei 2014). Taken together, I observe that *ubuntu* translanguaging is a useful model to engage with complex multilingual spaces beyond bilingual contexts with the view that one language is incomplete without the other for epistemic access to be realized and for fluid identities to be affirmed in language teaching. There is a need for more studies, however, to explore the UTP principles closely in content learning areas.

References

- Alexander, N. (1989). *Language policy and national unity in South Africa/Azania: An essay*. Cape Town: Buchu books.
- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (5th ed.). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brock-Utne, B. (2015). Language, literacy and democracy in Africa. In L. Makalela (Ed.), *New directions in language and literacy education for multilingual classrooms in Africa* (pp. 15–33). Cape Town: CASAS.
- Carruthers, J. (2006). Mapungubwe: An historical and contemporary analysis of a World Heritage cultural landscape. *Koedoe*, 49(1), 1–13.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103–115.

- Du Plessis, T. (2006). From monolingual to bilingual higher education: The repositioning of historically Afrikaans-medium universities in South Africa. *Language Policy*, 5, 87–113.
- Fouché, P. (1937). *Mapungubwe, ancient Bantu civilization on the Limpopo: Reports on excavations at Mapungubwe (Northern Transvaal) from February 1933 to June 1935*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, O. (2011). From language garden to sustainable languaging: Bilingual education in a global world. *Nabe Perspectives*, 34(1), 5–9.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging and transnational literacies in multilingual classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 15(3), 261–278.
- Jørgensen, J., Karrebaek, M., Madsen, M., & Møller, J. (2011). Polylinguaging in superdiversity. *Diversities*, 13(2), 1–15.
- Khoza, R. J. (2006). *Let Africa lead: African transformational leadership for 21st century business*. Johannesburg: Vezubuntu.
- Makalela, L. (2005). We speak eleven tongues: Reconstructing multilingualism in South Africa. In B. Brock-Utne & R. Hopson (Eds.), *Languages of instruction for African emancipation: Focus on postcolonial contexts and considerations* (pp. 147–174). Cape Town/Dar-es-salam: CASAS/Mkuki n Nyota.
- Makalela, L. (2009). Unpacking the language of instruction myth: Towards progressive language in education policies in Africa. In K. Prah & B. Brock-Utne (Eds.), *Multilingualism: An African advantage. A paradigm shift in African languages of instruction policies* (pp. 170–194). Cape Town: CASAS.
- Makalela, L. (2013). Translanguaging in kasi-taal: Rethinking old language boundaries for new language planning. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, 42, 111–125.
- Makalela, L. (2014). Teaching indigenous African languages to speakers of other African languages: The effects of translanguaging for multilingual development. In L. Hibbert & C. Van der Walt (Eds.), *Multilingual universities in South Africa: Reflecting society in higher education* (pp. 88–104). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Makalela, L. (2015). Moving out of linguistic boxes: The effects of translanguaging for multilingual classrooms. *Language and Education*, 29(3), 200–217.

- Makoni, S. (2003). From misinvention to disinvention of language: Multilingualism and the South African constitution. In S. Makoni, G. Smithermann, A. F. Ball, & A. K. Spears (Eds.), *Black linguistics: Language, society and politics in Africa and the Americas* (pp. 132–151). London/New York: Routledge.
- Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2000). *Local histories/global designs: Coloniality, subaltern knowledges, and border thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a local practice*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2012). *Language and mobility: Unexpected places*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222–1235.

Part IV

The Added Value of Plurilingual Repertoires

Breaking Out of L2-Exclusive Pedagogies: Teachers Valorizing Immigrant Pupils' Multilingual Repertoire in Urban Dutch-Medium Classrooms

Sven Sierens and Griet Ramaut

Introduction

It is a worldwide empirically documented fact that students having a poor, immigrant background¹ in economically developed nations experience an achievement gap with their native peers, and this is an issue of great educational and social concern. Scholars often advocate multilingual pedagogies favouring the inclusion of immigrant home languages in the school curriculum as an emancipatory educational strategy to enrich academic learning in low-status minority students (García and Flores 2012; Hélot 2012; Sierens and Van Avermaet 2014). However, in monolingual societies, these multilingual approaches generally meet

S. Sierens (✉)

Centre for Diversity & Learning, Linguistics Department, Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium

G. Ramaut

University of Leuven (until 2013), Leuven, Belgium

with great resistance in policy and practice and remain a marginal phenomenon at best in mainstream education (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2017). Bilingual children from families with a migrant background who speak a low-status minority language as first language (L1) are schooled in monolingual education contexts and learn the national school language as a second language (L2), predominantly through *submersion*. In many instances, pupils in linguistically diverse classes are also subject to *restrictive L2-only* sociolinguistic regimes in which L1's are ignored or even forbidden at school (Agirdag 2010; Gándara and Hopkins 2010).

A principal barrier to the inclusion of minority languages in education lies in the ideological framework of the nation-state. In multilingual Western liberal democracies, pedagogical and social practices at school remain rooted in the dogma of one nation, one language (Blackledge 2000). In monolingual education systems, a historically grown 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin 1994) pervades everyday educational praxis and shapes the beliefs and practices of policymakers, educators, school managers, parents and even students (Agirdag 2010). It impels them to see the educational experience of pupils with an immigrant background through a narrow lens of *language*. There is, in fact, a widespread belief that using and maintaining the L1 causes academic failure in immigrant students—an assumption for which there is little empirical evidence (see, e.g., Agirdag et al. 2014). Language—that is, the standard variety of the dominant language—is therefore seen as the prime key to school success (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008). What is more, mainstream teachers' beliefs about language education are usually entrenched in monolingual tenets (Lin 2015), which problematize multilingual learning in various ways. Examples of these are the *maximum input* hypothesis (the more L2 the better), or the *trade-off* argument (L1 learning happens at the cost of L2 learning). Following these tenets, the use of L1's in the home and/or school context is in itself a problem because it supposedly impairs L2 development and school performance (Leseman 2000). Consequently, the L2-only approach to education has a strong common-sense appeal as the most adequate way of minimizing the alleged academic deficit of speaking a different L1.

In addition, monolingual school practices excluding the use of children's L1's are often legitimized by *social integration* arguments. These are in line with monolingual state ideologies which see the national language as the lubricant for social participation and cohesion of the nation-state (Collins 2000). In the sociolinguistic context of a one-language-only school, allowing the use of languages other than the majority language as media of communication is seen as a divisive factor. It supposedly creates a *Babylonian confusion of tongues* threatening the dominant position of the school language, as well as undermining community cohesion in school life (Van den Branden and Verhelst 2007).

In an education context where the development of local school policies and regimes is shaped by a hegemonic policy discourse of monolingualism on the national government level, it is quite a challenge to transform mainstream teachers' monolingual classroom practices and beliefs. The question remains whether the existing sociolinguistic regimes in schools are actually amenable to local change-inducing interventions. In this chapter, we will explore the outcomes of an evaluation study into an urban multilingual education initiative which, among other things, promoted the valorization of immigrant children's L1's as a strategy to facilitate learning in L2-medium classrooms.

National Setting

The present study was conducted in the city of Ghent in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. Flanders is an unmistakable example of a region where a monolingual ideology underlies the subnational education system and shapes the government's language-in-education policies (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2017). Nowadays, this ideology gives rise to often convulsive reactions to the use of immigrant languages in Flemish public institutions, and this includes education (De Caluwe 2012). The legal system stipulates that the Dutch language is the sole medium of instruction in Flemish schools. Flemish language-in-education policies inherently have an ambiguous attitude towards multilingual education. Multilingualism is heralded as a European Union ideal, yet the practical implementation of multilingual education, including bilingual

programmes offering prestige languages (French, English, etc.), is restricted due to deep-rooted fears that it might endanger the position of Dutch as school language and the linguistic integrity of society as a whole (Bollen and Baten 2010). Since the turn of the century, a return to cultural assimilation in Flemish politics has marked a renewed emphasis on teaching and learning Dutch through stringent submersion programmes as a response to the growing level of immigration and persistent social-ethnic and linguistic inequalities in education (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008). The negative shift in the public appreciation of including immigrant minority languages in the educational system has resulted in dwindling official support of multilingual initiatives on the ground (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2017). At present, a hard-line stance towards multilingualism seems to persist and is perhaps even gaining ground in Flemish schools. For example, a recent survey carried out among 674 teachers from 48 Flemish urban secondary schools revealed that roughly 4 in 5 teachers stated that in their classrooms, they do not allow non-native speakers of Dutch to use a foreign language with each other (Pulinx et al. 2014).

Local Setting

Let us now turn our attention to the local setting of Ghent, a medium-size city with 250,000 inhabitants. Over the past 50 years, the city of Ghent, with its industrial and economical centre, has gradually evolved into an immigration city through consecutive waves of immigrants and refugees. So, urban life can be said to be characterized today by emerging 'linguistic superdiversity' (see Blommaert and Rampton 2011). As part of the post-war labour migration to Western Europe, immigration and settlement took off over the course of the 1960s and 1970s with Mediterranean migrants, who were relatively homogeneous in terms of area of origin (Turkey, North Africa), socioeconomic level (low) and sociocultural background (rural, Muslim). From 1991 onwards, much more diverse and fluid waves of new migrants, mainly but not exclusively from Central and Eastern Europe, have accelerated the ethnolinguistic diversification of the city's population. Presently, about one in five people in Ghent has an immigrant background. The changing demographics are

mirrored in the local school population; during the school-year 2010–2011, 37 per cent of the children at elementary school level spoke at least one language other than Dutch at home. The Turkish community (20,159 people in 2011) has over the years been the largest language minority group in the city (Verhaeghe et al. 2012). As elsewhere in Flanders, the integration into mainstream society of immigrants from poor, lower educated backgrounds has proven to be a predicament, and socioeconomic inequalities in the key sectors of education, housing and the labour market are still far from resolved in post-migration generations (Vanduynslager et al. 2013).

A politically favourable climate at the municipal government level at Ghent, following the municipal elections in October 2006, opened the door to a new policy striving for school practices that would acknowledge children's home languages (Stad Gent 2006: 15). This local policy initiative challenged the monolingual education policy view which dominated at the subnational (Flemish). It was substantiated, among other things, by pointing to the unsatisfactory results in terms of school achievement of the prevailing Dutch-only approach in Flemish schools (Heyerick 2008). The policy, which was agreed upon by the political parties constituting the then new city council, manifests a positive yet somewhat careful take on dealing with the growing linguistic diversity in urban schools.

Aims and Setup of the 'Home Language in Education' Project

The positive turn on the local policy level in the city of Ghent led to the establishment of a five-year educational trial project (2008–2013) called 'Home Language in Education' (HLiE, *Thuis taal in onderwijs*). The HLiE project had two main objectives. The first objective (A) was to foster immigrant children's positive attitudes, well-being and cognitive learning through the raising of language awareness (LA) and the didactic use of their home languages. The second objective (B) was centred explicitly on Turkish children's academic literacy development in their native language prior to learning to read and write in Dutch (a form of transitional bilingual education, which is not discussed in the present chapter).

The HLiE project aimed to develop more positive school climates about multilingualism, thereby welcoming the students' L1's. It also aspired to help teachers become more linguistically sensitive and responsive and find ways to create more linguistically inclusive learning environments where L1's can become valid and valuable resources for academic learning. Benefits of Objective A were expected in various domains: affective (positive language attitudes, sense of school belonging, well-being), social (social integration and harmony; positive classroom and school climate) and cognitive-linguistic (L2 acquisition, content learning) (Ramaut et al. 2013).

The HLiE project was introduced in four elementary schools participating on a voluntary basis. The intervention schools offered preschool and primary education serving children between 2.5 and 12 years of age (elementary schools in Flanders have three preschool levels and six primary grades) and with a majority (+80 per cent) of children from immigrant working-class families. The composition of the school populations showed relatively high linguistic diversity, with Turkish-speaking children constituting the largest group (about half of the immigrant pupils). A qualitative prestudy from spring 2008, prior to the start of the project, revealed that two of the four schools had, until then, maintained restrictive language policies: bilingual children were continually asked to speak only Dutch at school, and primary-level children were often reprimanded or punished for speaking their L1. Preschool teachers, however, were more lenient about multiple language use in the classroom, and there was a tacit school policy to tolerate this practice. The two remaining schools promoted more tolerant school policies regarding language use; yet the teaching practice observed revealed classroom language regimes to differ between teachers, ranging from restrictive (only Dutch) to more flexible attitudes towards L1 use (Bultynck and Sierens 2008).

A small team of three school advisers from the local authority's education department was appointed to carry out project interventions—both school-based and across the schools. These included pedagogical seminars, lectures and workshops, in-service training and coaching of teachers, working groups (sharing ideas, developing strategies, collecting and developing materials), exchange school and classroom visits, participation in school staff meetings, coaching school managers and so on. They

were supported by a group of regular pedagogical advisers from the two educational networks concerned (the public (municipal) and private (Catholic) networks). The school advisers employed a *dynamic interactive approach* to teacher and school change (McDonald 2009). They did not transmit predefined ideas and practices as *experts* but emphasized the importance of teachers working within supportive, collaborative school environments. The advisers aimed, therefore, to establish a partnership with the teachers and school administrators, based on constructivist ideals of co-constructed knowledge, experiential learning and sustained collaboration (Mallinson et al. 2011).

Theoretical Background

The theoretical framework underlying the HLiE project's Objective A essentially brings together three research perspectives and pedagogical approaches: language awareness, pedagogical translanguaging and the powerful learning environment.

First, *language awareness* (LA) is an inclusive, cross-curricular approach to language education that has its roots in a movement that took shape in the UK in the early 1980s (Hawkins 1984). LA stands for making students (and teachers) sensitive to the existence of a multiplicity of languages, and the underlying cultures and frames of reference, in the world, as in the school environment. Through LA, students develop an attitude of openness to linguistic diversity. Furthermore, they acquire knowledge and perceptions about language(s) and gradually develop metalinguistic skills that can help them further develop their learning of foreign languages and the mother tongue (Frijns et al. 2011). Bilingual immigrant students may especially benefit from this approach as acknowledgement of their low-status languages can have positive effects, especially in the affective and social domains.

In linguistically diverse classroom settings, it is only a small step from an LA approach to multilingual pedagogies valorizing immigrant students' multilingual repertoires as a meaningful resource for learning (Hélot 2012). This brings us to the second perspective of *pedagogical translanguaging*. *Translanguaging* is the dynamic process whereby

multilingual language users mediate complex social and cognitive activities through strategic employment of multiple semiotic resources to act, to know and to be. It is an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems, as has traditionally been the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages (García and Wei 2014). Central to this concept is a sociolinguistic perspective on ‘language’, which is in line with a new general orientation postulating that people do not ‘use’ languages, they use *resources* for communication and learning, driven by concerns of effect and deployed in practices of *linguaging* (‘doing’ language) (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Pedagogical translanguaging comprises heteroglossic multilingual approaches which allow multilingual students to build on their dynamic and complex language practices and to draw on all their linguistic resources to maximize understanding and achievement in learning (García and Flores 2012; Lewis et al. 2012). Sierens and Van Avermaet (2014) have called this approach *functional multilingual learning* when applied to L2-medium classrooms. In such settings where the L2 is the dominant language of instruction used by the regular teacher, bilingual learners have the right to switch between languages and draw upon their L1 in task execution or pair/group work, for example, to solve comprehension problems, to negotiate meaning or to look up information. This means that the L1 is used functionally and integrated as a *scaffold* for academic learning in L2 (Van den Branden and Verhelst 2007).

A third theoretical perspective is that of the *powerful learning environment*. The term denotes instructional models which have been developed in reaction to the traditional knowledge-transmission, teacher-dominated instructional models. These innovative instructional models evoke learners’ active construction of knowledge and skills in sociocultural contexts of learning and are in line with Vygotskian social-constructivist views of learning (Vygotsky 1978). One example of a social-constructivist educational framework is *task-based language teaching* or TBLT (e.g., Van den Branden 2006). Language learning in TBLT is regarded as an ‘active’ process that can only be successful if the learner invests intensive mental energy in task performance and as an ‘interactive’ process that can be

enhanced by interaction with other learners and/or with the teacher (Van den Branden 2006: 10). Applied to multilingual learning environments, such a framework considers the child's home language and culture as pre-existing knowledge and skills which can be used as a foundation on which to build new understanding and experiences (Cummins 2008). It is essential to note that translanguaging pedagogies are necessarily embedded in powerful learning environments. Multilingual pedagogical spaces in which bilingual learners are given room to use their diverse language repertoires in flexible and functional ways can only be constructed in a learning environment which creates ample opportunities for social interaction. In addition, the social-constructivist strategy of *scaffolding* forms the core of translanguaging pedagogies by building on the languaging of plurilingual students in interaction with each other and with the teacher (García and Flores 2012).

Methodology

We conducted a longitudinal, multi-method external evaluation study (2008–2012) to assess the HLiE project, considering cognitive and non-cognitive effects on the pupils, its impact on teachers' behaviour and attitudes and effectuated changes in school policies (Ramaut et al. 2013). The research aim of the present study is to examine to what extent and in which ways the teachers from the four participating schools actually translated the HLiE project input into observable classroom behaviour. This chapter explores how during the study teachers (re)constructed, negotiated and resisted L1-inclusive practices and policies in the classroom.

We will focus in the following on the findings of the qualitative study. To collect the qualitative data, we conducted classroom observations and digital camcorder recordings with a selection of teachers of second and third preschool levels and first through fourth primary grades. The first observations were conducted during the period November 2009–February 2010, after one year of project implementation, and involved 31 teachers (including 2 teachers in one matched comparison school). Two years later, during the second and final assessment period (October–

December 2011), the number of teachers had dropped to 20; this attrition was due to teacher turnover, long absences (illness or parental leave) or position switches within the school staff (staff moving from teaching to support roles). Teachers were observed in class during one morning block (four lesson hours), resulting in about 200 hours of observation in total. In addition, individual semi-structured interviews (taking an average of one hour) were held with all teachers observed immediately following the classroom observation.

To direct the classroom observations, we used an extended version of the assessment tool for the evaluation of teacher practice in powerful TBLT environments (Devlieger and Goossens 2007). The tool is based on a three-circle diagram (see Fig. 1). In this diagram, the outer circle represents the aim of creating a safe and positive class environment. The middle circle represents using meaningful and relevant language tasks (regardless of the languages used). These tasks contain a bridgeable gap between students' current language levels and the task demands. The third, innermost circle represents interactional support: during the task performances the teacher is available for interactional support but also

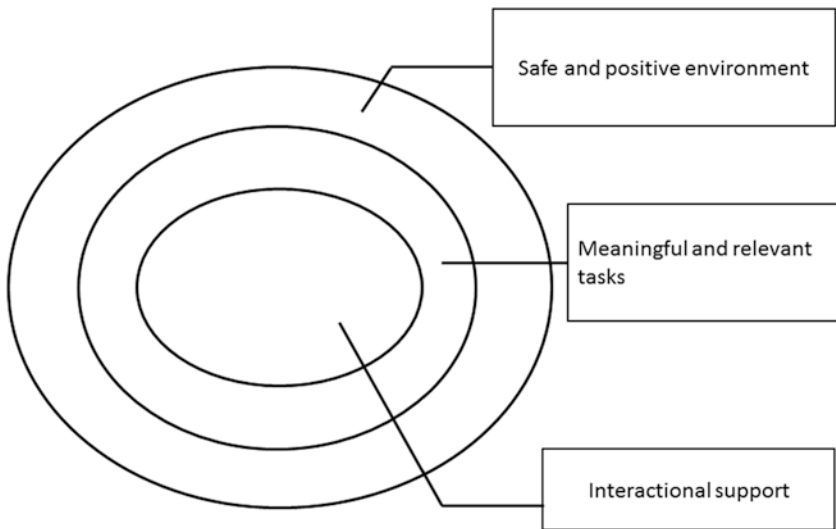


Fig. 1 The three circles of powerful language learning environments

enables learners to support one another. This tool was extended by the researchers to include the use of learners' L1's and was piloted during the prestudy stage (Bultynck and Sierens 2008). A listing of 44 possible 'multilingual actions' based on the three-circle diagram was added to the original instrument. The instrument form was filled out by the observing researcher during and after the observation session, using the original evaluative coding system (++/+/-/?). While observing, we also took ethnographic-style notes. These were mainly used to describe striking practices and incidents. Due to time constraints, the camcorder recordings were only provisionally analysed to check the coding and complement the field notes.

Results

In the following, we will present a synthesis of the qualitative research results following the structure of the TBLT-based three-circle diagram (Fig. 1). For each circle, starting with the outer circle, we will first summarize the normative situation and then list and detail the various strategies observed in practice. This will also include comparisons with the results of the baseline study. The above-mentioned listing of 44 items was reduced to 10 items for the analyses in the present study (see Ramaut et al. 2013). To detect possible trends in multilingual activities and L1 use across the two observation periods, we counted the number of experimental teachers who either did or did not apply a specific practice in their classrooms. For this, we used a simplified coding scheme (i.e., a yes/no decision for each of the 10 items; see Table 1).

Outer Circle: Safe and Positive Environment

Normative Situation

At the level of the outer circle (Fig. 1), teachers allow or stimulate the use of L1's to create a safe learning environment and bridge the gap between home and school. Teachers care for the socioemotional well-being of the

Table 1 Powerful task-based language learning environment: Observed/reported multilingual teacher practices (qualitative)

Circle	Practice	Preschool		Primary	
		Obs1 <i>n</i> = 9	Obs2 <i>n</i> = 6	Obs1 <i>n</i> = 20	Obs2 <i>n</i> = 13
Outer:	1) language rules	3	1	10	7
Safe and positive environment	2) decoration	6	3	9	7
	3) informal use	9	6	20	13
	4) interest	9	6	18	12
Middle:	5) input/output	6	1	2	2
Meaningful tasks	6) LA activities	5	1	9	4
	7) parents	4	4	4	4
Inner:	8) support peers	9	5	19	13
Interactional support	9) support regular teacher	6	4	10	8
	10) support bilingual co-teacher	5	5	8	3

Note: *Obs1* observation time 1 (11/2009–02/2009), *Obs2* observation time 2 (10–12/2011), *LA* language awareness.

The simplified coding scheme used here is:

Yes = Behaviour or actions are observable and occur at least once during the observation;

(Yes) = Behaviour or actions are not observable during the observation but are reported by the teacher in the interview as occurring in non-observed classroom practice (these were counted in as Yes);

No = Behaviour or actions are not observable during the observation

children, foster their sense of belonging in the classroom, show interest in their world and acknowledge their plural linguistic and cultural identities. Such an L1-inclusive learning environment also strengthens the motivation of the children, increasing their engagement during activities and lowering the level of language anxiety.

(1) *Rules concerning language choice and use*

On average, preschool teachers showed no great need for explicit rules for language use and choice. Accordingly, little change was observed over the two observation times. Most of these teachers maintained that rules concerning language use in the classroom emerged spontaneously, and that children rather quickly learned when the use of L1 was appropriate and when it was not. However, the teachers sometimes had to draw the

children's attention to the impropriety of their behaviour. For example, when they continued to speak their L1 in a linguistically mixed group and, unintentionally, excluded children who did not comprehend their language, or when children were disturbing a circle discussion group ('news' or sharing time) by speaking in the L1 or when they patently used terms of abuse or obscenities in L1 (which was, of course, forbidden in Dutch, too). Primary school teachers seemed to find explicit rules or codes of conduct for language use more necessary. About half of the teachers observed were using such rules audibly (or reporting them in the interviews). This need had already been observed in the baseline study. The use of L1's was allowed in free moments or as support among peers (see below), but in whole-class teaching and while working in language-mixed groups, the teachers expected the pupils to speak Dutch as lingua franca (so that at least everyone could understand). Likewise, explicit rules were deemed more imperative in classroom settings where one minority language group (mostly Turkish or Bulgarian) was dominant and could negatively affect informal classroom interaction (for instance, strong interethnic friendships leading to clique formation excluding other children).

(2) *Visibility of linguistic diversity in classroom decoration and resources*

Teachers in general did not exhibit much effort to make linguistic diversity more visible and audible in classroom decoration and in resources (posters, books, audio-visual materials, etc.), although variation was certainly discernible between individual teachers. Little change was observed over the two observation times and in relation to the baseline. To be sure, on the school level, actions were undertaken indeed to reflect the existing linguistic diversity of the school population in the school's decoration (e.g., pictures on walls in the hallways, school family photo wall, bulletin board). Compared to the baseline, the project schools made greater efforts on this particular issue.

(3) *Allowing the use of L1's in informal situations*

All teachers observed, without exception, allowed the use of children's L1's—mainly with a view to heighten the children's well-being and sense

of school belonging. The use of L1's outside the classroom (playground, corridor, refectory) was no longer a highly contested issue compared to the baseline situation described in the prestudy, particularly in the two schools that had maintained restrictive language policies in the past (Bultynck and Sierens 2008). Inside the classroom, all teachers allowed the use of L1's during informal moments (breaks, transition times), during free play and non-guided activities in group/pair work. Preschool teachers experienced the new sociolinguistic regime promoted by the HLiE project as a relief; it ratified a practice (tolerance of L1 use), which many preschool teachers were already condoning in their classrooms and which was more or less tolerated by the school management before this project. Primary school teachers had to make more effort to become accustomed to the L1-inclusive regime, especially teachers who displayed a high control style of classroom management, which leaves little room for informal interaction in any case.

(4) *Showing active interest in L1's (unstructured LA)*

All preschool teachers, and nearly all primary school teachers, manifested interest in the children's L1's. The observations revealed a positive change in relation to the baseline, especially in the primary school classes. In the preschool classes, teachers typically incorporated the L1's in the daily routine of the circle discussion group ('news' time), which usually were held at the beginning or the end of a morning/afternoon session. This could include counting, singing birthday songs, speaking words of welcome or enumerating the days of the week, all in the various L1's present in the classroom. The challenge for most teachers was to introduce such 'home language moments' in a spontaneous, unforced manner, also without needing to push children who show embarrassment or reticence about their L1 in whole-group interaction. Some preschool teachers seized moments of informal conversation between children in L1 to express curiosity about the topic being talked about. Primary school teachers were less keen on eliciting L1 use in a systematic way, but they responded positively to pupil's spontaneous utterances in the L1. This occurred, particularly, during language lessons or LA activities when the teacher introduced a new word in Dutch, explained the meaning of unfa-

miliar words or reflected on certain aspects of language. Occasionally, pupils explained what something was in their L1 or made links between the L1 and the L2. This invariably aroused great involvement, enthusiasm and curiosity among the pupils. However, primary school teachers usually did not exploit such occasions to go deeper into differences and similarities between languages, often because they had no sufficient knowledge about the different L1's to enable adequate contrastive analysis.

Middle Circle: Meaningful and Relevant Tasks

Normative Situation

At the level of the middle circle, teachers provide motivating tasks adapted to the children's interests. These activities necessitate the use of language in order to attain certain objectives and provide sufficient opportunities to use the children's linguistic repertoires, including their L1's. By making functional use of language, children are 'exploring' the world. Opportunities for learning increase as the task addresses 'the zone of proximal development'. Some task performance conditions, such as allowing children to collaborate with peers while performing tasks, can add to the motivational power of tasks.

(5) *Stimulating input/output of L1's in task performance*

In general, the teachers observed rarely stimulated the execution of tasks in the L1 by integrating L1's in the input and output of tasks. To be sure, preschool teachers were experimenting with this strategy at the time of the first observation. For example, offering word cards in different languages so that children can choose in which language they want to stamp words; inviting a parent to tell a story in the L1; letting children make a New Year's letter in their L1. However, they seemed to have largely abandoned this about two years later, and in fact, the study showed that no improvement was achieved in relation to the baseline. From the start, primary school teachers hardly even tried. Teachers considered that it was

difficult to realize input/output in L1 by introducing materials designed in other languages or by allowing children to perform an activity (or part of it) in the L1, because they did not know the pupils' L1's, or due to lack of adequate didactic materials in various languages. Some teachers, therefore, asked the pupils to bring books, films or songs in their L1's from home. Curiously, if materials in other languages were then present in the classroom, most teachers did not explicitly stimulate children to use them during activities where they could have been useful or relevant. Moreover, the lack of powerful tasks in which pupils enter into negotiation with each other also resulted in little output in L1. This could be explained by the fact that instruction in primary school classes remained mainly curriculum-focused and teacher-centred.

(6) *Structured language awareness (LA) activities*

In the first observation period, about half of the teachers, both preschool and primary, occasionally tried out structured LA activities and tasks in which they purposefully worked with the children to raise their awareness of multilingualism, stimulating openness towards and interest in other languages, improving knowledge about different languages and so on. This positive trend in relation to the baseline had apparently slackened at the time of the final observation. One of the reasons for this was that the teachers did not really appreciate the ready-made materials which were made available or introduced by the project advisory team. There was a lack of appreciation for the materials as such (the contents) while a few teachers were not willing to use the materials at all. They argued that they—as well as the pupils—preferred spontaneous, integrated LA moments (see above) over the isolated approach of the said LA materials.

(7) *Involving parents*

The teachers only sporadically engaged parents to bring their L1's into the class, for instance, to tell stories, assist teachers in classroom activities, participate in composing a multilingual dictionary and so on. Here, we observed no increase compared to the baseline. Preschool teachers were

more active here than primary school teachers, and this remained so in the course of the project implementation. In any case, they pursued a more open-door classroom policy (walk-in and reception times), had more frequent day-to-day contact with parents (who usually bring their child to school and accompany him or her into the classroom in the morning or after the lunch break) and were already used to inviting parents to read aloud or tell stories in the class.

Inner Circle: Interactional Support

Normative Situation

At the level of the inner circle, teachers provide the support necessary for children to fulfil the task and develop their language proficiency. While performing tasks, teachers stimulate and facilitate children to help each other in their L1. Children can engage in meaningful interaction with others when teachers organize language homogeneous pairs or groups during cooperative activities or when teachers build on the expertise of the children during whole-class activities. If support is provided by a bilingual co-teacher, the teacher can rely on her/his help to mediate between the activity and the child in the L1 (extra instructions or feedback, negotiating meaning, paraphrasing a difficult explanation, asking further questions).

(8) *L1's used as a support by peers/classmates*

Allowing peers to provide help and support in the L1 to a classmate who needs it was a generally accepted and firmly established practice among all teachers—especially as far as newly arrived or underachieving pupils were concerned. This was not a completely unfamiliar strategy, since many teachers already allowed this type of help for newcomers by, for example, giving them a ‘buddy’ of the same language background who could assist in successfully navigating the adjustment period (making the new child familiar with classroom and school routines, translating teacher instructions, etc.). However, our observations showed

an increase here in comparison to the baseline. The project encouraged the teachers to extend the practice of peer assistance and tutoring in the L1 into a more common classroom practice. Examples of this are composing homogeneous pairs or groups of children sharing the same L1 or asking a pupil to sit as 'tutor' beside a classmate for a certain period of time to help him/her with performing a task, clarifying teachers' instructions and so on. As the project progressed, the pupils felt more and more safe helping each other in an L1 of their own accord, without the teacher necessarily having to incite or instruct them.

(9) *L1's used as a support by the regular teacher*

Now and then we observed moments in which primary school teachers strategically used the L1 to support and enrich pupils' learning in whole-class and individual tasks. For example, encouraging a child to think aloud in the L1 to improve understanding of an issue (e.g., using L1 function words in math exercises) or deliberately giving a moment's thought to differences between the L1 and the L2 to improve the pupil's metalinguistic awareness (contrastive analysis). The use of dictionaries or the internet to look up the translation or the meaning of a word in the L1 occurred only sporadically during the observation sessions (it was said to happen more in the higher primary grades, which were not directly observed). Compared to the baseline, more teachers were using this strategy, but on a modest level.

The most common kind of support was systematic teacher interventions aimed at stimulating peer support (see above). For the most part, such peer support in task completion proceeded without further action from the teacher. Teacher interventions to monitor the children's learning process while exploiting their capacity to translanguage were rarely observed (e.g., to ask extra and probing questions, to articulate in L1 developed ideas also in Dutch, to check understanding).

(10) *L1's used as a support strategy by bilingual co-teachers*

The teachers observed welcomed co-teachers who spoke the children's native languages to assist them in class and, if necessary, to provide bilin-

gual support to the pupils. Progress was clearly visible here in relation to the baseline. This was made possible above all by the presence of the Turkish bilingual teachers who were engaged for the Turkish (pre-)literacy programme at the third preschool level and first primary grade in the two project schools that pursued Objective B. In these third-grade preschool classes, this practice evolved during the project into a form of team teaching becoming regular practice, whereby Turkish teachers cooperated in various classroom activities by virtue of growing experience and mutual trust. When the Turkish co-teacher was present in the classroom, opportunities arose for *deep learning* in which children were readily able to transfer knowledge and skills from L1 to L2.

Summary and Discussion

Drawing on the findings of a multi-year evaluation study of the local multilingual pedagogical project *Home Language in Education*, which was implemented in four linguistically diverse urban elementary schools in Ghent (Flanders), we investigated ways in which the intervention reconstructed regular teachers' classroom practice. A small team of school advisers from the local authority's education department was installed to carry out project activities—both school-based and across the schools (pedagogical seminars, lectures and workshops, in-service training and coaching of teachers, working groups, school exchange visits, etc.). By promoting the valorization of immigrant children's multilingual linguistic repertoire as a strategy to facilitate academic learning in L2-medium classrooms, the intervention aimed to help Dutch-speaking teachers find ways to move away from an L2-exclusive pedagogy and to develop more linguistically inclusive and powerful learning environments—in the face of a subnational education context where a monolingual ideology prevails in public discourse and policy.

The results of the qualitative investigation indicated an overall shift towards L1 inclusion in the teachers' classroom practice of the intervention schools. The preschool and primary school teachers in the study in general demonstrated a more flexible and relaxed attitude towards the role of L1's in classrooms, where the L2 remained the dominant medium

of instruction. Yet the shift was rather hesitant. The amount and frequency of multilingual and L1-inclusive practices tended to be modest. Furthermore, some variation could be noticed in the adoption and incorporation of individual multilingual practices as distinguished in the assessment framework—which is grounded in a TBLT-based conception of a multilingual powerful learning environment. The teachers indeed opened up the learning environment to the children's L1's as a way to contribute to a safe and positive classroom climate. They were also willing to experiment with interactional (peer) support strategies in L1 in order to facilitate academic learning. However, the provision of meaningful and relevant tasks in a variety of children's L1's proved to be a tough challenge for teachers, who usually were not proficient in these languages. This suggests that the development of bilingual input and output in task execution would benefit from appropriate multilingual learning resources and the presence of bilingual teachers using translanguaging as contextual and linguistic scaffolds.

The findings of this study also revealed a distinction in the way preschool and primary school teachers perceived and negotiated the project intervention. The tolerant attitude towards L1 use which was observed among most preschool teachers during the prestudy stage became generalized across the entire preschool staff. The project mainly confirmed preschool teachers in their positive view of L1 use as a way to foster well-being, sense of school belonging and self-confidence in low-status immigrant children. However, the step to using L1 as a scaffold for cognitive and linguistic learning was seldom taken. Only a few teachers went further by stimulating children to use their L1's in collaborative tasks, by intervening actively to monitor learning progress, allowing children to switch languages, or, if possible, by developing team teaching with a bilingual co-teacher. Therefore, for preschool teachers, the intervention more meant unfolding what was already implicitly done prior to the project, rather than taking a complete turn in pedagogical approach. In contrast, the shift in the classroom practice of primary school teachers throughout the project was more significant, given the fact that their baseline pedagogies were, on average, much more rooted in an all-Dutch sociolinguistic regime. The children's L1's were repositioned in the primary classroom environment: they were introduced into the classroom, yet remained

largely in the margins. Primary school teachers did construct pedagogical ‘spaces’ for multilingual interaction and learning, but, at the same time, limited them in scope and time, still attempting to keep them under control. About half of the primary school teachers observed considered explicit rules for language use crucial for classroom management and for ‘keeping a sound balance’ between L1 and L2 use to ensure effective L2 learning.

A clear drawback revealed by the evaluation study was that the functional multilingual approach of the HLiE project developed in such a way that it tended to be narrowed to a ‘weaker’ model of transitional bilingual education—which ultimately aims to transition bilingual learners from multilingual to monolingual classroom contexts. Tellingly, most teachers interpreted and reconstructed the L1 scaffold model as a support strategy which principally serves beginning or struggling L2 learners. Teachers seemed to suggest that, wherever possible, the use of the L2 should be maximized, especially for advanced and older L2 learners. The teachers insufficiently perceived the model as a practice that *all* bilingual learners, irrespective of age and level of language proficiencies, can employ to mediate complex social and cognitive activities by drawing on their entire linguistic repertoire. In this respect, the L1 remains not much more than a stepping stone to the L2, a didactic technique which can be discarded once the teacher judges that the L2 is firmly established and L1 is no longer needed as a piece of scaffolding for a child’s learning. A likely explanation for this narrowing in approach is that the framework used for the project intervention had still articulated L1 and L2 too much as separate languages, as ‘two solitudes’ so to speak (Cummins 2008).

In addition, the monolingual mindset prevailing in education and the broader society still filtered through in teachers’ educational praxis. Other data from the evaluation research (not reported here) showed that, on average, teachers’ beliefs about multilingualism evolved in a positive direction under the impact of the HLiE project (Ramaut et al. 2013). However, the initial scepticism about the linguistic and cognitive learner effects was lasting in many primary school teachers’ discourse, and some of them persevered in traditional deficit thinking about the L1 and immigrant bilingualism (lack of verbal stimulation and literacy in the home, impoverished L1, etc.; cf. Ramaut et al. 2013).

Nonetheless, this is not the full story. Factors other than language ideology are at least equally important in structuring teacher behaviour and discourse in the classroom. The pressure of ‘the curriculum’ on primary school teachers—with its heavy focus on attainment targets, teaching plans, standardized testing procedures, textbooks, paperwork, inspection and so on—shapes a learning environment where ‘feeling in control’ is a central, preoccupying concern, and a cause of tension for the teacher. In addition to this, the teaching styles of more than a few of the primary school teachers in the study were anchored in a teacher-centred and knowledge-transmission paradigm. Many teachers were, more often than not, still in the stage of adopting TBLT strategies in their language teaching practice. Allowing the use of—incomprehensible—L1’s in the classroom meant that the teacher had to look for adequate and reliable ways of supervising, mediating and monitoring pupils’ interaction and learning. Trying to cope with pupils’ more dynamic and complex language practices generated insecurity which, in turn, strengthened teachers’ feelings of loss of control and distrust, also raising recurring questions: What are the children talking about? Are they really on task? How is their level of ability in the L1? How can I assess this?

As a consequence, the HLiE project offered a double challenge to the teachers in the experimental schools: on the one hand, giving room to the children’s entire linguistic repertoire in the learning environment and, on the other, making the (language) learning environment more powerful at the same time. Therefore, resistance to project interventions or difficulties in implementing L1-inclusive strategies in classroom practice may have been caused by a teacher’s scepticism about the effectiveness of the project approach, or by the fundamental challenge it posed to a teacher’s teaching style and everyday classroom routines, or by a mix of both. With respect to preschool teachers, a number of factors certainly made them more susceptible to L1-responsive learning strategies. For one thing, preschool teachers experienced less pressure from the curriculum than their colleagues in primary school. In addition, their pedagogical ideologies and practices were more in line with child-centred, social-constructivist approaches. Furthermore, preschool teachers were much more preoccupied with the socioemotional, childcare-related goals of education. They were, therefore, more inclined to question the merit

of L2-only classroom regimes, because suppressing the use of L1's meant 'silencing' the children by taking away their primary or even unique voice to express emotions and ideas. They were also quite aware of the fact that most preschool children in their classes were emergent bilinguals, that is, initial L2 learners for whom the pressure to use L2 all day long may generate language anxiety, insecurity and cognitive overload and for whom the L1 could, therefore, function as a helpful 'security blanket'.

Having come to the end of this section, we must note that the data analysis reported in the foregoing has a number of limitations. One noteworthy limitation is that we described an overall pattern across the intervention schools, without differentiating between them. Hence, school-related process factors (goals, expectations, leadership, school climate, policy-making capacity, staff stability, etc.) which mediated the impact of the project input and affected the relationship between the school staff and the project-related school advisers were not considered here. The participating schools had different histories entailing different scenarios, in which contingent factors indeed played a role. Therefore, variation between the intervention schools needs to be considered more in depth in future data analyses in order to highlight differences in level and dynamics of implementation in the different schools.

Conclusion

The urban Home Language in Education trial project in Ghent, Flanders, provided elementary school teachers with opportunities and tools to break out of the Dutch-only approach to scholastic teaching and learning, which is common practice in the broader monolingual education system, by exploring innovative L1-inclusive pedagogical strategies in linguistically mixed classes. In the current chapter, we looked at project-induced changes in teacher classroom practice, drawing upon the qualitative data which were gathered in the framework of a multi-year evaluation study. In sum, the general picture that came out of the research data is one of small, hesitant steps being taken, make-shift compromises rather than a profound transformation of a monolingual into a multilingual learning environment. Preschool teachers tended to address primar-

ily the socioemotional goals and benefits of multilingual classroom practices. Primary-level teachers showed comparably more interest in the use of L1 as a resource for cognitive learning, but they usually limited, in scope and time, the ‘multilingual space’ emerging from the interactional support strategies they had been trying out. Finally, the implementation of pedagogical translanguaging in L2-dominant classrooms posed a double challenge to the teachers: it not only faced the ongoing influence of a prevalent monolingual language ideology but also a pedagogical ideology which sees constant teacher control as a prerequisite for effective classroom and learning management.

Notes

1. Immigrant students or students from an immigrant background refer here to different types: foreign-born immigrants who have recently immigrated (with their families) or students who were born in the country of immigration and whose (grand)parents have immigrated. Most of them speak another language at home. However, some students in the second group may have shifted to the majority language.

References

- Agirdag, O. (2010). Exploring bilingualism in a monolingual school system: Insights from Turkish and native students from Belgian schools. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(3), 307–321.
- Agirdag, O., Jordens, K., & Van Houtte, M. (2014). Speaking Turkish in Belgian primary schools: Teacher beliefs versus effective consequences. *Bilig – Journal of Social Sciences of the Turkish World*, 70(3), 7–28.
- Blackledge, A. (2000). Monolingual ideologies in multilingual states: Language, hegemony and social justice in western liberal democracies. *Estudios de Sociolingüística*, 1(2), 25–45.
- Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B. (2011). Language and superdiversity. *Diversities*, 13(2), 3–21.
- Blommaert, J., & Van Avermaet, P. (2008). *Taal, onderwijs en de samenleving: De kloof tussen beleid en realiteit* [Language, education and the society: The gap between policy and reality]. Berchem: EPO.

- Bollen, K., & Baten, C. (2010). Bilingual education in Flanders: Policy and press debate (1999–2006). *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(3), 412–433.
- Bultynck, K., & Sierens, S. (2008). *Vooronderzoek m.b.t. de plaats van de thuishalen van de allochtone kinderen binnen onderwijs en opvang in vier scholen van het project 'Thuis taal in onderwijs': Eindrapport* [Prestudy concerning the home languages of non-native children in education and childcare in four schools of the 'Home Language in Education' project: Final report]. Ghent/Leuven: Ghent University/University of Leuven.
- Collins, J. (2000). Bernstein, Bourdieu and the new literacy studies. *Linguistics and Education*, 11(1), 65–78.
- Cummins, J. (2008). Teaching for transfer: Challenging the two solitudes assumption in bilingual education. In J. Cummins & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education, vol. 5: Bilingual education* (2nd ed., pp. 65–75). New York: Springer.
- De Caluwe, J. (2012). Dutch in Belgium: Facing multilingualism in a context of regional monolingualism and standard language ideology. In M. Hüning, U. Vogl, & O. Moliner (Eds.), *Standard languages and multilingualism in European history*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Devlieger, M., & Goossens, G. (2007). An assessment tool for the evaluation of teacher practice in powerful task-based language learning environments. In K. Van den Branden, K. Van Gorp, & M. Verhelst (Eds.), *Tasks in action: Task-based language education from a classroom-based perspective* (pp. 92–130). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Frijns, C., Sierens, S., Van Gorp, K., Van Avermaet, P., Sercu, L., & Devlieger, M. (2011). *'t Is goe, juf, die spreek mijn taal! Wetenschappelijk rapport over talensensibilisering in de Vlaamse onderwijscontext* [It's alright, Miss, (s)he speaks my language! Scientific report on language awareness in the Flemish education context]. Leuven/Ghent: University of Leuven/Ghent University.
- Gándara, P. C., & Hopkins, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Forbidden language: English learners and restrictive language policies*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- García, O., & Flores, N. (2012). Multilingual pedagogies. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, & A. Creese (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism* (pp. 232–246). London: Routledge.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gogolin, I. (1994). *Der monolinguale Habitus der multilingualen Schule* [The monolingual habitus of the multilingual school]. Münster: Waxmann.
- Hawkins, E. (1984). *Awareness of language: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hélot, C. (2012). Linguistic diversity and education. In M. Martin-Jones, A. Blackledge, & A. Creese (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism* (pp. 214–231). London: Routledge.
- Heyerick, L. (2008). De thuistaal van allochtone leerlingen als hefboom voor gelijke onderwijskansen [The home language of non-native students as a lever for equal educational opportunities]. *Ethiek en Maatschappij*, 11(3), 102–112.
- Leseman, P. P. M. (2000). Bilingual vocabulary development of Turkish preschoolers in the Netherlands. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 21(2), 93–112.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: Developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 655–670.
- Lin, A. M. Y. (2015). Conceptualising the potential role of L1 in CLIL. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 28(1), 74–89.
- Mallinson, C., Hudley, A. C., Strickling, L. R., & Figa, M. (2011). A conceptual framework for promoting linguistic and educational change. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 5(7), 441–453.
- McDonald, L. (2009). Teacher change: A dynamic interactive approach. *International Journal of Learning*, 16(10), 623–636.
- Pulinx, R., Agirdag, O., & Van Avermaet, P. (2014). Taal en onderwijs: Percepties en praktijken in de klas [Language and education: Perceptions and practices in the classroom]. In N. Clycq, C. Timmerman, P. Van Avermaet, J. Wets, & P. Hermans (Eds.), *Oprit 14: Naar een schooltraject zonder snelheidsbeperkingen*. Ghent: Academia Press.
- Ramaut, G., Sierens, S., Bultynck, K., Van Avermaet, P., Van Gorp, K., Slembrouck, S., & Verhelst, M. (2013). *Evaluatieonderzoek van het project 'Thuistaal in onderwijs' (2009–2012): Eindrapport maart 2013* [Evaluation study into the 'Home Language in Education' project (2009–2012): Final report March 2013]. Ghent/Leuven: Ghent University/University of Leuven.
- Sierens, S., & Van Avermaet, P. (2014). Language diversity in education: Evolving from multilingual education to functional multilingual learning. In D. Little, C. Leung, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Managing diversity in education: Languages, policies, pedagogies* (pp. 204–222). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Sierens, S., & Van Avermaet, P. (2017). Bilingual education in migrant languages in Western Europe. In O. García & A. M. Y. Lin (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education, vol. 5: Bilingual education* (3rd ed., pp. 489–503). New York: Springer.

- Stad Gent. (2006). *Bestuursakkoord: Periode 2007–2012* [Government Agreement 2007–2012]. Ghent: City of Ghent.
- Van den Branden, K. (Ed.). (2006). *Task-based language education: From theory to practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van den Branden, K., & Verhelst, M. (2007). Naar een volwaardig talenbeleid: Omgaan met meertaligheid in het Vlaams onderwijs [Towards a full-fledged language policy: Dealing with multilingualism in Flemish education]. *TORB*, 4, 315–332.
- Vanduynslager, L., Wets, J., Noppe, J., & Doyen, G. (2013). *Vlaamse Migratie- en Integratiemonitor 2013* [Flemish Migration and Integration Monitor]. Antwerp/Brussels: Steunpunt Inburgering en Integratie/Studiedienst van de Vlaamse Regering.
- Verhaeghe, P.-P., Van der Bracht, K., & Van de Putte, B. (2012). *Migrant zkt toekomst: Gent op een keerpunt tussen oude en nieuwe migratie* [Migrant Sk future: Ghent on a turning point between old and new migration]. Antwerp: Garant.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Translanguaging as a Key to Educational Success: The Experience of One Irish Primary School

David Little and Déirdre Kirwan

The Impact of Immigration on Ireland's Schoolgoing Population

Since the mid-1990s, unprecedented levels of immigration have transformed the linguistic profile of Ireland's schoolgoing population. At first, relatively small numbers of refugees were admitted to the country under the terms of the Irish government's agreements with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Then, as the economy began to expand, asylum seekers arrived in ever-increasing numbers, and economic migrants were recruited to fill gaps in the workforce. Finally, when ten new coun-

We are grateful to the teachers and pupils who provided the examples cited in this chapter.

D. Little (✉)

Trinity College Dublin, Dublin, Ireland

D. Kirwan

Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní), Blanchardstown, Dublin, Ireland

tries joined the European Union in 2004, what had started as a trickle became a flood. The 2006 census showed that 10 per cent of the population of slightly more than four million came from outside Ireland: 112,548 were of UK origin, while 307,185 were classified as 'EU', 'rest of Europe', 'Africa', 'Asia', 'America' and 'other nationalities'. In 2006 and 2007, net migration (the total number of immigrants less the total number of emigrants) was around 70,000. Although this figure decreased significantly with the collapse of the Irish economy in 2008, the 2011 census showed that 17 per cent of the population had been born outside Ireland. Clearly, recent demographic changes would not be reversed, not least because large numbers of immigrants had settled and were raising families. The government's Intercultural Education Strategy 2010–2015 noted: 'the recent profile of migrants is changing, with an increasing proportion in the 0–15 year old age category' (DES and OMI 2010: 5). In other words, the linguistic diversity of the schoolgoing population was unlikely to change, and the primary sector especially would bear the responsibility of integrating children whose home language was neither English nor Irish.

All schools that admit children from immigrant families face two complementary challenges: to ensure that immigrant children gain full access to education and to find ways of exploiting linguistic diversity to the educational benefit of all pupils. As in other countries, the immigrant population of Ireland tends to be concentrated in particular areas, so the task of integration is not distributed evenly across the education system; and the number of pupils from immigrant families and the number of home languages both vary greatly from school to school. Thus each school must develop its own response to the challenges. This chapter describes the development of policy and practice in one primary school, but before we provide a brief profile of the school in question, it is necessary to summarize the official policy response to linguistic diversity in the Irish education system.

The Official Policy Response

When immigrant pupils and students began to attend primary and post-primary schools, the first priority was to help them become proficient in English, the majority language of schooling. At the end of the 1990s, the

Department of Education and Science (DES) adopted the policy of funding two years of English language support for each primary pupil or post-primary student whose home language was neither English nor Irish. The official expectation was that such pupils and students would be assigned to an age-appropriate mainstream class but withdrawn in small groups for special English language lessons. In 2000 the DES commissioned Integrate Ireland Language and Training (IILT), a not-for-profit campus company of Trinity College Dublin, to support the teaching and learning of English as an Additional Language (EAL) in Irish schools. In response to this commission, IILT did three things. First, it developed *English Language Proficiency Benchmarks* for primary and post-primary learners of EAL (IILT 2003a, b). Based on the first three proficiency levels of the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001), the two sets of *Benchmarks* present a series of perspectives on the primary and post-primary curricula, describing the extent to which EAL pupils and students can participate in mainstream classroom activity at levels A1, A2 and B1. Secondly, IILT developed versions of the European Language Portfolio (IILT 2004a, b; see also Council of Europe 2011) with goal-setting and self-assessment checklists derived from the *Benchmarks*, a wealth of teaching and learning materials—in due course those for primary schools were published as a book, *Up and Away* (IILT 2006)—and assessment kits (Little et al. 2007), also based on the *Benchmarks*. Thirdly, *Benchmarks*, European Language Portfolios, materials and assessment instruments were mediated to teachers, and in some cases piloted in schools, via a series of twice-yearly in-service seminars for EAL teachers.

Although the main focus of this work was on EAL, the *Benchmarks* acknowledged in various ways the importance of accepting and affirming EAL pupils' linguistic, cultural and ethnic identities, while the ELP encouraged them to explore their plurilingual capacity and experience. Together the *Benchmarks* and the ELP were designed to support a pedagogical approach that aims to exploit the autonomy learners bring with them to the classroom, encouraging initiative, reflection and self-assessment. Such an approach coincided with the goals of the primary curriculum and the beliefs of many of the teachers who attended IILT's in-service seminars, but its success presupposed an ethos of inclusivity

that would valorize the individual learner's identity. To this end, IILT collaborated with the Southern Education and Library Board in Northern Ireland to create *Together Towards Inclusion* (IILT and SELB 2007), a toolkit to help schools develop inclusive policy and practice. The toolkit was designed in collaboration with primary school principals in both jurisdictions; its publication was funded jointly by the DES and the Department of Education Northern Ireland, and a copy was sent to every primary school on the island.

Funding was withdrawn from IILT in 2008. The *Benchmarks*, ELPs, learning materials and assessment kit remain available online from the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (www.ncca.ie/iilt), though in the absence of in-service seminars for teachers, they have largely fallen out of use.

The School: Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní), Blanchardstown

Scoil Bhríde (Cailíní) (St Brigid's School for Girls) is a primary school in one of Dublin's western suburbs. In the school year 2014–15, it had 322 pupils, almost 80 per cent of whom were not native speakers of English. There are eight years of primary schooling in Ireland: Junior and Senior Infants, which correspond to pre-school in other countries, followed by six classes. Irish is obligatory from the beginning to the end of schooling; in Scoil Bhríde, French is taught in Fifth and Sixth Classes. Most of the pupils attending Scoil Bhríde in 2014–15 had entered the school as Junior Infants at the age of four and a half, and most of the non-native speakers among them had very little proficiency in English on entry. Altogether there were 51 home languages, including English and Irish.¹

The school's response to the linguistic and ethnic diversity of its pupil population has gradually evolved since it admitted its first immigrant pupil in 1994. The principal (Déirdre Kirwan) and the EAL teachers regularly attended IILT's seminars and made use of the *Benchmarks*, ELPs and other support materials. The development of policy and practice was also informed by qualitative research undertaken by Déirdre Kirwan in

the school year 2005–06. She explored the language acquisition, curriculum learning and general development of four groups of EAL learners ranging from Junior Infants (4½ years) to Fifth Class (11 years), analysing video recordings of classroom interactions and samples of pupils' written work and using the *Benchmarks* to plot the pupils' progress (Kirwan 2009; see also Kirwan 2013). The school's response to the challenge of linguistic and ethnic diversity has been shaped by five factors: an inclusive ethos, an open language policy and an integrated approach to language education, a strong emphasis on the development of literacy skills, teaching methods that strive to be as explicit as possible, and respect for teachers' professional autonomy. In what follows we address each of these factors in turn, using reports of classroom practice and examples of pupils' written work to illustrate our argument. It is important to emphasize that the practice we describe has been shaped by general pedagogical principles rather than any of the linguistic theories associated with the education of linguistic minorities.

An Inclusive Ethos

Scoil Bhríde explicitly welcomes the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of its pupil population; from the beginning each pupil is valued and respected for what she is and what she herself can contribute to the life of the school and the process of schooling. This positive acceptance of diversity, reflected in displays on classroom walls and in the corridors of the school, is partly a general educational value enshrined in government policy and central to the ethos of the primary curriculum. But it also arises from the belief that children can learn only on the basis of what they already know, so that effective schooling depends on being open to the experience and knowledge pupils bring with them. According to this belief, the pedagogical challenge is to present and process curriculum content in ways that are accessible to pupils from the perspective of their 'action knowledge' (Barnes 1976: 81), the experientially derived knowledge that shapes their interpretation of the world; and the pedagogical goal is to help pupils to convert 'school knowledge' into 'action knowledge'. When children from English-speaking homes attend primary

school in Ireland, they bring with them knowledge, experience and skills that they have developed while acquiring English as their home language. The conversion of school knowledge into action knowledge requires them gradually to extend their existing repertoire in English, adding literacy skills, learning the words and phrases that embody key curriculum concepts and in due course mastering the registers and genres of academic language characteristic of the different curriculum subjects. The task facing children from families whose home language is not English is altogether more complex, because they have acquired their action knowledge in a language that is not the language of schooling. Their educational success depends crucially on the development of proficiency in English as the language of schooling; but this is a process in which each pupil's home language necessarily plays a central role as the default medium of her spontaneous discursive thinking.

Immigrant parents are drawn into the life of the school informally through their participation in a wide range of events organized in the course of the school year and formally via the Parents' Association and the elected parent representatives on the Board of Management. Positive links between school and home help to ensure that parents understand the school's policies and feel encouraged to contribute to their daughters' language development as we explain below.

An Open Language Policy and an Integrated Approach to Language Education

Scoil Bhríde places no restrictions on pupils' use of their home languages inside or outside the classroom. This policy is a direct consequence of the school's recognition that each pupil's 'action knowledge' is the basis for her learning. All Irish primary teachers are required to teach Irish, and some of them may have learnt other languages in the course of their education; they are unlikely, however, to know even a few words of most of the home languages present in Scoil Bhríde. But because they acknowledge the implicit role that home languages inevitably play in their pupils' acquisition of English and in their learning generally, Scoil Bhríde's

teachers seek to give that role an explicit presence in their classrooms from the beginning. This produces a phenomenon that fits the wider definition of ‘translanguaging’ elaborated by García and Li Wei (2014): communication in which participants make use of their individually different linguistic resources to arrive at common understandings and achieve common goals. Much of the empirical research on ‘translanguaging’ focuses on classroom discourse that switches back and forth between two languages, in both of which the teacher has at least some proficiency (see, e.g., the English/Spanish examples discussed by Flores and García 2013). In Scoil Bhríde, by contrast, the teachers depend on the pupils to know how to draw on their existing linguistic resources, which opens up an interesting new perspective on the concept of language learner autonomy.

The school day follows a predictable pattern for all pupils. In Junior Infants, the day begins with 20 minutes of play during which pupils communicate with one another as they wish. Then they focus on oral English—songs, poems, stories and games—followed by oral Irish. After break they do maths through play, then religion, and after the lunch break the school day ends with a story. Other classes follow a similar structure—English, Irish and maths are usually dealt with in the morning and other subjects after the lunch break. English is the principal medium of teaching except for the time devoted to Irish, and the ultimate goal is to help each pupil to develop an age-appropriate mastery of the oral and written versions of both languages; the same goal applies to French in Fifth and Sixth Classes. But English, Irish and in due course French are not kept separate from one another. The official primary curriculum emphasizes the importance of using Irish informally in the course of the school day, and the teachers often communicate with their pupils in Irish outside the classroom. They also use Irish to communicate with one another. Thus from the beginning pupils are accustomed to hearing Irish as well as English, and this establishes a flexible bilingual framework that accommodates their home languages and in due course French. It is the foundation on which Scoil Bhríde has built its integrated approach to language education and the pupils’ linguistic development. As noted above, most of the pupils from non-English/Irish-speaking homes enter the school as Junior Infants, which means that they receive their two

years of English language support in the Infant classes. In accordance with the school's integrated approach, however, *all* pupils at this level attend English language support classes: regular small-group sessions which focus on language from the multiple perspectives of curriculum content.

Perhaps not surprisingly, when they first enter the school, most Junior Infants have no clear concept of 'language', though they quickly discover which pupils they can communicate with in their home language. Interestingly, they tend to refer to and use their home languages when the focus of teaching switches from English to Irish: recognition that objects in the classroom have two names, one English and the other Irish, quickly prompts pupils to tell the teacher what those objects are called in their home language. Because the teacher welcomes these contributions, pupils use their home languages unselfconsciously and the teacher begins to exploit them in formal lessons. For example, when Junior Infants are learning the numbers from one to five, the teacher asks them if they know another way of saying them; and when they are learning the various combinations of numbers that add up to five, she invites them to do so in the language of their choice. Pupils are also encouraged to contribute in their home language to discussions of colour, food and greetings. This approach does much for their self-esteem and motivation; it also helps them gradually to acquire an awareness of language that is rooted in their developing plurilingual repertoires and enhanced by what they learn of the home languages of their peers.

For example, in a Third Class (age 9) in which 90 per cent of the pupils came from immigrant families, the teacher was talking about marine life. She wrote the word 'octopus' on the whiteboard, asked the children how many legs an octopus has and suggested that the word itself contained a clue. After a few moments, a Romanian child tentatively put up her hand and said she thought an octopus had eight legs. When asked what made her think this, she answered that the 'oct' in octopus reminded her of the word 'ocht', which means 'eight' in Irish. The same child then offered the information that 'opt' was the word for 'eight' in Romanian, and this led the teacher to ask for the word for 'eight' in other languages known to the pupils. By the end of this phase of the lesson, ten different

ways of saying 'eight' had been written on the whiteboard. The teacher found the response of the pupils from English-speaking homes particularly revealing: although they had no contribution to make themselves, they were totally engaged as listeners and observers. A few days later, in an informal pupil discussion about colour, a child of Irish/Nigerian parentage was overheard to say, in relation to the colour orange, 'In *my* language it's *oráiste*' ('*oráiste*' being the word in Irish). Irish is not this child's home language, but learning the language was clearly beginning to give her a sense of ownership and plurilingual identity. When the same teacher introduced the topic of decimals and asked if any of the children were aware of the meaning or function of decimals, a pupil from an English-speaking home suggested that decimals might have something to do with the number ten and thus with maths. Asked by the teacher how she had come to this conclusion, the pupil said that the word 'decimal' reminded her of 'deich', which is the Irish word for 'ten'. It seems reasonable to assume that this linguistic connection helped to clarify the concept of decimals for this pupil and perhaps other members of the class.

Similarly, at the beginning of a science lesson, a Sixth Class teacher asked her pupils to think about the name for 'bat' in their home language, explaining that it is 'sciathán leathair' ('leather wing') in Irish. The pupils contributed various names, including 'chauve-souris' ('bald mouse') in French and 'lityshia mishe' ('flying mouse') in Russian. In this way the class was reminded that a bat flies, has leathery wings, looks like a mouse and appears to be bald. The teacher also explained that most bats in Ireland belong to the Vespertilionidae family, adding that 'vespers' is the name of one of the canonical hours observed in monasteries. The pupils used their dictionaries to discover that 'vespers' means 'evening prayer', which led them to deduce that bats belonging to the Vespertilionidae family fly in the evening. Thus before the science lesson proper started, the pupils had drawn on their collective linguistic knowledge to establish some of the bat's characteristic features.

Pupils are engaged with language, its uses and varieties throughout the school. They welcome new pupils because they bring new languages

with them, and their interest is not limited to the linguistic resources of their classroom community. For example, one day a Fifth Class pupil (11 years old) brought an Italian sports newspaper to school. It so happened that the special needs assistant was Italian, so the teacher asked her to read some items aloud to see how much the pupils could understand. This generated a great deal more interest than the teacher had expected, so she introduced a new activity on a regular basis: Aesop's fables in Italian, which the special needs assistant brought from home and read aloud to the class (she usually told them which animal the story was about before beginning to read). This added a new dimension to the integrated language curriculum, which at this level of the school is implemented by carrying out activities simultaneously in English, Irish and French, with a great deal of code-switching and translation between languages.

Sometimes the school's focus on language prompts the exercise of collective learner autonomy. After celebrating the European Day of Languages, the pupils in Second Class (ages 7 and 8) decided to get their parents to help them translate into their home language the chorus of a song they had learnt. For several days, they organized their own practice sessions during playtime until each of the 36 pupils was able to sing the chorus in all 11 home languages present in the class.

One unexpected outcome of Scoil Bhríde's language policy is the enhanced status afforded to the Irish language. Teachers have observed that pupils who are already bilingual appear to accept Irish as just another language that is part of their schooling. It is also apparent that pupils from monolingual English-speaking homes make great efforts to speak and write Irish. They evidently conclude that it is normal and desirable to be able to use more than one language, and this probably increases their motivation to learn. It is likely, moreover, that hearing their peers conversing in languages other than English helps them to understand that Irish provides them too with an alternative means of communicating. The enhanced status of Irish has had an impact on parental attitudes: the Parents' Association has been asked to organize evening classes so that parents can improve their Irish language skills in order to help their children with homework.

A Strong Emphasis on the Development of Literacy Skills

Literacy is a precondition for educational success, so there is nothing unusual about the strong emphasis that Scoil Bhríde places on the development of pupils' literacy skills. What is unusual, however, is the place that is given to home languages alongside English, Irish and French. Not only are they visible throughout the school, from Junior Infants to Sixth Class, in classroom and corridor displays; they are also used to support the development of pupils' English language skills.

When pupils from immigrant homes are in the very early stages of learning English, Scoil Bhríde's language support teachers use an approach to literacy development that allows pupils to contribute material that comes directly from their own experience. The teacher writes whatever the pupil says in her copybook; nothing is changed or added, even though sentences may be incomplete or ill-formed. Then the teacher helps the pupil to read her text. Because it expresses a meaning that is important to her (cf. Little 1991: 42) and valued by the teacher, the pupil is fully involved, which means that she is likely to learn. As the language support teacher gets to know her pupils, she begins to understand their preferred learning styles. Topics like 'myself', 'food' and 'clothes' are introduced and discussed, after which each pupil writes about the topic in English. If she is able to, she translates her English sentences into her home language; if she is not yet literate in her home language, she takes her English written work home and her parents help her with the translation. The next day, each pupil reads her work aloud in both English and her home language; Irish children may work with their parents to translate their English sentences into Irish. With some pupils the teacher reverses this approach, encouraging them to write freely in their home language and then having them explain in English what they have written—a process that may require a lot of oral interaction between the teacher and individual pupils. When the teacher has fully understood what the pupil has written in her home language, she writes a version in English which the pupil then reads. Once again the pupil decides on the meaning she wishes to express, and she must use her listening and speaking skills to

communicate her meaning to the teacher, so the activity engages the full range of language activities.

In Canada the project *From Literacy to Multiliteracies: Designing Learning Environments for Knowledge Generation within the New Economy* (2002–06) assigned a central role to the creation of ‘identity texts’ (Cummins and Early 2011). They could be realized in any medium or combination of media—written, spoken, signed, visual, musical, dramatic—and their function was to provide students with a positive reflection of their identities (Cummins and Early 2011: 3) but also to help them use their home language as a basis for developing proficiency in the language of schooling. Scoil Bhríde uses dual-language texts for the same purposes, though the texts typically start with a whole-class activity conducted in English and are then translated into pupils’ home languages as a homework activity that may require help from parents or older siblings. For example, the class may collaborate in writing the beginning of a story which the teacher writes on the whiteboard and the pupils copy into their copybooks. Each pupil continues with her own development and conclusion. The story is then brought home, and parents or older siblings help with translation into the home language. The next day pupils read their stories aloud in their home languages and in English. Figure 1 shows a typical example from Third Class.

One of the language support teachers introduced pupils in her small-group sessions to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, a global action plan to deal with poverty. The eight aims of the plan were discussed, and it was decided that the pupils would create a book based on them, different groups writing on each of the eight aims. Those pupils who could write in their home language were encouraged to do so; others wrote in English and their parents helped them to translate their work at home. Figure 2 reproduces two pages from the book. The Millennium aims are written in English and Mandarin on the left, and the third aim is recorded in a variety of home languages on the right.

Pupils’ plurilingual repertoires are exercised in texts in which the language changes from sentence to sentence—the cognitive challenge being to maintain coherence and cohesion. This activity arose by chance. Because she needed to speak to a parent who had called to the classroom,

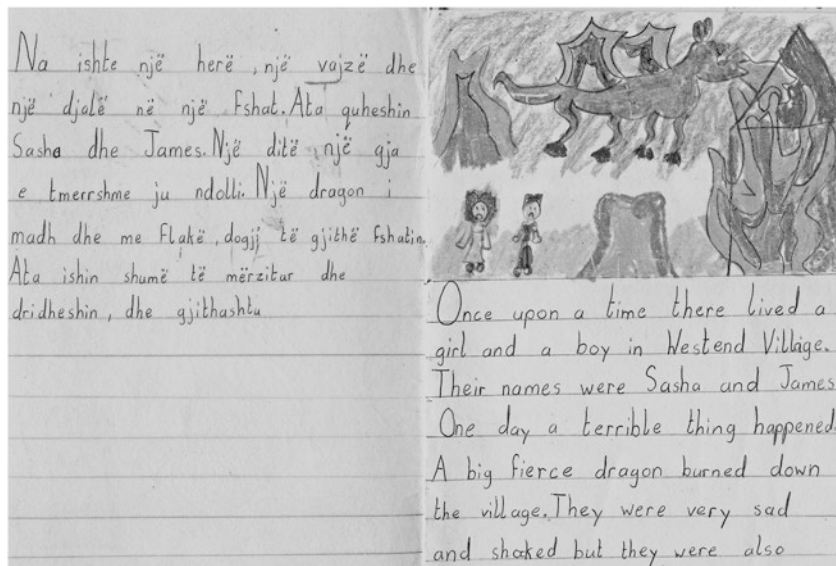


Fig. 1 Example of a dual-language text written by an Albanian pupil in Third Class

a Sixth Class teacher asked her class to write an account of the visit they had paid to their prospective post-primary school the evening before. Almost as an afterthought, she suggested that they should write the report using as many languages as they could. The teacher was amazed by the results, an example of which can be seen in Fig. 3, a text written in Irish, Tagalog, French and English.

The multilingual resources of the class and the plurilingual repertoire of each pupil are sometimes exploited in projects that explicitly bring school knowledge to bear on pupils' action knowledge. For example, Sixth Class put on a multilingual fashion show. The girls acted as models and commentators, and the basic rule was that all languages available to the class must be used at some point in the show. The fashion show was also used, however, as the basis for a multilingual written exercise: pupils were required to invent a fictitious model and write a brief biographical sketch of her in each of the languages available to them. Figure 4 shows the four texts produced by a pupil from a Mandarin-speaking home.

Cuairt ar an Meánscoil

Chuaigh mé agus mo chlann go dtí Pobal Scoil Mhín. Talagang yumao sa gabi. Nous avons vu beaucoup filles e garçons. Thosaigh an phríomhoide ag caint . The whole room started to quiet down. We were told that all the sixth class children were to make their way to the door. Ensuite, une fille a amené e nous dans une piece . Thosaigh said ag scoilt ar na páistí. Si Rainmay, si Petra ,at si Anais at ako nag paghati-hatiin sa isang grupo. We went into one of the English Classes and we did a Volcano Quiz . Une femme a demandé une question difficile et facile a propos de volcan sur le tableau . We also saw a bit of Romeo and Juliet . Four of my neighbours were part of the play.

Fig. 3 Multilingual text written in Irish, Tagalog, French and English by a Filipino pupil in Sixth Class

with what results? (cf. Dam 1995). In other words, the general approach to teaching encourages an approach to learning in which self-awareness and self-assessment figure prominently. One example of this is the language tree devised by one Sixth Class and their teacher. The pupils' home languages are represented as the roots of the class's 'language tree' (Fig. 5), and the pupils gradually record their learning accomplishments in English, Irish and French by sticking leaves to the branches of the tree (Fig. 6). The language tree is a colourful and dynamic image of the interconnectedness of pupils' plurilingual repertoires, a reminder that languages are not learnt in isolation from one another and an apt illustration of the CEFR's definition of plurilingual competence: 'a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact' (Council of Europe 2001: 4; cf. Cook's (2002) definition of 'multi-competence' and Garcia and Wei's (2014) concept of 'translanguaging').

My name is Marceline. I am 15 years old. I am in Holly star High. I am not that girly. I do alot of sports. My favorite is Basketball. I have many trophies from Basketball. I really like the colour blue and aqua. don't you think is beautiful? I really love my friends! I always go shopping with them and go skate-boarding with them! Here is a small part of my story.

Enjoy! 😊

Is mise Marceline. Tá mé cúig bhliain deag d'aois. Tá mé ag freastal ar Holly Star high. Níl fíor cáilín mé. Is maith liom spóirt. Is aoibheán liom cispheil. Bhuaigh mé a lán troitái sa cispheil. Is aoibhin liom na dathana gorms agus aqua. Is aoibhin liom mo chairde! Bim mé igronaí siopadóireacht le mo cara, agus ag scatail le mo chairde!

Bain taitneamh astu!

Fig. 4 Texts in English, Irish, French and Mandarin written by a pupil in Sixth Class as part of a multilingual fashion show project

Je m'appelle Marcelline. J'ai quinze ans.
 Je vais à l'école "Holly Star High"
 J'aime le sport. J'adore le basket.
 J'ai gagné beaucoup de J'adore les
 couleurs bleu et aqua. J'adore mes
 amis - je fais le magasin toujours!
 Je vais avec mon ami
 Amusez-vous bien!

我的名字是 Marcelline. 我今年 15 岁。
 我在 "Holly Star High" 上学。我不是一个
 girly girl. 我很喜欢运动。我最喜欢
 的是篮球！我 ying 了很多的 jiǎng
 杯。我很喜欢蓝色和水蓝色真
 的很漂亮！我非常喜欢我的同
 学和朋友！我 jīng 常和我的同学出去
 gòu wù. 有的时候 hǎo 和他们 huā
 bān.
 Enjoy!

Fig. 4 (Continued)

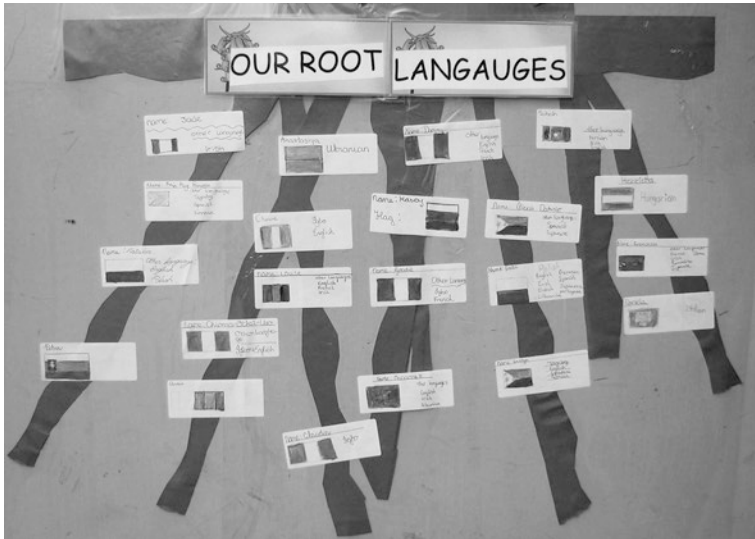


Fig. 5 Our root languages

Respect for Teachers' Professional Autonomy

Scoil Bhríde's teachers are expected to comply with the school's inclusive ethos and its open language policy, and they cannot avoid placing a strong emphasis on the development of pupils' literacy skills and using teaching methods that seek to be as explicit as possible. But how precisely they implement school policy in their classrooms is a matter for them to decide, and it is assumed that each teacher will adopt an approach that is shaped by her personality, her preferred teaching style and her professional experience. This is in keeping with the way in which the school's language policy has evolved. To begin with, the principal recognized the need to inform herself about language development in general and the linguistic needs of immigrant pupils in particular. In due course this led her to undertake qualitative research, which yielded insights she could share with her colleagues in continuing professional development sessions. Video recordings like the one from which we quote in the next section were analysed and discussed, and it became usual for teachers to share anecdotes from their classrooms and show one another samples of

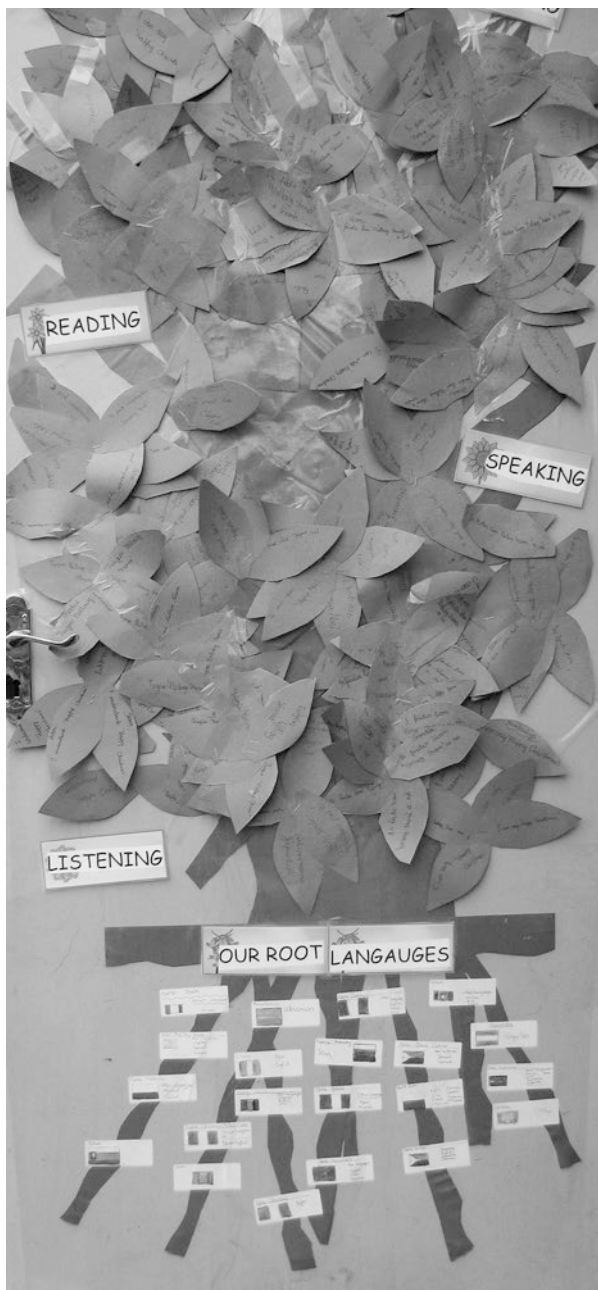


Fig. 6 Our language tree

their pupils' work. The enthusiasm with which pupils of all ages explored similarities and differences between languages and made use of their home language in the classroom reinforced the teachers' belief in the validity of their approach. As one teacher commented, when her pupils used their home language, 'the lights came on'. At the same time, it is inevitable that some teachers find it easier to implement school policy than others, and some are more inventive than others in finding new ways to exploit and further develop their pupils' plurilingual repertoires. But such variation is an inescapable feature of any educational process, and it means that pupils experience a great deal of variety as they move up the school, but always within a broadly familiar framework. It is worth noting that teachers at Scoil Bhríde tend to be committed to their own professional development; several have taken postgraduate programmes that required them to engage in action research that focused on the linguistic diversity of their classes.

What Some of the Teachers and Pupils Thought

Early in 2013 Déirdre Kirwan interviewed two Sixth Class teachers, both of whom were enthusiastic about their version of an integrated plurilingual approach. The first teacher, Cliona Forde, put it like this:

I think it's great that the children are learning all the languages together. They see how interconnected the languages are, they're not languages in isolation, they see the connections between them. I think the children are really enjoying it, it's great fun. The planning that goes into putting the languages together is really paying off and you can see the children are really enjoying it, and they're learning. They just naturally use the different languages in different settings in the school. They easily flow from Irish to French and then English, and what's great about it is that it also embraces their home languages.

The second teacher, Ciara O'Shaughnessy, was studying for a master's degree that required her to undertake action research:

I have to say thank you very much to my own class because they're helping me out in an action research project. I've been able to integrate what we're doing at senior level with my own studies. Action research involves looking at something and then seeing how we can change it for the better, and the children have been very proactive and I have to say it's been a pleasure to carry out this project with them. ... I've learnt many words in other languages and I'm keeping a language notebook for my research, and it has definitely broadened my horizons. I think one of the huge things that has come out of this is that we have become accustomed to looking at the links between languages and the girls almost do it now as an automatic response. Every time they learn a new word I can see them making the links. They're very, very enthusiastic about languages and about learning about other cultures and other countries.

Déirdre Kirwan also interviewed a group of Fifth and Sixth Class pupils from immigrant families, who were generally enthusiastic about language learning:

- Dami (Nigeria): I think learning French and different languages in school is very good because it helps us in life and if we go to a foreign country like Germany or France ... and it's great fun because of the games we play and I enjoy learning French and Irish.
- Chantelle (Philippines): I like to learn new languages like French because it's very interesting, and sometimes I ask some of my foreign friends to teach me some of their languages like [pupil's name] teaches me Romanian.

Two pupils disagreed, however:

- Alyssa (Philippines): ... sometimes I kind of disagree with working with three languages at the same time because when you learn three languages at the same time you have to learn so many words and sometimes you might get mixed up with them, so sometimes I disagree.

Gabbi (Albania): ... sometimes I disagree as well because when you're learning one and then you go on to the next it's kind of confusing after you've been learning three or more.

These negative contributions may not be as straightforward as they seem, however. Alyssa is a highly intelligent and motivated pupil who has always seemed to cope easily with the four languages in her developing repertoire (she is the author of the multilingual text reproduced in Fig. 3). Indeed, examples of her written work show that in learning French she went some way beyond what was explicitly taught. Until she makes her contribution, all the responses to Déirdre Kirwan's questions are positive, and this raises the suspicion that her negative response may have been prompted by the desire for discussion and perhaps disagreement. Gabbi, on the other hand, had not reached the same level as Alyssa in any school subject; and although she expresses disagreement here, later in the discussion she says she is very happy that she can use her home language to support her learning because 'it's easier than French and Irish and English'.

On the use of home languages at school, one pupil made an obvious point:

Nadia (Ukraine): I like using my own language because it's kind of fun and nobody understands you and you get to talk about everyone.

The pupils explained that they use their own language to communicate with pupils who speak the same or a closely related language. Asked how they were able to understand one another while talking different languages, one pupil explained: '... if you say a sentence there might be one or two words you understand and then you already know what the person's talking about'.

Not all the immigrant pupils were fully fluent in a language other than English, but the school's plurilingual approach encouraged them nevertheless to develop plurilingual repertoires. A Nigerian girl, for example, had this to say:

Dami: I like speaking my home language sometimes. I don't know it very well but I understand it and it's nice speaking to some of my friends that understand it and that speak it sometimes too and it's nice speaking it because there's so many people in the class and in the school that's interested in different languages, so it's fun teaching them and hearing them say the words.

Another Nigerian pupil summed up the benefits of plurilingual learning when she said:

Florea: When two people speak the same language there's kind of a bond between both of them because they know the same language and it's kind of private when you're talking to the person 'cause no one else understands you.

Conclusion: Sustainability, Generalizability and Dissemination

The success of Scoil Bhríde's approach is beyond doubt. As we have explained, it is owned by all the teachers in the school, and it is strongly supported by the Board of Management. In the early days, some parents expressed concern that allowing their child to use her home language might interfere with her learning of English. But parents' reservations were quickly overcome by their daughters' growing enthusiasm for languages and by the educational progress this was helping to foster. Inevitably, however, three questions arise: Is the approach sustainable? To what extent is it generalizable? And how might it be disseminated to other schools? In the short term, the answer to the first question is positive. Although Déirdre Kirwan retired in May 2015, she was succeeded by a teacher who was among the first in the school to promote the use of

pupils' home languages, and this new principal is surrounded by a group of teachers who have been personally involved in the development of policy and classroom practice. In the longer term, much will depend on the continuing collegiality of the teaching staff. From time to time, experienced teachers will leave for posts in other schools and will be replaced by teachers, often newly qualified, who have no experience of the linguistic diversity that defines Scoil Bhríde's pupil cohort. These new teachers will need all the support their colleagues can give them.

The second question is prompted by the suspicion that there is an almost perfect symmetry between the linguistic diversity of Scoil Bhríde's pupil population and its language policy and pedagogical practice: the way in which the school includes pupils' home languages is, in the circumstances, the only possible way. At the same time, the percentage of pupils whose home language is English guarantees that immigrant pupils are immersed in the language of schooling. The challenge of inclusion must be very different in a school with a much smaller percentage of immigrant pupils who between them speak a much smaller number of home languages. This is not to say that the principles shaping Scoil Bhríde's approach are not generally applicable, but that they must be thought through afresh by each school. This is a task that is likely to benefit from research, which brings us to our third question, the challenge of dissemination.

Since funding was withdrawn from Integrate Ireland Language and Training in 2008, there has been no specialist national agency responsible for supporting the inclusion of immigrant pupils and students in Ireland's primary and post-primary schools. In this connexion it is important to note that IILT's contribution was research-driven and in turn generated significant research findings (this was not a requirement of the Department of Education and Skills as funding agency but a consequence of associating IILT with a university department). For example, Čatibušić and Little (2014) provide a detailed longitudinal study of the acquisition of English by 18 children from immigrant families attending primary schools in the north-east of Ireland, relating their development to the learning trajectory proposed in the *English Language Proficiency Benchmarks* (IILT 2003a). There are many ways in which the findings of this research could inform the development of policy and pedagogical practice if IILT still

existed and the *Benchmarks* were still in widespread use. But at systemic level it is as if the challenge of inclusion no longer existed. None of the programmes of pre-service teacher education offered by the Colleges of Education has ever included an obligatory component on the management and pedagogical exploitation of linguistic diversity; the funding of language support by the Department of Education and Skills has steadily diminished; and in-service seminars for teachers are a distant memory. Other schools have become aware of Scoil Bhríde's approach, usually by word of mouth, and some have requested presentations to inform their own teaching staff. In 2015, moreover, three of Scoil Bhríde's teachers left to become principals of other schools; so if those schools have a linguistically diverse population, there is some chance that the approach will be transplanted. But for the time being and to the best of our knowledge, Scoil Bhríde remains *sui generis*, and the impact of its highly successful policy and practice is minimal.

Notes

1. Afrikaans, Amharic, Arabic, Bangla, Benin, Bosnian, Cantonese, Dari, Cebuano, English, Estonian, Foulá, French, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Igbo, Ilonggo, Indonesian, Irish, Ishekiri, Italian, Kannada, Kinyarwanda, Konkani, Kurdish, Latvian, Lingala, Lithuanian, Malay, Malayalam, Mandarin, Marathi, Moldovan, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Shona, Slovakian, Spanish, Swahili, Tagalog, Tamil, Ukrainian, Urdu, Vietnamese, Visaya, Xhosa and Yoruba.

References

- Barnes, D. (1976). *From communication to curriculum*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ćatibušić, B., & Little, D. (2014). *Immigrant pupils learn English: A CEFR-related empirical study of L2 development* (English Profile Studies 3). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cook, V. (2002). Background to the L2 user. In V. Cook (Ed.), *Portraits of the L2 user* (pp. 1–28). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Council of Europe. (2001). *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Council of Europe. (2011). *European Language Portfolio (ELP): Principles and guidelines, with added explanatory notes*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. <http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-reg>. Date Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
- Cummins, J., & Early, M. (2011). *Identity texts: The collaborative creation of power in multilingual schools*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Dam, L. (1995). *Learner autonomy 3: From theory to classroom practice*. Dublin: Authentik.
- DES and OMI. (2010). *Intercultural education strategy, 2010–2015*. Dublin: Department of Education and Skills and Office of the Minister for Integration.
- Flores, N., & García, O. (2013). Linguistic third spaces in education: Teachers' translanguaging across the bilingual continuum. In D. Little, C. Leung, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Managing diversity in education: Languages, policies, pedagogies* (pp. 243–256). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- IILT. (2003a). *English Language Proficiency Benchmarks for non-English-speaking pupils at primary level* (primary publications), version 2.0. <http://www.ncca.ie/iilt>. Date Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
- IILT. (2003b). *English Language Proficiency Benchmarks for non-English-speaking pupils at post-primary level* (post-primary publications), version 2.0. <http://www.ncca.ie/iilt>. Date Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
- IILT. (2004a). *European Language Portfolio: Learning the language of the host community* (primary publications). <http://www.ncca.ie/iilt>. Date Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
- IILT. (2004b). *European Language Portfolio: Learning the language of the host community* (post-primary publications). <http://www.ncca.ie/iilt>. Date Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
- IILT. (2006). *Up and Away: A resource book for English language support in primary schools* (primary publications). <http://www.ncca.ie/iilt>. Date Accessed 22 Sep 2014.
- IILT and SELB. (2007). *Together towards inclusion: Toolkit for diversity in the primary school* (primary publications). <http://www.ncca.ie/iilt>. Date Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

- Kirwan, D. (2009). *English language support for newcomer learners in Irish primary schools: A review and a case study* (Unpublished PhD thesis). University of Dublin, Trinity College.
- Kirwan, D. (2013). From English language support to plurilingual awareness. In D. Little, C. Leung, & P. Van Avermaet (Eds.), *Managing diversity in education: Languages, policies, pedagogies* (pp. 189–203). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Little, D. (1991). *Learner autonomy 1: Definitions, issues and problems*. Dublin: Authentik.
- Little, D., Lazenby Simpson, B., & Finnegan Ćatibušić, B. (2007). *Primary school assessment kit*. <http://www.ncca.ie> (Primary publications). Dublin: Department of Education and Science. Date Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Conclusion: Multilingualism, Diversity and Equitable Learning: Towards Crossing the 'Abyss'

Kathleen Heugh

Introduction

This volume is timely because what multilingualism means has become a pressing educational matter of concern in the first half of the twenty-first century. This concern is currently framed through several different understandings of multilingualism/s and vocabulary associated with the phenomena. While the understandings of multilingualism differ, there is a common purpose, which is how societal multilingualism/s might best be employed to benefit students in education systems of Europe, North America and indeed everywhere in the world. The editors of this volume, van Avermaet, Slembrouck, van Gorp, Sierens and Maryns, make it explicit that they bring together largely European perspectives of multilingualism and the passage of multilingual education because this is where the impact of current mobility of people is most obviously and

K. Heugh (✉)

Research Centre for Languages and Cultures, School of Creative Industries,
University of South Australia, Adelaide, SA, Australia

visibly evident. Its visibility owes much to electronic, digital and printed media that are well-placed in Europe and other North Atlantic countries to reveal the challenges of diversity in administrative systems, including education. The editors expand European perspectives to include contributions of scholars with different experiences of multilingualism/s in education in Canada, the USA, Southern Africa and French Guyana.

The value of this volume is that it is likely to contribute to parallel discussions of multilingualism in education beyond Europe and North America, in what is metaphorically called 'southern', post-colonial or even 'decolonial' contexts (Connell 2007; Mignolo 2010; Santos 2012). This is because mobility arising from environmental disaster or conflict is not simply a 'northern' phenomenon. It occurs across Africa, Asia and the Middle East at present. Parallel discussions of recent experiences of diversity simultaneously occur in countries that have long histories of complex diversities, and systems that have been accustomed to managing (or mis-managing) linguistic diversity within their geo-political borders for centuries. These contexts now experience increasing numbers of displaced persons and refugees, although on an even greater scale than witnessed in Europe between 2015 and 2017. Twice the number of displaced persons or refugees who reach Europe, North America and Australasia remain inside their own countries but in 'safer' geographic locations, or they cross porous borders into neighbouring countries (IMDC 2016). So there are commonalities of new experiences of linguistic diversity arising from human mobility, although these occur on different scales simply because the majority of multilingual communities of the world continue to live beyond Europe and North America. This is also where diversity does not receive the degree of media attention as serves North Atlantic communities and institutions. Placing a spotlight on the implications of current mobility and diversity for education systems whether in Belgium, the UK, Ireland or Southern Europe is an opportunity for a reciprocal exchange of knowledge and expertise that stretches beyond countries of the 'North Atlantic' (Connell 2007).

Van Avermaet et al. (this volume) indicate that despite a recent growth of literature on multilingualism in education, satisfactory answers or solutions for how education systems can make best use of linguistic diver-

sity to advance learning remain elusive. They suggest that there is need for a fresh look at experiences of practitioners and experiences in the classroom. They also suggest a rethinking of the vocabulary and terminology employed in discussions of multilingualism in education that is either confusing, ambiguous or even unhelpful. Key concepts that are explored in this volume are code-switching (CS), translanguaging (TL) and multilingual education. Several authors suggest that in the European context at least, the term 'functional multilingual learning' (FML) offers a broad concept that shifts the focus from language 'practice' (CS) or practice and process (TL) to learning in which the student is central. In my view, this is an important shift and one that assists many of us to gain clarity after having found ourselves drawn towards alluring of discussions of new vocabulary that sometimes lead to semantic (mis-)interpretations of earlier vocabulary (e.g. CS) or to stances that are ahistorical or out of context (see also Edwards 2012, and in the discussion that follows).

Historically, this is simply because multilingualism and multilingual practices of communities both in and outside of formal education are a way of life for people who mostly live in the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Pacific. Lewis et al. (2016)¹ offer statistics to indicate that 96% of the world's languages spoken originate in the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The degree of multilingualism, even in the current context of unprecedented migration to Europe and the mobility of people across the world, has been and remains far more extensive beyond the North Atlantic. Ironically, however, most of the literature on multilingualism (including bi-/multilingual education, CS and TL) that receives wide circulation originates from scholars whose research contexts are those which are home to only 4% of the world's languages (see also Kusch [1970] 2010; Mignolo 2010; Medina 2014).

The argument that I am putting forward in this concluding chapter, and in response to the volume as a whole, is that there is much of value to be shared of the experiences of multilingualism in education, whether these arise in northern or southern contexts. In many parts of the world, multilingualism is a way of life. It is a normal every-day practice in schools for both teachers and students, and it is this normalcy that may add value to current debates in northern countries.

Stresses and Strains in Education Systems

The teaching of languages and the theoretical positioning of language education, whether in the global south or global north, have been in trouble for some time (e.g. Lo Bianco 2010; Stroud and Heugh 2011). We see in the contributions of authors in this volume that mainstream systems of education that have followed northern curricula, pedagogies and ideologies for the last 150 years are under pressure to adjust, or respond, to contemporary change. This is because it is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the disconnections between the languages in which students bring knowledge and experience to the classroom and the language/s through which knowledge is validated as relevant for learning and producing new knowledge. Despite an increase of interest in linguistic diversity in education from various perspectives of bilingual and multilingual education in Europe, North America and Australasia in the last two decades of the twentieth century (e.g. Singleton et al. 2013; May 2014), answers to early twenty-first-century challenges remain difficult to realise. In part, as suggested earlier, this is because academic literature is filtered through only a handful of the world's languages (cf. Kusch [1970] 2010).

A key concern in Africa and many other southern countries since the departure of European administrations in the mid-twentieth century has been how education systems can deliver apparently contradictory imperatives. The first imperative is the concept of 'national unity' introduced after the 1894–5 Berlin Conference to draw geo-political boundaries with little consideration for affiliations of belief, community, knowledge or language. This has made notions of national unity difficult to achieve in Africa. The second imperative is the delivery of education that will achieve national plans for social and economic advancement that include participation in global concerns. The third is the delivery of meaningful and equitable education for all children. A linguistic implication that underlies these is that the education system needs to ensure that students develop the kind of multilingual repertoires that will serve them well beyond school. Several decades later, these concerns have come to feature prominently also in present-day Europe and North America, as

administrative systems experience contemporary stresses and strains of increased human mobility of people from the former colonies, the Middle East and Central Asia, exacerbated by human conflict and trauma. New twenty-first-century scales of diversity thus challenge notions of national identity, the nation state and systems of education established upon assumptions of homogeneity and universal applicability. So diversities of the global south now seem to become diversities also of the global north.

Purpose

A strong concern of contributing authors to this volume has to do with an ethics of scholarship and engagement in systems of education that need to undergo change in order to re-adjust to the realities of contemporary diversity. This volume offers us an opportunity to take stock of what we know, where the gaps are and how to proceed. It is not to replace educational or ideological hegemonies of former colonial or nation states with a new educational hegemony that pursues a singular view of theory or pedagogy. Rather it is to draw together what we know of language in education in contexts of diversity as these have unfolded in different parts of the world. It is so that we might identify common threads of opportunity and risk as we navigate the present and future.

Contextualising the Discussions in the Volume

The twenty-first century has brought changes in which classrooms can no longer be assumed to be spaces where students share the same language/s and histories. It can no longer be assumed that students and teachers share the same ontology, cosmology or epistemology. This volume brings together a collection of chapters that identify challenges of diversity in contemporary classrooms in which we find lingering ideologies of the nation state and evidence of an unpreparedness of education systems to adjust and to transform in the face of increasing linguistic, cultural and epistemological diversity. The collection also brings ethnographic accounts of classroom practices where despite a prevailing language

ideology, identified as a ‘monolingual habitus’ (Gogolin 2002), and despite teachers’ claims to adhere to such ideology, we are shown how teachers and students resist or transgress monolingual regimes. We are given glimpses of multilingual classroom practices currently in use in different parts of the world. These include practices and processes referred to as code-switching (CS), translanguaging (TL) and an alternative re-orientation towards functional multilingual learning (FML). Finally, we are given insights to how students’ multilingual repertoires are valorised within a mainstream classroom in Belgium and how by placing diversity at the centre of learning, an Irish primary school has overturned out-of-date policy with transformative school-wide practices of multilingualism. Thus, despite language regimes that follow the canonical ‘top-down’ approach to language education planning, we see that human beings exert agency of resistance. This is not anarchical resistance, it is resistance that involves students, teachers and school principals who seek to engage productively with diversity in the regular classroom or school setting. This is the very essence of language planning from below, conceptually introduced some time ago by Bamgbose (1987) in Nigeria and Chumbow (1987) in Cameroon. Yet such resistance from the ‘chalk-face’ is not enough; system-wide change is needed and we as linguists and educators have a role to play. In order for us to be effective, we need to move beyond our own contradictory discourses and at times also our misunderstanding of what others before us have accomplished.

The principle that grounds each of the chapters in this volume is commitment to social justice and equity for children from diverse, particularly marginal, communities in mainstream education (e.g. García, Seltzer and Witt, this volume). What is particularly striking in this volume is a commitment to navigate through apparently contradictory discourses that currently travel within the broad concept of multilingualism in the disciplines of sociolinguistics and as they travel sometimes differently in applied and educational linguistics. The editors and authors bring to this volume a collaborative stance with far-reaching implications for the next generation of students in schools of both the global north and global south.

The title of the volume, *The Multilingual Edge of Education*, invokes both an invitation and a warning to education authorities, educators and

linguists with an interest in linguistic diversity. The invitation is to step carefully in order to cross what threatens to become an ‘abyssal line’ (cf. Santos 2012, in another context). We are on the edge of possible cleavage for two reasons. The first is one that faces education authorities. This involves a choice of whether or not to take courageous steps to recognise that education policies, established on nineteenth-century assumptions of universally applicable principles, no longer hold. The world is not homogeneous, it is heterogeneous. Homogeneous systems, including mainstream education, therefore, need to adjust to heterogeneity and/or to undergo fundamental change. The second reason why we are on an edge of cleavage is that linguists appear to hold different views of linguistic heterogeneity as well as of concepts and practices of multilingualism. Heterogeneity naturally leads to differing perspectives, but this is not what brings us to the edge or abyss. It is how we respond to and recognise difference that carries risk of cleavage. Recognition of different perspectives, and acknowledgement of a *longue durée* of expertise that arises from many epistemologies, ontologies and cosmologies and reciprocity, will carry us across the abyss. This will carry us towards what the editors of this volume seek, that is, the ‘cutting edge’ of multilingualism in education. If we don’t cross the abyss, we draw a line that precludes collaboration, and we continue with circular discussions that do not advance.

This is a time for reflection. We may need to pause, retrace a few steps and move forward again in ways that recognise and build collective expertise garnered from multilingual practices and experiences of communities and systems of education (informal, non-formal and formal) in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. We cannot expect governments and administrative systems to move ahead with appropriate and productive responses to the challenge of contemporary diversity in education unless we, linguists, are ourselves able to recognise the implications of heterogeneity. Heterogeneity cannot deliver a homogenised, singular set of definitions for how and why linguistic diversity occurs in many different ways, scales and dimensions across the varied contexts of the world. Well-meaning attempts to offer closed accounts of multilingualism in one part of the world as if these apply to other contexts bring conceptual problems particularly if accompanied by ‘apparent’ solutions to a problem or set of problems. Heterogeneity simply means that we will

not be able to identify a singular homogeneous view of linguistic diversity and how it occurs, under which circumstances it appears and what people do or make of it. Instead we need to recognise contextual understandings and experiences of many different iterations of multilingualism.

In most parts of the world, multilingualism is certainly not experienced as limited to parallel sets of languages learned in isolation as suggested in literature that follows Heller's critique of bilingual education (e.g. 2007), as found, for example, in Blackledge and Creese (2010). It goes without saying that multilingualism and learning to communicate across multilingual systems predate, by millennia, recent iterations of bilingual or multilingual schools found in the USA, Canada or Europe in which a pedagogy of linguistic separation has been favoured.

In order to understand contemporary multilingualisms, or the multi-dimensionality of multilingualism, it may be beneficial to take a historical perspective that spans experiences of multilingualism from as wide a set of contexts as possible (both south and north), unravel contradictions and then work towards mutual reciprocity and respect. It means that we need to accept differences and heterogeneity in our own thinking and work in classrooms and schools wherever they may be. Implicit in the intentions of the editors of this volume is that we have much to learn from one another and that we benefit by sharing both achievements and missteps along the way.

The Heart of the Multilingual Edge

A central concern in this volume is the extent to which mainstream systems based on notions of homogeneity are able to ensure equal opportunities for successful learning. The key criteria that need to be satisfied in successful multilingual education and that are either explicit or implicit in this volume include:

- Principles of equality (or social justice), relevance and validity;
- Preparing teachers for productive encounters with students from diverse backgrounds of language (as well as knowledge and faith);

- Retaining students to the end of secondary school in meaningful engagement with learning; and
- Developing students' multilingual and intercultural repertoires and capabilities to meet the dynamics of participatory citizenship beyond education.

It is often argued that equitable opportunities for learning translate into social benefits in relation to health and well-being, social inclusion, equitable opportunities for future employment and a return of fiscal investment through taxation contributions to the state (see also Grin 2008; Cummins, this volume). This is certainly a priority concern for authors in this volume.

Twenty-first-century diversity is most evident and apparently most challenging in cities and other urban centres. In this volume, Cummins² draws our attention to the inevitability of underachievement in school systems when schools do not 'enable students to develop academic skills in the school language'. They do not do this when they fail to ensure that students are able to make best use of their primary language in learning and in learning the school language. Underachievement is also intimately connected with marginality, identity, self-esteem and low socio-economic indicators.

Several authors show why and how school systems and schools do not address the foundations of underachievement. They draw attention to prevailing ideologies of homogeneity and an accompanying 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin 2002) held at the level of the nation state and how these filter through the schooling system. These indicate the comprehensive failure of systems to anticipate and prepare for change (e.g. Conteh, this volume) and the longevity of outdated notions of the nation state, accompanying monolingual ideologies (Jaspers, this volume) and deficit views of students from minority or migrant backgrounds in several settings in southern Europe (Caruana and Scaglione; and Gkaintartzi et al., this volume).

Connecting and Disconnecting Discourses of Multilingualism in Education

Several authors also draw attention to co-existing practices in and approaches to multilingual education. These include case studies where

we see some schools and teachers opening up spaces for multilingual practices. Spaces in which multilingual practices occur are often in informal moments and they may involve teacher and/or teacher and student resistance to the language regimes of the school or wider systemic policy (e.g. Jaspers, this volume). Or they involve conflicted behaviours of teachers who on the one hand indicate that they follow the prevailing monolingual ideology of French, for example, in French Guyana, and yet they employ code-switching (CS) as a regular, if 'illicit', practice in the classroom (e.g. Alby and Léglise, this volume). It is perhaps worthwhile noting that CS is a regular practice of teachers in almost every classroom in rural and urban Africa, India and in many parts of Southeast Asia and South America and the Pacific (e.g. several authors in Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh, eds. 2012; Benson and Kosonen 2013; Shoba and Chimbutane, eds. 2013; Alby and Léglise, this volume). For the most part, teachers believe themselves to engage in this practice as if it were illicit because it has not been sanctioned in official education policy (e.g. Heugh 2015). It has not been sanctioned in policies that responded to importation of (English, French, Portuguese and Spanish) second language pedagogies from Europe, and in which the L2 is supposed to be taught separately from and in isolation from the L1. However, people who live in southern contexts of multilingualism do not willingly separate languages, especially when learning to incorporate new languages into existing repertoires (e.g. Dua 2008). Agnihotri (e.g. 1995, 2007, 2014) writing from the Indian experience goes so far as to say that no one learns languages in isolation from one another. Pedagogies that attempt to separate languages from one another do not suit the majority of learners (e.g. Stroud and Heugh 2011). So we need to be careful to avoid conflating second language methodologies that separate languages for learning, where these are brought into some variations of bilingual programmes, from those that do not and have never in practice kept languages separate from one another (e.g. Gorter and Cenoz 2017; Heugh et al. 2017).

Marawu (this volume) discusses deliberate use of code-switching as a powerful pedagogy of value in the South African context. The use of CS, as its name suggests, involves the use of at least two languages together in the classroom. She follows a number of authors who have drawn attention to the productive use of deliberate or purposive CS even though not officially sanctioned by education authorities in South Africa (e.g. de

Klerk 1995; Robb 1995; Versfeld 1995; Plüddemann et al. 2004; Makoe and McKinney 2009; Nomlomo 2003; Nomlomo and Desai 2014; Probyn 2009). These authors show how teacher and student use CS so that students are able to gain meaningful opportunities to learn when the official school language differs from their (and often their teachers') home languages. Marawu refers to a substantial body of CS research beyond the African context, including that of Angel Lin (e.g. Lin 2013) in Hong Kong over the last three decades. Marawu's point is that, as it is in other post-colonial settings, CS is the de facto medium of learning in most schools in South Africa. There is therefore everything to gain from legitimising what is a common practice among teachers and students rather than stigmatising what is an authentic and dynamic language practice (see also Heugh 2015; Kerfoot and Bello-Nonjengele 2014; Probyn 2015). Wan Marjuki (2015), investigating classroom language practices in Sarawak in which students and teachers navigate Bahasa Malaysia, Bahasa Sarawak, Bahasa Iban, Bidayuh, Kenyah and Melanau, among other indigenous languages, suggests that 'multilingualism is the medium of instruction'.³ The point here is that in multilingual communities such as these, multilingualism is a way of life. People sometimes refer to language mixing, code-switching or multilingualism. The vocabulary, as used in English, is a proxy for intricate practices and processes of communicative agility.

Two chapters focus on one of the relatively more recent contributions or orientations towards multilingual education, namely, 'translanguaging' (TL) (García, Seltzer and Witt; and Makalela). The original coinage and use of the term 'translanguaging' in the Welsh context by Cen Williams (1996) seems to overlap with deliberate or purposive use of CS where part of the lesson is taught in one language and part in the other, with carefully planned alternation of languages (Williams 1996; Lewis et al. 2012). Translanguaging as used in the Welsh context is similar to one of the earlier approaches developed for 'dual medium' bilingual schools in South Africa that go back at least a hundred years (Malherbe 1946; Heugh et al. 2017). What is important here is not so much the term (CS, TL or a South African variant of 'dual medium' bilingual schooling) but rather the pedagogical principles that overlap and that have been embedded in bilingual education in several different contexts over the last century or more. Given the timeframe, different contexts

and the way that our vocabulary changes, it is not surprising that there are at least three terms (CS, TL, dual medium bilingual education) used for similar approaches. It is also not surprising given the very different circumstances of linguistic diversity around the world that there will be different, contextually specific interpretations of these terms.

Makalela's chapter draws on experience of multilingual practices in a largely rural province, Limpopo, in South Africa. Whereas Marawu (this volume) recognises the proximity of CS with TL in the African context, Makalela follows the distinction made between CS and TL as found in some North American and UK literature (e.g. García 2009; García and Li Wei 2014). He also adopts an understanding of the bi-/multilingualism in the UK research and literature of Rampton (1995) and Blackledge and Creese (2010). He reflects upon the contributions of these authors in relation to his own innovative educational practices in Limpopo, and these are undoubtedly valuable for the international body of work on TL.

The reason why this is valuable is not because there is an intrinsic difference between how systematic use of CS has been used elsewhere by other scholars and how it is used by almost every teacher in Africa and in many contexts of South and Southeast Asia and the Pacific to achieve successful learning (Agnihotri 1995, 2007, 2014; Heugh 2017). It is because the term CS and practice in many southern contexts has been stigmatised in (English, French, Portuguese, Spanish) second language or foreign language pedagogies exported from Europe to these parts of the world since the 1960s. In rehabilitating CS practices (which occur with the same metalinguistic processes invoked in TL literature), it is not surprising that deliberate or explicit use of CS for effective learning has to carry a new name, such as TL. So if deliberate and systematic use of CS is to be accepted by educational authorities after decades of believing that this is an illicit practice, TL is a convenient replacement term (e.g. Heugh 2015).

Disconnecting and Reconnecting Vocabulary and Conceptual Understandings

As indicated earlier, there is a long vein of research on multilingualism and how this has permeated informal and formal education systems of the African continent for hundreds of years. The African literature on the

horizontal fluidity of multilingualism (e.g. Nhlapo 1944, 1945; Makhudu 1995⁴; Ntshangase 1993, 2002; Djité 1993) preceded much contemporary literature on both CS and TL. TL also continues a 70-year line of thinking in relation to multilingual education and distinctions between unsystematic and systematic use of CS. Systematic CS has long been recognised in Africa, as it has in Hong Kong, to offer students the possibility of developing high levels of bi-/multilingual expertise and learning (e.g. Malherbe 1946; de Klerk 1995; Plüddemann et al. 2004; Setati 2008; Makoe and McKinney 2009; Nomlomo 2003; Probyn 2015; and Lin 2013).

Linguistic fluidity and multilingualism in Africa go by several names, translated into English in vocabulary that can never be precise or exactly capture their contextual essence present in more or less 2,000 languages (however we define these) to which communities affiliate in Africa. There is a continuity of how horizontal multilingualism, conceptualised in Fardon and Furniss's observation that 'multilingualism is the lingua franca in Africa' (1994), is echoed in 'multilingualism is the medium of instruction' in Sarawak (Wan Marjuki 2015). Both resonate with Agnihotri's conceptualisation of the innate human capacity for 'multilinguality' (e.g. 2014).⁵

Yet, the words that multilingual people use for naming multilingual practices, when obliged to explain these to speakers of English, tend to default to the proxies, 'language mixing' or 'code-switching'. In no way is the understanding of such linguistic behaviour and capability deficient. In no way is the understanding of TL in another context intellectually more superior. Rather, TL offers an apparently stigma-free alternative to language mixing or CS, where these carry stigma associated with now-outdated second language pedagogies. Thus, there is a possibility that TL can be offered to education policymakers, teachers, parents and students, as a practice that carries pedagogical legitimacy (Heugh 2015).

If we return to the discussion of TL in Europe and North America, we see risk of conceptual confusion for other reasons. Translanguaging (TL), as originally coined and translated into English by Cen Williams (1996), has been adopted and used differently in the work of García (2009) and García and Li Wei (2014), among others, including Canagarajah (2011). Just as we need to understand the contextual circumstances of how CS is used and understood across Africa and much of South and Southeast

Asia, we need to understand the contextual circumstances that have given rise to why García and colleagues have adopted the term TL in place of bilingual education. They have done so for several reasons. One is to circumvent negative political stances towards bilingual education in the USA. This is where bilingual education, particularly regarding provision for speakers of Spanish, has experienced persistent setbacks over the last two decades. Partly also García's use of the term is in response to a recognition that the linguistic diversity of classrooms is changing and that most urban school classrooms are now far more diverse, including in relation to language, than they were in the 1990s and early 2000s. This means that earlier approaches to bilingual education that either assumed less linguistic diversity or that were based on a pedagogy of parallel separate languages in these settings are no longer satisfactory. Canagarajah (2011) and García and Li Wei (2014) have furthermore been keen to differentiate TL from CS. Partly this is because CS as used and understood in North America and the UK is very different from how it has been used and understood in post-colonial southern settings. To some extent, this also has to do with a wider debate in sociolinguistics with apparently diverging views of whether language, and hence code or variety, is understood as a noun or whether it is understood as a verb (action or process). Yet, from an etymological perspective, both code-switching and (trans)-linguaging can be used as (participles of) verbs or gerunds depending upon the context. It may be more useful then to recognise that the distinctions among the various uses of the terms are contextual rather than conceptual.

In any event, Gorter and Cenoz (2017) and several authors in their volume suggest that it may be unhelpful to create an impression of difference or conceptual cleavage between the two usages of TL or between TL and CS, where TL is positioned as theoretically more robust than CS. In two chapters (Slembrouck, van Avermaet and Van Gorp and Slembrouck and Rosiers, this volume), authors suggest that TL could be interpreted as being broader than currently used either in the Welsh or in the North American contexts. They also propose an alternative concept, 'functional multilingual learning' (FML) (see also Sierens and Van Avermaet 2014). FML shifts the attention from debates about what is or is not language and the metalinguistic processes of bilingual or multilingual practices, to

the functional use of students' linguistic repertoires for learning and developing high-level expertise in the language or languages that will provide access to power. (FML has a number of similarities to 'functional multilingualism' introduced in post-apartheid language policy debates, proposals and development in South Africa (Heugh 1995, 1999, 2003).) For these authors, CS, TL and FML are aspects of multilingualism and each falls within the concept of multilingual education.

The authors of these chapters are keen to take current discussions beyond the potential for disciplinary disagreement. Instead, they look towards what research and expertise through the lens of each of these considerations may contribute to strengthening our understanding of and practices of multilingual education. In other words, they argue for a focus on what is complementary among CS, TL and FML and how this complementarity may advance opportunities to bring fundamental change to education systems that languish within what are now anachronistic monolingual paradigms. Most importantly, FML shifts the focus of attention to 'learning' (cf. also Leung and Scarino 2016, for a focus on learning).

Language Planning from Below

There is another dimension to this volume. It is to bring what has become a familiar discussion in post-colonial systems, that of language education planning from below, to contexts in Europe. As suggested earlier, there has been a substantial body of educational innovation that challenges top-down language education policy and planning, beginning with a conversation between Ayo Bamgbose (1987) from Nigeria and Beban Chumbow (1987) from Cameroon. Bamgbose and Chumbow realised three decades ago that national systems were/are unlikely to undertake the necessary transformative changes to ensure educational equity and social justice in linguistically diverse contexts of Africa. They pointed towards the prospects of language planning from below, and this has been followed by multiple initiatives throughout sub-Saharan Africa and India where multi-stakeholder initiatives at the local level engage in bottom-up planning (e.g. Heugh et al. 2016). Authors of three chapters (Caruana

and Scaglione; Gkaintartzi et al.; and Conteh, in this volume) similarly indicate that systems in Europe are unlikely or unwilling to adapt swiftly to change. On the other hand, two closing chapters of the volume bring contemporary and promising evidence of language education planning from below in Europe. They show what is possible at the classroom level when teachers valorise multilingual repertoires of their students (Sierens and Ramaut, this volume). What happens in one classroom can over time initiate change across a school, particularly if recognised by a school principal who is attentive to both language⁶ and diversity, as is clearly the case in this study (Little and Kirwan, this volume). These chapters take us to a cutting edge of possibilities for multilingual education in many urban settings in Europe, in ways that bring about an ecology of multilingualism that is able to establish itself under the shadow of slow-to-change systems. If we have learned anything from language education policy initiatives in Africa over the last 25 years, it is that top-down policies have seldom delivered equity, national systems are slow to change and implementation of national policies is patchy or incompetent at best. Promising change comes from below, from teachers in the classrooms, from confident school principals willing to take risks and from NGOs that have developed ways of engaging multiple stakeholders in participatory decision-making and implementation.

Crossing the Abyss and Untangling Historical and Ideological Perspectives

As discussed above, the editors and authors in this volume demonstrate a clear desire for collaborative, respectful and reciprocal responses to multilingualism in education. They provide comprehensive discussions of the ideological constraints of monolingual ideologies in mainstream society that are mirrored in education systems and that travel through teacher education and school regimes (cf. Cummins; Conteh; Jaspers; Caruana and Scaglione; and Gkaintartzi et al.). They also provide discussions of the ways that teachers and students contest language ideologies and the ways that CS, TL and FML are used to convey meaningful learning. Several chapters in this volume also offer promising examples of language

education planning from below (Slembrouck, van Avermaet and van Gorp; García, Seltzer and Witt; Marawu; Makalela; Alby and Léglise; Slembrouck and Rosiers; Sierens and Ramaut; Little and Kirwan). From these we can draw useful lessons to share with interested stakeholders elsewhere.

Taking Stock and Looking Ahead

An emerging risk in our debates about multilingualism identified in this chapter has to do with a potential cleavage where differences of perspective and vocabulary that address multilingualism are positioned as oppositional. One view of language with implications for multilingualism is that (written) languages have more or less clearly defined boundaries, such as those maintained by L'Académie Française, and in conventional approaches to teaching languages as separate systems in universities and schools around the world. This perspective is fundamental to an understanding of the use of languages for exclusive functions (e.g. legal documents, high-level scientific language of precision, written texts of the Academy). This lens and view of language has been accompanied by various language planning agencies that include lexicography, dictionary units, accreditation for translators and interpreters and so on, possibly dating back to the Qin dynasty (approximately 200 BCE). Of course, much of the standardisation of modern languages of Europe is relatively more recent, having occurred since the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless, there is a substantial degree of gravitas behind this work and consequent investment in the teaching of modern languages, with an emphasis on formal written conventions. The materialisation of this and strengthening of this view of language have been supported and bolstered by academic agencies or institutions that serve as gatekeepers to the publication of academic texts.

Because of the scale of diversity in southern contexts, it is perhaps easier to see that multilingualism is not one-dimensional; it has both horizontal and vertical dimensions. It is used in everyday life among people who find ways to use multilingualism as 'the lingua franca' (Fardon and Furniss 1994) or 'the medium of instruction' (Wan Marjuki 2015).

At the same time, people living in southern or post-colonial contexts are acutely aware that multilingualism is hierarchically arranged (i.e. it has a vertical dimension). So on the one hand, people codemix, code-switch, translanguange, translate and interpret on a daily basis in multilingual contexts of both the south and increasingly also in the north. This is a capability that Agnihotri (2014) calls 'multilinguality'. On the other hand, people who have been marginalised or excluded from privileged access to higher educational opportunities, power and the mainstream economy are in no doubt that there is also a vertical dimension to multilingualism that can be used for purposes of exclusion (cf. Bamgbose 2000). For this reason they anticipate and expect that formal education systems will deliver the language or language variety that will guarantee access to (higher) educational, economic and political advancement. This is not the less formal horizontal practices of multilingualism (informal CS, hybrid/urban languages, TL). This is language materialised in standard written varieties, such as standardised 'international' English, likely to be found in publications of the Academy. Failure to deliver access to academic varieties of language that open doors to future advancement is failure to deliver equity and social justice. There is no ambiguity about this in southern contexts.

Implicit in this is that multilingualism in southern settings is recognised as multi-scaled in that it occurs in a hierarchical ecology (i.e. a vertical cline of languages from more powerful to less powerful) in pre-colonial as well as in post-colonial contexts. The cline may relate to languages according to the assumed size of the linguistic community, traditional systems of power, contemporary systems of political or economic power, or a combination of these. Multilingualism also occurs in sets of horizontal communicative practices. Multilingual speakers make deliberate choices of when to speak which languages and in which combinations to whom and under what circumstances. This functional use of languages and multilingualism involves linguistic choice, separation and blending (hybridity) (e.g. Heugh 2003).

Not only are there long histories of multilingualisms in many parts of the world, it is natural that over time things change, we gain new insights, and we give new semantic emphasis to lexical items. Similarly, the ways in which people refer to practices and processes of multilingualism may

differ in lexis but not necessarily at the deep level of meaning. Our job as educational linguists is to be cautious of overemphasis of lexical rather than semantic and contextual distinctions particularly when for most people such distinctions are filtered from the contexts of 7000+ language communities of the world and published through a decreasing number of what Kusch ([1970] 2010) calls the 'imperial languages'. It is in such contexts that we need to be aware of false dichotomies or ahistorical understandings of the dynamics and multidimensionality of multilingualisms in society as well as in non-formal, alternative and mainstream strands of education. As linguists and educators concerned with meaningful education based on principles of social justice and equity, we can learn and share from a long history of the management and mismanagement of linguistic diversity (Heugh 2013) in ways that are collaborative rather than adversarial.

Towards a Conclusion and Putting Back the Pieces

What the recent history of education policy and planning in post-colonial contexts has taught us is that, with few exceptions, the administrative systems of government seldom voluntarily adjust language education policies to accommodate diversity. Proposals that emerge from local communities and multi-stakeholder participation are more likely to respond to diversity in ways that give voice and exercise agency. However, the passage of local successes from the local level to the meso-level of language education policy and planning, and possibly beyond, is unlikely to be successful unless we clear up our discourses of contradictions. They are also unlikely to travel well unless we accept that multilingualism in one setting is unlikely to be the same as in another and that responses in one context do not have to be identical to those in another.

In Fig. 1, I suggest a way to reconnect our strands of discussions in relation to multilingualisms that may be useful in both northern and southern settings.

A functional view of multilingualism in education

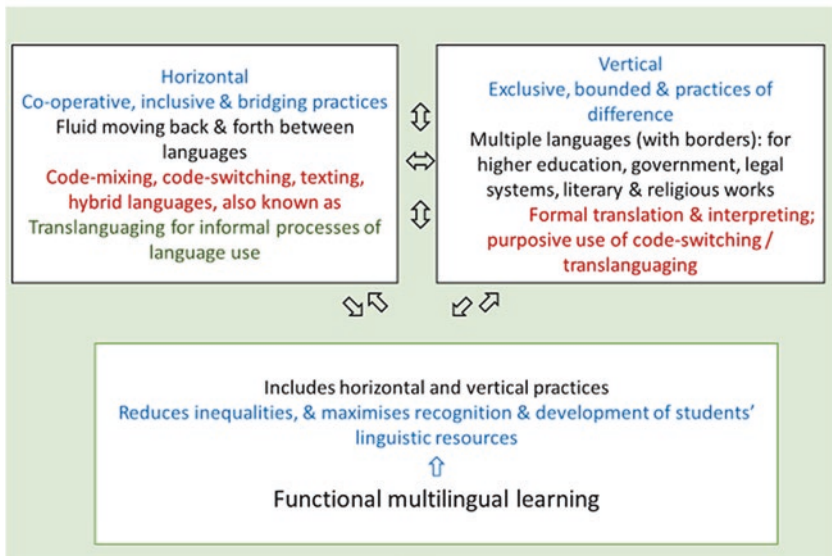


Fig. 1 A functional view of multilingualism in education

Like Sierens and van Avermaet (2014), and, in this volume, Slembrouck, van Avermaet and van Gorp; Slembrouck and Rosiers; and Sierens and Ramaut, I suggest that we can find a way across the abyss of contradictions and ahistoricity in our discussions. As educational linguists we discuss multilingualism and practices of multilingualism as they appear in and from our rather different contexts. Many of us are ‘attentive to language’ (Heidegger 1991) and to how multilingual people exercise agency and voice when using their linguistic repertoire for informal horizontal purposes in some contexts and for more formal vertical purposes in others. We may recognise that multilingualism has both horizontal and vertical dimensions. If people in the global south already see this clearly, it is owing to the *longue durée*, multi-scales and multi-dimensionality of diversity. As global shifts and patterns of migration and mobility bring southern multilingualisms close to Europe and North America, we are likely to see more clearly that both dimensions are necessary in education and most particularly for learning.

Informal practices such as CS and TL can and do make classrooms more humane and less alienating for students. We have evidence that TL does reduce inequality and that it increases respect for linguistic diversity (e.g. García, Seltzer and Witt, this volume; Li et al. 2016), and it may also increase opportunities for intercultural understanding (e.g. O'Neill et al. 2016). But it is not sufficient on its own to bring about high levels of academic capabilities in the language(s) or variety(ies) of language that act as gatekeepers to socio-economic and political aspiration. Purposeful use of CS, or TL as discussed in the Welsh literature (Williams 1996; Lewis et al. 2012), on the other hand, does have the potential to offer passage through linguistic barriers.

A functional view of multilingualism proposed during moments of possibility in the post-apartheid debates in South Africa (e.g. Heugh et al. 1995, 2003) took into account both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of multilingualism as then understood to co-exist. Functional multilingualism as an umbrella concept accommodates both the horizontal dimensions of informal practices and dynamics of CS and TL as well as the vertical and more formal practices and dynamics of both CS and TL (as discussed in the Welsh literature). Functional multilingualism takes into account the historical timeframe of not only linguistic diversities but also the epistemologies, cosmologies and ontologies and the histories from which these arise. Functional multilingual learning (FML) (Sierens and van Avermaet 2014; and several authors in this volume: Slembrouck, Van Avermaet and van Gorp; Slembrouck and Rosiers; Sierens and Ramaut) brings learning into focus in relation to functional multilingualism. This may well come to be a useful framing in which we resolve differences of interpretation by accepting heterogeneous understandings of multilingualism and accompanying vocabulary. This means that we need to recognise that differences of interpretation and experience arise from the diverse environmental, epistemological, linguistic and social settings and circumstances in which we live. An important task ahead is to understand how to reinterpret multilingualism as the medium of learning in each setting.

Notes

1. I use the Ethnologue data compiled by Lewis et al. (2016) as an indicative proxy of the scope of linguistic diversity in the world.
2. Our field owes a considerable debt to Cummins for his insights on linguistic knowledge and capability that are not partitioned in language-specific silos in the brain (1982).
3. A former third-year undergraduate student of mine, Sarifpah Aisah Wan Marjuki (Wan Marjuki 2015, student Research Project), identified this practice in Sarawak as ‘multilingualism is the medium of education’.
4. Makhudu’s research on urban varieties including *flaaitaal* and *tsotsitaal* dates back to the early 1980s. For reasons discussed by Medina (2014) elsewhere, there were few opportunities for southern scholars to disseminate their work through publications of the Academy. Until recently, they have also not tended to claim individual ownership of knowledge production (see also Heugh 2017).
5. It is worth pointing out that Wan Marjuki, who coined the term ‘multilingualism is the medium of instruction’ in Sarawak, had not read Fardon and Furniss (1994) when she did so. So it is interesting that it was her observations that led her to a similar recognition of multilingual practices in which languages are not practiced in isolation from one another in classroom settings, despite any official language policy.
6. I am grateful to Angela Scarino to drawing my attention to Heidegger’s (1991) conceptualisation of ‘attentiveness to language’.

References

- Agnihotri, R. K. (1995). Multilingualism as a classroom resource. In K. Heugh, A. Siegrühn, & P. Plüddemann (Eds.), *Multilingual education for South Africa* (pp. 3–14). Johannesburg: Heinemann Publishers.
- Agnihotri, R. K. (2007). Towards a pedagogical paradigm rooted in multilinguality. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 1(2), 79–88.
- Agnihotri, R. K. (2014). Multilinguality, education and harmony. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 11(3), 364–379. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2014.921181>.
- Bamgbose, A. (1987). When is language planning not planning? *The Journal of West African Languages*, 7(1), 6–14.

- Bamgbose, A. (2000). *Language and exclusion: The consequences of language policies in Africa*. Münster: Lit Verlag.
- Benson, C., & Kosonen, K. (Eds.). (2013). *Language issues in comparative education: Inclusive teaching and learning in non-dominant languages and cultures* (Comparative and international education: A diversity of voices, Vol. 1). Springer Science and Business Media. Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: Sense Publishers.
- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2010). *Multilingualism: A critical perspective*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Canagarajah, S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2, 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110239331.1>.
- Chumbow, B. S. (1987). Towards a language planning model for Africa. *The Journal of West African Languages*, 7(1), 15–22.
- Connell, R. (2007). *Southern theory. The global dynamics of knowledge in social science*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
- Cummins, J. (1982). *Interdependence and bicultural ambivalence: Regarding the pedagogical rationale for bilingual education*. Arlington: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education.
- De Klerk, G. (1995). Three languages in one school: A multilingual exploration in a primary school. In K. Heugh, A. Siegrühn, & P. Plüddemann (Eds.), *Multilingual education for South Africa* (pp. 28–33). Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- de Sousa Santos, B. (2012). Public sphere and epistemologies of the South. *Africa Development*, 37(1), 43–67.
- Djité, P. (1993). Language and development in Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 100(101), 148–166.
- Dua, H. (2008). *Ecology of multilingualism, language, culture and society*. Mysore: Yashoda Publications.
- Edwards, J. (2012). *Multilingualism: Understanding linguistic diversity*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Fardon, R., & Furniss, G. (1994). *Frontiers and boundaries-African languages as political environment*. London: Routledge.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. London: Palgrave Pivot.
- Gogolin, I. (2002). Linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe: A challenge for educational research and practice. *European Educational Research Journal*, 1, 123–137.

- Gorter, D., & Cenoz, J. (2017). Language education policy and multilingual assessment. Special issue: Education and multilingualism: Navigating policy and assessment. *Language and Education*, 31(3), 231–248.
- Grin, F. (2008). The economics of language education. In S. May & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education, volume 1: Language policy and political issues in education* (2nd ed., pp. 83–93). New York: Springer Science+Business Media LLC.
- Heidegger, M. (1991). *The principle of reason* (R. Lilly, Trans.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Heller, M. (2007). Bilingualism as ideology and practice. In *Bilingualism: A social approach* (pp. 1–22). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heugh, K. (1995). Disabling and enabling: Implications of language policy trends in South Africa. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistics* (pp. 329–350). Cape Town: David Philip.
- Heugh, K. (1999). Languages, development and reconstructing education in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19, 301–313.
- Heugh, K. (2003). *Language policy and democracy in South Africa. The prospects of equality within rights-based policy and planning* (Published PhD.). Stockholm: Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Stockholm University.
- Heugh, K. (2013). Multilingual education policy in South Africa: Constrained by theoretical and historical disconnections. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 33, 215–337.
- Heugh, K. (2015). Epistemologies in multilingual education: Translanguaging and genre – Companions in conversation with policy and practice. Special Issue. *Language and Education*, 29(3), 280–285.
- Heugh, K. (2017). Re-placing and re-centring Southern multilingualisms. A de-colonial project. In C. Kerfoot & K. Hyltenstam (Eds.), *Entangled discourses: South-north orders of visibility* (pp. 209–229). New York/London: Routledge.
- Heugh, K., Siegrühn, A., & Plüddemann, P. (Eds.). (1995). *Multilingual education for South Africa*. Johannesburg: Heinemann Pearson.
- Heugh, K., Chiatoh, B. A., & Sentumbwe, G. (2016). Hydra languages' and exclusion versus local languages and community participation in three African Countries. In P. Bunce, R. Phillipson, V. Rapatahana, & R. Tupas (Eds.), *Why English? Confronting the Hydra* (pp. 174–181). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Heugh, K., Prinsloo, C., Makgamatha, M. M., Diedericks, G., & Winnaar, L. (2017). Multilingualism(s) in system-wide assessment: A politics of innova-

- tion and resistance. Special Issue: Multilingual assessment. *Language and Education*, 31(5), 197–216.
- IMDC. (2016). *GRID 2016. Global Report on Internal Displacement*. Geneva: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. <http://www.internal-displacement.org/globalreport2016/>
- Kerfoot, C., & Bello-Nonjengele, B. O. (2014). Game Changers? Multilingual learners in a Cape Town primary school. *Applied Linguistics*, amu044.
- Kusch, R. ([1970] 2010). *Indigenous and popular thinking in América*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Leung, C., & Scarino, A. (2016). Reconceptualizing the nature of goals and outcomes in language/s education. *The Modern Language Journal*, 100(S1), 81–95.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: Developing its conceptualisation and contextualization. *Educational Research and Evaluation: An International Journal on Theory and Practice*, 18(7), 655–670. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2012.718490>.
- Lewis, M. P., Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.). (2016). Languages of the world. Summary by world area. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (19th ed.). Dallas: SIL International. Online version: www.ethnologue.com/statistics
- Li, X., Heugh, K., O'Neill, F., Scarino, A., Crichton, J., & Song, Y. (2016). *Developing English language and intercultural learning capabilities. Case study one: The English language project*. Research Centre for Languages and Cultures, University of South Australia.
- Lin, A. (2013). Classroom code-switching: Three decades of research. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 4(1), 195–218.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2010). The struggle to retain diversity in language education. The rise and fall of multiculturalism in Australia. A return to integration? In A. J. Liddicoat & A. Scarino (Eds.), *Languages in Australian education. Problems, prospects and future directions* (pp. 97–108). Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Makhudu, K. D. (1995). An introduction to Flaaitaal. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Language and social history: Studies in South African sociolinguistics* (pp. 298–305). Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
- Makoe, P., & McKinney, C. (2009). Hybrid discursive practices in a South African multilingual primary classroom: A case study. *English Teaching*, 8(2), 80–95.
- Malherbe, E. G. (1946). *The bilingual school: A study of bilingualism in South Africa*. London: Longmans.

- May, S. (2014). *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Medina, L. R. (2014). *Centres and peripheries in knowledge production*. New York/Abingdon: Routledge.
- Mignolo, W. (2010). Introduction. Immigrant Consciousness. In Kusch, R. Transl., M. Lugones & J. M. Price, *Indigenous and popular thinking in América* (pp. xiii–lxxiv). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Nhlapo, J. (1944). *Bantu Babel: Will the Bantu languages live?* (The Sixpenny library, Vol. 4). Cape Town: The African Bookman.
- Nhlapo, J. (1945). *Nguni and Sotho*. Cape Town: The African Bookman.
- Nomlomo, V. (2003). Accommodating diversity in the isiXhosa classroom. In B. Brock-Utne, Z. Desai, & M. Qorro (Eds.), *Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA)* (pp. 69–79). Dar es Salaam: E & D Limited.
- Nomlomo, V., & Desai, Z. (2014). Reflections on the development of a pre-service language curriculum for the BEd (Foundation Phase). *South African Journal of Childhood Education*, 4(3), 87–102.
- Ntshangase, D. K. (1993). *The social history of Iscamtho*. Unpublished master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Ntshangase, D. K. (2002). Language and language practices in Soweto. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Language in South Africa* (pp. 407–419). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Neill, F., Scarino, A., Crichton, J., Heugh, K., & Li, X. (2016). *Developing English language and intercultural learning capabilities. Case study two: The intercultural learning project*. Research Centre for Languages and Cultures, University of South Australia.
- Plüddemann, P., Braam, D., October, M., & Wababa, Z. (2004). *Dual-medium and parallel-medium schooling in the Western Cape: From default to design* (PRAESA occasional papers, 17). Cape Town: PRAESA, University of Cape Town.
- Probyn, M. (2009). "Smuggling the vernacular into the classroom": Conflicts and tensions in classroom codeswitching in township/rural schools in South Africa. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12, 123–136.
- Probyn, M. (2015). Pedagogical translanguaging: Bridging discourses in South African science classrooms. *Language and Education*, 29(3), 218–234.
- Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and identity among adolescents*. London: Longman.

- Robb, H. (1995). Multilingual preschooling. In K. Heugh, A. Siegrühn, & P. Plüddemann (Eds.), *Multilingual education for South Africa* (pp. 15–22). Cape Town: Heinemann.
- Setati, M. (2008). Access to mathematics versus access to the language of power: The struggle in multilingual mathematics classrooms. *South African Journal of Education*, 28, 103–116.
- Shoba, J., & Chimbutane, F. (Eds.). (2013). *Bilingual education and language policy in the global south*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Sierens, S., & Van Avermaet, P. (2014). Language diversity in education: Evolving from multilingual education to functional multilingual learning. In *Managing diversity in education: Languages, policies, pedagogies* (pp. 204–222). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Singleton, D., Fishman, J. A., Aronin, L., & Laoire, M. Ó. (Eds.). (2013). *Current multilingualism: A new linguistic dispensation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Heugh, K. (Eds.). (2012). *Multilingual education and sustainable diversity work: From periphery to centre*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Stroud, C., & Heugh, K. (2011). Language education. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Cambridge handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 413–429). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Versfeld, R. (1995). Language is lekker: A language activity classroom. In K. Heugh, A. Siegrühn, & P. Plüddemann (Eds.), *Multilingual education for South Africa* (pp. 23–27). Cape Town: Heinemann.
- Wan Marjuki, S. A. (2015). *Multilingualism and culture diversity in Sarawak*. LANG 3034 Research project, University of South Australia (unpublished).
- Williams, C. (1996). Secondary education: Teaching in the bilingual situation. In C. Williams, G. Lewis, & C. Baker (Eds.), *The language policy: Taking stock*. Llangefni: CAL.

Index

A

- Achievement, 2, 3, 67
- Active bilingualism, 256
- African languages, 261
- Albanian immigrants, 241
- Ambiguity, 194
- Assimilation, 2
- Attitudes, 191, 193, 203, 205, 208
- Autonomy (of learners/of teachers), 315, 317, 319, 322, 330–332
- Awareness (sociolinguistic), 5

B

- Bantustan homelands, 265
- Belgium, 287
- Beliefs
 - monolingual, 12–15
 - teacher, 10, 11

- Bilingual, 93, 98–100, 105, 106, 108
 - learning, 12
 - teaching, 15, 16
- Bilingual assistants, 214, 215
- Bilingual education, 42–44
- Bilingualism, 42, 53, 235
- Bilingual programmes, 133, 134
- Bosnia, 220, 226
- Brussels, 195–197, 207
- Burma, 43–46

C

- Cameron, David, 213, 214
- Care/caring, 57–60
- Children's voices, 235
- Classroom
 - heterogeneous, 1–2
 - mainstream, 1, 3
 - mixed-ethnicity, 5
 - translanguaged, 4

- Classroom climate, 194, 204, 207
 Classroom interactions, 117, 123, 126, 129, 130
 CLIL, 2
 Codemixing, 358
 Code switching (CS), 4, 93–110, 166–169, 181, 184, 343, 346, 350–356, 358, 361
 Cognitive resource, 292, 308
 Co-indexicality, 278
 Co-learning/co-learners, 57–60
 Collaboration/collaboratively, 45, 50–52, 60–62
 Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), 315, 327
 Communicative behaviour, 98
 Communicative repertoire, 98, 99, 105
 Complementary schools and classes, 219
 Complex multilingualism, 261, 277, 278, 280
 Continuing professional development (CPD), 213
 Conviviality (cosmopolitan), 5
 Co-teaching/co-teachers, 62
 Crossing (resource), 4
 Cultural competence, 264, 277
- D**
 Deficit, 2
 Disadvantage, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 79–81, 86
 Discourses (normative), 4
 Diversity
 cultural, 17
 ethnic, 3
 language, 17
 linguistic, 2, 5, 16, 18, 24, 27
 national, 3
 social, 17
 sociocultural, 2
 Dominant language, 10–13, 15, 16, 19, 33
 Dominant language ideologies, 117
 Dual language education, 42, 43
 Dual-language texts, 324, 325
 Dutch, 192, 193, 195–201, 203, 205, 206
- E**
 Ecology of learning, 216
 Education
 bilingual, 2, 3
 monolingual, 3, 6
 policy, 4, 6
 urban, 3, 6
 Educational policies, 140, 143
 Elementary education, 290, 303, 307
 English as an additional language (EAL), 211–213, 220, 223–226, 228
 English Language Proficiency Benchmarks, 315, 336
 English language support (Ireland), 315
 Ethnography, 195, 197, 239, 240
 European Language Portfolio (ELP), 315, 316
 Evaluation study, 287, 293, 303, 305, 307
 Explicit teaching methods, 317, 326–330

- F**
- Flanders, Belgium, 287
 - Fluid multilingualism, 279
 - Frame analysis, 174
 - French, 195–202, 208n4, 208n5
 - Functional multilingualism, 355, 361
 - Functional multilingual learning (FML), 18–22, 25, 26, 29, 181, 292, 343, 346, 354–356, 361
 - Funds of knowledge, 216
- G**
- Greek-Arabic project, 249, 256
 - Greek state school, 236, 238, 239, 245
- H**
- Home languages, 11, 12, 25, 28, 33, 191–194, 196, 197, 201, 202, 206–208, 208n3, 314–316, 318–324, 327, 332, 334–336
 - in education-project, 172, 177
 - Home/school languages, 139
 - Home school language switch, 67, 75, 76, 80
 - Horizontal practices, 358, 361
- I**
- Identity, 101, 106
 - construction, 10
 - negotiation, 82
 - texts, 81, 83, 84, 87, 254, 255, 257
 - Ideology, 192, 193, 196
 - language, 10
 - linguistic, 10
 - monolingual, 10, 12
 - Immersion, 11, 15, 16, 35n1
 - Immigrant students, 43, 58, 69, 75–78, 80
 - Immigration, 139, 140, 142, 157, 158, 160n14, 222
 - Implementation (pedagogical), 20, 21, 32, 33
 - Inclusive ethos, 317, 318, 330
 - Inconsistency, 194, 207, 208
 - Indigenous languages, 94, 95, 108, 109
 - Individual agency, 346, 360
 - Inequalities, 41–64
 - Inequality (linguistic), 4
 - Inflections, 204–207
 - Initial teacher education (ITE), 213, 215
 - Institutional discourses, 116, 117
 - Instructional strategies, 82, 83, 86
 - Integrate Ireland Language and Training (IILT), 315, 316, 336
 - Interaction, 117
 - multilingual, 18
 - peer, 19
 - social, 18
 - Interactional dynamics, 176, 183, 184
 - Intervention (pedagogical), 11, 20, 21, 27, 31, 34
 - Investment/engagement, 46, 48, 49, 57, 63, 64
 - Invisible bilingualism, 238, 239, 256
 - Irish
 - curriculum subject, 322
 - language, 314, 322
 - IsiXhosa, 95, 100–106, 108

K

- Karen, 43–49, 57, 59, 61, 63
- Kindergarten, 177–181
- Knowledge ('action'/ 'school'), 317, 318, 325, 326
- Kurdistan, 220, 221

L

- Language awareness (LA), 289, 291, 296, 300, 320
- Language of instruction, 14, 16, 33
- Language perspectives, 240, 257
- Language policy, 191, 193, 194, 197, 206–208
- Language practices, 239, 240
- Language repertoires, 293
- Language separation, 116, 124, 125, 129, 133
- Language teaching, 271, 280
- Languaging, 261
- Learning
 - capital, 2
 - functional multilingual, 3
 - language, 2, 3
 - outcome, 2
- Limpopo Valley, 263, 264
- Linguistically diverse students, 80, 82, 86
- Linguistic assimilation, 116, 123, 133
- Linguistic diversity, 93–95, 108, 142, 143, 150, 151, 157, 161n14, 161n16
- Literacy, 20–23, 317, 318, 323–326, 330
- Literacy engagement, 71, 78, 79, 81
- Lithuania, 220, 221

- Local practices, 116, 117
- L1 maintenance and enhancement, 143, 150

M

- Mapungubwe, 263, 264, 277
- Marginalized group students, 86
- The MERIDIUM project, 142–145, 159
- Metalinguistic awareness, 56
- Migrant languages, 120
- Migration, 343, 360
- Minoritized students, 59, 64
- Minority
 - children, 10
 - language, 14, 19
- Monolingual
 - approach, 15
 - education, 3
 - ideology, 6, 117, 287, 303, 308
- Monolingual habitus, 286
- Monolingualism, 192
- Motivation, 320, 322, 326, 334
- Multiculturalism, 213, 221, 223
- Multilingual
 - edge, 1
 - pedagogies, 2, 5, 6, 134
 - policy, 6
 - practitioners, 5
 - professionals, 5
 - spaces, 18, 293, 305
- Multilingual children's book, 256
- Multilingual ecology, 44, 57, 58
- Multilingual educational practices, 235–257
- Multilingualism, 10–34, 43–46, 52, 55, 67–87, 117–120,

- 168–170, 173, 287, 288, 290,
300, 305, 341–361
educational, 1–6
Multilingual repertoires, 117–120,
123, 126, 130, 133, 134
Multilingual teachers, 211–229
Multilingual turn, the, 217
Multi-/plurilingualism, 139–159
Mutual inter-comprehensibility, 277
- N**
Native speakerism, 217, 218
Nguni languages, 270–272, 277
Northern, 342–344, 359
- P**
Parental involvement, 257
Parents, 11, 16, 25, 318, 322–324,
335
Parents attitudes, 144
Pedagogical control, 308
Pedagogical resource, 94, 95, 105,
106, 108–110, 117
Pedagogical translanguaging, 291,
292, 308
Plurilingual and intercultural
education, 140, 144, 151, 152,
154, 156, 157, 161n16
Plurilingual capacity/repertoire/
competence, 315, 320, 324,
325, 327, 332, 334
Poland, 220–222, 224, 227
Policy
institutional, 34
issues, 27
makers, 10, 11, 26–29
monolingual, 11
national, 27, 34
school, 11
Political (debate), 27, 28
Polydromo, 249–57
Polylinguaging, 3
Powerful learning environments,
291–293, 303, 304
Preschool, 290, 293, 296, 298–300,
303, 304, 306, 307
Pre-service teachers, 261
Primary school, 297–306
Print access, 71, 78, 79
Proficiency
in dominant language, 2
language-specific, 31
L2, 21, 22
multilingual, 31
Programme for International Student
Achievement (PISA), 68,
70–78
- R**
(Raising) awareness, 134
Reflective learning, 326
Refugee students, 45
Relationships, 45, 49, 57, 60–63
Repertoires
language, 5
linguistic, 3
multilingual, 1, 2, 17–19
plurilingual, 6
Research, 316, 319, 330, 332, 333,
336
Resources
communicative, 3, 4
multilingual, 11, 33

S

Scales or national, regional vs. local levels or macro-meso-micro, 116, 117, 120, 122–124, 133
 School–home liaison, 318
 School officials, 117, 120, 123–125, 133
 School success, 10–12, 34
 Self-assessment/awareness/esteem, 315, 320, 327
 (Self-) confidence, 17, 18, 22, 23, 28, 34
 Sepedi, 262, 265, 271, 272, 274, 276–278
 Social inclusion, 245, 247, 349
 Socialization, 206
 Socioeconomic status (SES), 67, 70, 71, 74, 77, 78, 80, 81
 Sociolinguistic
 climate, 11, 29
 realities, 18
 regimes, 31, 32, 286, 287, 298, 304
 Southern, 342–344, 350, 354, 357–360, 362n4
 Southern European countries, 140–142
 Stratification, 207
 Submersion, 16, 18
 Sub-Saharan Africa, 261

T

Task-based language teaching, 292
 Teacher cognition, 217–218
 Teacher education, 140, 144, 148
 Teachers, 191–201, 204–208, 208n6
 bilingual, 4
 mainstream, 6
 pre-service, 6

Teacher's training, 116, 134
 Top-down policies/bottom-up model, 117, 134
 Translanguaging (TL), 3–5, 41, 115, 165–184, 217, 291, 293, 304, 308, 313–337, 343, 346, 351–356, 358, 361
 in education, 181–184
 practices, 18

U

Ubuntu, 261–280
Ubuntu translanguaging, 271, 272, 275, 279, 280
 Ubuntu translanguaging pedagogy (UTP), 262, 272, 277–279
 Ukraine, the, 220, 223
 UK society, 220, 222, 223
 Underachievement, 4, 70, 79, 80, 86
 United States (USA), 41–43, 46, 53, 54, 56
 Urban
 education, 3, 6, 52
 multilingualism, 30
 schools, 15, 17
 Urban heteroglossia, 191

V

Valorization, 191–208
 Vertical practices, 361

W

Well-being, 17, 18, 21–23, 34
 Working consensus, 208