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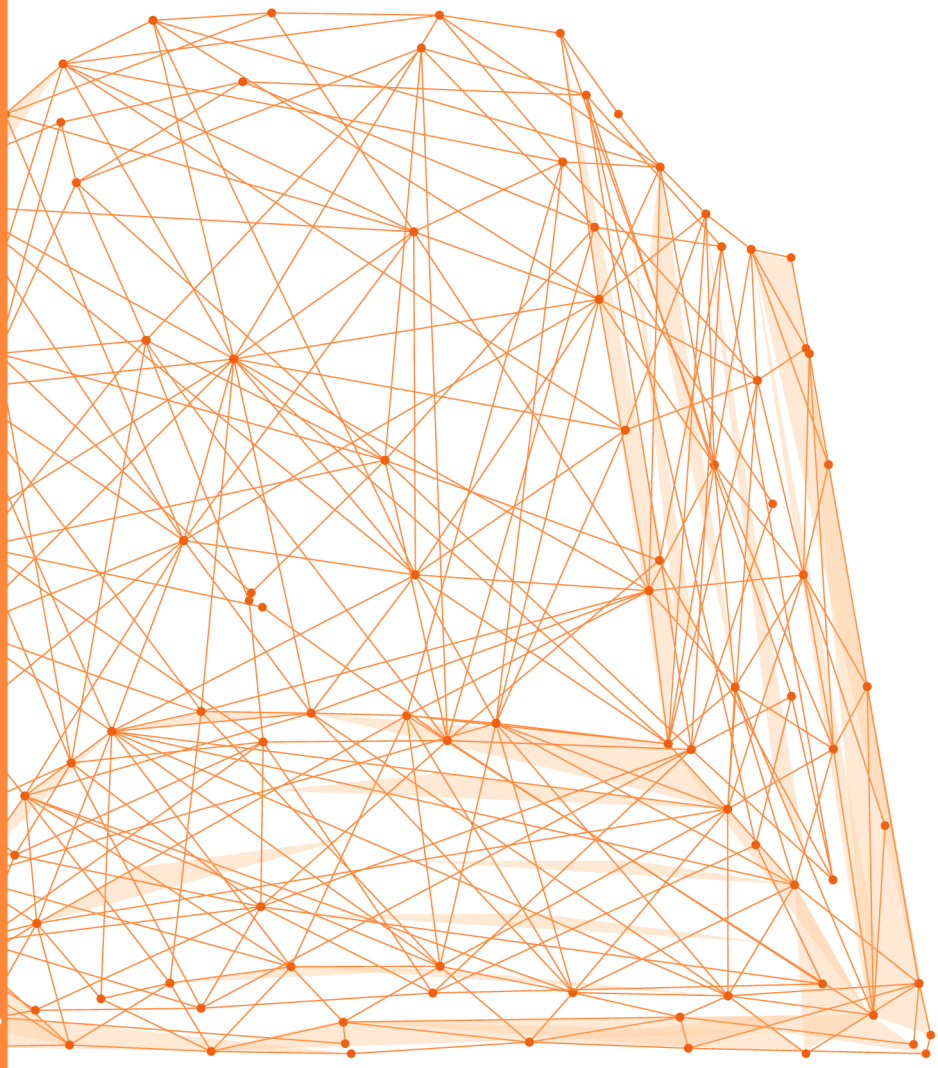
Carnegie Mellon University Qatar

LANGUAGE POLICY IN GLOBALIZED CONTEXTS



Dudley Reynolds

Language Policy in Globalized Contexts
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Contents

List of Tables viii

List of Figures viii

Foreword ix

Executive Summary x

1 Introduction 2

2 Multilingualism in Context 8

2.1 Multilingualism in Society 9

2.1.1 The Role of Schools in Linking Language to Place 9

2.1.2 Are only some contexts multilingual? 11

2.1.3 What are the social and individual needs served by multilingualism? 14

2.2 Definitions of Individual Language Competency 16

2.2.1 Public perceptions 16

2.2.2 Research-based perspectives on language competency 18

2.2.3 Implications of single-system competency for language education 19

2.3 The "Value" of Language Knowledge? 20

2.3.1 To learn or not to learn? 20

2.3.2 Critical perspectives on the economic value of multilingualism 22

2.4 Goals for Educational Policy 25

3 Educational Language Policy: Shaping the Future 26

3.1 Orientation to Need 27

3.1.1 Responses to Diversity 27

3.1.2 Meeting Language Needs in Ottawa, Canada 29

3.2 A Framework for Making Decisions at the System Level 32

3.2.1 Status Policies in European Schools 34

3.2.2 Acquisition Policy in Singapore 35

3.2.3 Corpus Planning in New Zealand 36
3.3 Issues of Scale in System Design 38
3.3.1 World Language Immersion in Georgia, United States 39
3.4 Collaborative Approaches to Resource Building 42
4 Classroom Options 46
4.1 Models 48
4.1.1 Language Use Policies in Strong Bilingual Education Models 48
4.1.2 An English school in Egypt 49
4.2 Beyond Models 50
4.2.1 Translanguaging 50
4.2.2 Early Literacy Policymakers in South Africa 51
4.3 Constructing Policy: Principles, Frames and Actions 54
4.3.1 Goals for Teaching and Learning 54
4.3.2 Analyzing the Classroom Ecology 55
4.3.3 Imagining Actions in Multilingual Classrooms 57
4.4 Principles for Collaboration 60
5 Overcoming Challenges 62
5.1 Teacher Agency 65
5.1.1 Translanguaging in Lesson Study 65
5.1.2 Resources for Teacher Development 67
5.2 Assessment 68
5.2.1 Two Attempts at Multilingual Assessment of Science Reading 69
5.2.2 Resources for Assessment 70
5.3 Policy Statements and Public Opinion 71
5.3.1 Qatar Foundation Schools 71

5.3.2 Resources for Language Policies 72

5.4 An Ideology of Collaboration 72

About the Author 74

About CMU-Q 75

About WISE 75

Acknowledgments 76

References 78

TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

Table 1: Social Drivers of Multilingualism 14

Table 2: Language Responses for Ottawa in 2016 Canadian Census 29

Table 3: Multilingual Teaching Practices 58

Table 4: Multilingual Learning Practices 59

Figures

Figure 1: A Shift in Language Policy 6

Figure 2: How Schools Can Influence Social Contexts 24

Figure 3: Design Questions for Educational Systems 33

Figure 4: Approaches for Achieving System-Design Goals 44

Figure 5: Classroom Collaboration 61

Figure 6: From Principles to an Ideology of Collaboration 73

Foreword

With ever greater numbers of our fellow humans on the move across the globe, whether forced to flee conflict and poverty, or seeking better lives for their families, and for education, communities have new opportunities to embrace and learn from diversity, and to shape their societies. Surely migration poses core challenges for leaders and policy-makers and at all levels. How the education sector should address the linguistic diversity of populations that have grown increasingly multicultural has become a touchstone for controversy.

In this report, Dudley Reynolds, our colleague at Carnegie Mellon University – Qatar, urges educators to raise awareness about how languages are actually used in societies. The report invites us to embrace the various 'ways of knowing' across languages broadly, the unique benefits each language brings to the multilingual education space. In taking full advantage of all the languages of a community, we build holistic education on foundations of cooperation and collaboration, rather than of competition and rivalry among languages.

The great Arabic-speaking explorers and scholars of past ages, travelling between Morocco and the Gulf and beyond, sparred with their hosts in many distinctive dialects to communicate, to negotiate, to learn from new experience. Out of difference, we built cohesive societies, a culture, and a legacy that proved greater than the sum of its parts. Similarly, this research calls on us to 'zoom out' even further, to envision and grasp the full scope of a world where young people thrive in multilinguistic environments of exponentially rich learning and opportunity.

Here, the wisdom of Language –the colorful, complex web of all languages— holds the center of the education stage, driving progress and change.

To illustrate and understand more deeply the ways people of diverse cultures and experiences interact, learn from one another, and create a thriving community, the research explores the work of scholars with many multilingual environments globally. These stories from bilingual, multilingual and 'translanguaging' learning spaces reveal tough obstacles: the persistent fiction of the monolingual society, fears of threats to heritage, ossified models of how and when languages should be taught. Yet their predominant message is inspiring and hopeful. Collaborating for the greater good by embracing the idea of Language is what works; languages are collections of resources, not lists of rules; linguistic competition or homogenization are not prerequisites for social harmony.

In recent years educators in all fields have rushed to provide their 'disruptive' models for education. Perhaps it is useful to suggest that this impassioned advocacy for language –the fundamental building blocks of human communication and interaction– has a distinct authority in framing the core issues around how it is used in all learning, and how it should be taught. WISE 2019, entitled 'UnLearn, ReLearn: What it means to be Human,' evokes a scattering of conventional thinking and a fresh opportunity to assemble anew what we know works in building transformative learning, and how diverse communities can thrive. What better place to begin this vital conversation than with the idea of language itself?

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Decisions about languages to teach and use as part of formal schooling directly impact educational outcomes globally. They influence the accessibility of content and create implicit messages about whether students' heritages and identities are welcome and capable of succeeding at school.

Current language policies in many contexts are negatively impacting educational opportunities for indigenous and migrant speakers of minoritized languages as well as majority language speakers who are not motivated to learn additional languages. Statistics suggest that as many as 40 percent of the world's children are studying in languages they do not fully understand, while in the United Kingdom and the United States, study of languages other than English is dropping dramatically.

Current policies often derive from concerns that multilingualism is a threat to national identity or too difficult to promote in schools with limited resources. These fears are based on what the report terms an Ideology of Competition. This flawed ideology views languages as a bounded phenomenon with respect to both geographic and cognitive spaces. Adding additional languages to a space, whether the space is a mind or a country, creates competition and poses a threat.

The report argues that language policies should be based instead on three Principles for Collaboration (Figure 1):

- Accommodate dynamic needs of individuals and societies for language resources
- View multilingualism holistically
- Foster respect for difference

The principles derive from a recognition that multilingualism increasingly characterizes both places and people, in part because of the virtual and physical mobility associated with globalization. Communities in the Global North and South are populated by people for whom languages provide connections to identity and heritage, national cohesion, and opportunities for wider communication outside of the local space (Table 1). The languages and needs for language in any given place are dynamic and emerging, however.

With respect to the human mind, multilingualism does not mean knowledge of multiple, independent languages. The report argues for what researchers refer to as a multi-competence perspective, which recognizes some linguistic knowledge as specific to particular languages and other knowledge as common to multiple languages.

Educational systems that promote multilingualism should not be seen as adding new threats to social cohesion or cognitive load; instead, they build resources for communities and people. Unfortunately, the message for indigenous and migrant speakers of minoritized languages, however, is that they should forget the resources they already have and adopt the language practices of majority groups. Ironically, majority language speakers are often encouraged to learn new languages so that they can engage with speakers of other languages—in other places. The Principles for Collaboration challenge educational systems to counter these tendencies (Figure 2).

System-level responses in globalized contexts like Ottawa, Canada show that it is possible to orient towards building the resources of a community rather than fixing language "problems." Schools there promote the two national languages, English and French, while at the same time creating a range of options that respond both to home language use and desires for additional languages beyond English and French.

Designing a system to promote multilingualism requires attention to traditional language planning questions related to status, acquisition, and corpus (Figure 3). Status questions deal with which languages to use for which needs. Acquisition questions address how to accommodate different populations equitably. Corpus questions ask how to create resource-rich learning environments where students see what they are learning as valuable.

An additional consideration for system design is whether to answer these questions in a top-down manner, through policies that apply for large groups of students, or create elective options that promote multilingualism through example. Case studies from Europe, Singapore, New Zealand, and the U.S. state of Georgia illustrate system-level responses to these issues.

At the classroom level, the increasing heterogeneity of students makes models that prescribe instructional approaches based on student characteristics obsolete and creates a need for resources that support localized policy-making. Translanguaging, a pedagogical approach that accepts the dynamic use of resources from multiple languages as a normal form of communication for multilinguals has emerged as a way of building new resources from the resources brought to the classroom by diverse students.

Researchers argue that restricting language use in the classroom to one language or another stigmatizes minoritized languages and limits speakers' ability to make meaning. Students need to be able to suppress what they know how to do in one language in contexts where others will not understand them, but they also should be able to demonstrate freely linguistic abilities not tied to a single language, such as locating information, structuring an argument, and creating multilingual texts.

To formulate localized policies, teachers need goals for the use of translanguaging, heuristics for analyzing their classroom ecology, and examples of teaching and learning through translanguaging.

Drawing on educational and ethnographic research, the report discusses how to craft goals that respond to the individual and social uses of languages in the community, general understandings of the linguistic competency of multilinguals, and values for what the classroom should promote. Complementing the external focus of goal setting, teachers also need to analyze the language uses, users, and resources that exist within their classroom.

As support for imagining the activity of teaching, the report provides examples from the research literature on *stances* toward multilingualism, *modeling* the practices of multilinguals, and *designing* activities where languages are in contact (Table 3). As support for learning in the context of translanguaging, the report provides examples of making *connections* between languages, *differentiation* of one language from another, *accommodation* of inevitable challenges, and *identity* making through the use of resources from multiple languages (Table 4).

Policy changes always present implementation challenges. The report concludes with suggestions and examples for overcoming challenges from the author's experiences in the globalized context of Qatar.

Three major challenges are addressed: supporting teachers as they transition to more multilingual instruction, assessing multilingual uses of language, and laying the groundwork for public support of multilingual education.

Multilingual education based in the Principles for Collaboration has the potential to transform educational outcomes for large numbers of students around the world and contribute to the attainment of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4 for quality education. The vision for this report therefore is for an Ideology of Collaboration, where:

- Education contributes to cohesive societies where all people feel empowered by their language resources and negotiation skills
- Multilingualism is synonymous with cognitive and social development
- Minoritized languages and their speakers are valued as sources for invention and renewal.

CHAPTER ONE

Decisions about languages to teach and use as part of formal schooling have a significant impact on educational outcomes around the world today. At the most fundamental level, they influence the accessibility of content. Students who come to school speaking the language(s) of the school have an easier time understanding what is being taught. But decisions about language also create implicit messages about whether students' heritages and identities are welcome and capable of succeeding at school. They serve to reinforce, or challenge, ideologies about who has power in a society.

When students have opportunities to use and learn more about languages they already know, they develop confidence and creativity as communicators. When they have opportunities to learn new languages, they develop empathy, pattern recognition skills, problem solving strategies, and appreciation for the importance of diversity. When students use languages they already know well along with languages they are developing to access and create content knowledge, they learn what it means to be an effective, multilingual user of language in today's globalized world. This report is offered as a resource for educators —national policy makers, system-level officials and administrators, classroom teachers— who have to make decisions about languages to use and teach as part of schooling.

Global statistics about three very different student populations all suggest a need to rethink the decisions that are currently being made. The first population comprises students, often characterized as "indigenous," for whom the language of school is not a language spoken in their home. The United Nations estimates that "as much as 40 percent of the global population does not have access to education in a language they speak or understand" (UNESCO, 2016b, p. 1). This situation has a negative effect not only on the students themselves but also on the languages that they speak.

The United Nations declared 2019 the Year of Indigenous Languages because "40 percent of the world's estimated 6,700 languages [are] in danger of disappearing— the majority belonging to indigenous peoples" ("2019 International Year of Indigenous Languages," 2019). Linguist Anthony Woodbury notes that when a language dies, we lose "prayers, myths, ceremonies, poetry, oratory, and technical vocabulary, . . everyday greetings, leave-takings, conversational styles, humor, ways of speaking to children, and unique terms for habits, behavior, and emotions" (n.d., para. 5).

The second group impacted by decisions about language use are students who encounter a new language at school because of migration or displacement. Globalization has meant a worldwide increase in voluntary migration, both across national boundaries and from rural to urban areas within countries, as well as displacement resulting from social conflict. The Migration Data Portal reports: "the estimated number of people aged 19 or under living in a country other than the one where they were born rose from 28.7 million in 1990 to 36 million in 2017" ("Child and young migrants," n.d.). In her foreword to the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report ***Migration, Displacement, and Education***, UNESCO Director-General Audrey Azoulay writes:

> *The school environment needs to adapt to and support the specific needs of those on the move. Placing immigrants and refugees in the same schools with host populations is an important starting point to building social cohesion. However, the way and the language in which lessons are taught, as well as discrimination, can drive them away* (UNESCO, 2018, p. iii).

The third group impacted by the ways in which languages are used and promoted as part of schooling are students for whom the primary language of school actually aligns with the language used in their home and in their daily life. They are most often English speakers, who are further benefited by the fact that English is used for wider communication outside of their country. Data suggest, however, that they are also increasingly foregoing the study of additional languages, completely or for anything beyond minimal competency. A recent British Council survey indicates that less than half of British 16 year olds study a language other than English (Tinsley, 2018). The American Academy of Arts and Sciences reports that almost 80 percent of the United States population speaks only English. Moreover, 20 percent of secondary schools, 42 percent of middle schools, and 75 percent of primary schools in the United States do not teach languages other than English. The Academy cautions that "the ability to understand, speak, read, and write in world languages, in addition to English, is critical to success in business, research, and international relations in the twenty-first century" (Commission on Language Learning, 2017, p. vii).

Educational policies that promote and value multilingual learning opportunities have the power to improve educational outcomes for all three of these groups. What is happening to them reflects much more than a failure of educational policy. It reflects the growing power of certain groups –and the languages they speak– along with the marginalization of other groups, and the ways of knowing embodied in their cultures and languages that are no longer important in an increasingly homogenized world connected by technology and media. Minority indigenous languages disappear because they cannot compete with languages that offer larger scale. Migrant and displaced children lose out in education because they do not start with the resources to compete with majority language speakers. Majority language speakers in turn have the resources they need to succeed, so why learn more?

The loss of linguistic and cultural diversity, inequities in access to education, and the hegemony of English are not inevitable byproducts of the competition induced by globalization, however. Rather, they are what happens when educational systems believe that multilingualism is a threat to national identity and too difficult to promote in schools with limited resources. They are what happens when educational systems base their policies about language use and teaching on a flawed understanding of what language is and how languages relate, an ideology that views languages as competing for geographic and cognitive territory.

As discussed more in Chapter 2, the primary language of schooling is most often the "national" language. Whether through official designation or unofficial rhetoric, nation states promote the idea that they are unified by a single language spoken by all citizens within the geographic borders of the state, and schools are one tool for promoting the idea. When additional languages are introduced at school, it is because they bring economic opportunity outside of the nation. Languages associated with minorities, both indigenous peoples and migrants, are often excluded from schools because they are perceived as a threat to this rarefied understanding of national identity. As a result, the selection of school language(s) privileges languages of power: the languages of majority social groups and global opportunity. The perception of nation states as linguistically homogenous is a myth, however, as the data above suggest. We live in multilingual societies in a multilingual world. When schools focus exclusively on languages of power, they ignore this diversity. They accept the premise that societies are divided, and they foster an ideology that says it is natural for some languages to be winners and others losers. In a world of increasing ethnic, cultural, and religious strife, this is a risky premise to embrace.

The perception of languages as

bounded and exclusionary phenomena competing for territory is also fueled by popular notions of what languages are. Most people conceive of the noun 'language' as having singular and plural forms, as an entity with enough existential reality and definiteness that it can be counted—and taught. To know a language is to know a set of forms (sounds, words, grammatical structures) and their associated meanings; to know two languages entails knowing two form-meaning sets. This conception originates in courses with names such as *Language Arts, Arabic as a World Language, French Language and Literature* and sometimes persists even in programs that label themselves "bilingual," which means they teach two separate languages.

A recent innovation in language classrooms has been an increased emphasis on the use of forms to construct complex meanings in social contexts. This innovation has come with names such as communicative language teaching, task-based language learning, and English for Specific Purposes. While helping to infuse classrooms with motivational goals for students,these innovations have left standing an ideological formulation of language as a unitary entity with generalizable standards that can be normatively applied wherever it is learned. There is correct and incorrect usage, good and bad language.

This singular focus on the standardized properties of individuated languages with clear boundaries makes it much easier to assume, that every time an additional language is learned, a greater burden is placed on cognitive capacity. New languages will compete with older languages. As will be shown throughout this report, languages are much more than canons of knowledge. The meanings created by particular uses of languages extend far beyond the information in common dictionaries to index social class, personal goals, and collective history. Terms such as 'correct' and 'incorrect' are judgments based on individual experience, not universal scientific facts. Communication is possible when the resources of one individual overlap with those of another, but what each knows of the common "language" will never be identical. When language is understood as rules, the more a student has to learn, the more difficult the task. When language is perceived as a collection of resources, it becomes easier to see how more resources would make an individual richer.

Languages are not bounded or exclusionary phenomena. Competition is not inevitable. Schools do not have to perpetuate marginalization, inequity, or narrow world views. Nations can teach national languages while also valuing other languages spoken in a community and opening doors for wider communication. Teaching and learning multiple languages is not more taxing than teaching and learning what society perceives to be a single language.

As shown in Figure 1, this report argues for a shift in language policy in globalized contexts: from reinforcing an *Ideology of Competition* to building on *Principles for Collaboration.*

The reality of multilingualism in communities around the world cannot be denied.

The choice for policy makers is whether the increasing co-existence of multiple languages will be viewed as leading to competition (the left column in Figure 1) or an opportunity for collaboration (the right column).

If we are to improve educational policy, we must consider multilingualism as it actually *exists* in society, how it *defines* our understanding of language, and prompts us to *value* difference. Together, these three perspectives offer ways of considering and contrasting the societal impact, curricular content, and implicit messages created by language policies. They also serve as a structuring framework for recommending policy changes as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

IDEOLOGY OF COMPETITION		PRINCIPLES FOR COLLABORATION
Education reproduces status quo relations between majority and minoritized populations	EXISTENCE →	Accommodate dynamic needs of individuals and societies for language resources
Languages exist as separate cognitive structures in the brain	DEFINITION →	View multilingualism holistically
Majority language(s) are synonymous with and necessary for national identity	VALUE →	Foster respect for difference

Figure 1: A Shift in Language Policy

Figure 1 presents the Ideology of Competition as a description of the status quo because, as will be shown in the report, it drives practice in many places today. Too often, education supports the languages of majority groups while disempowering the languages of minoritized groups. In doing so, systems perpetuate the ways that multilingualism currently exists in the community. They adopt existing power relations as the target for educational outcomes and teach world languages rather than the non-national languages spoken in the community. When it comes to defining what we mean by language, the Ideology of Competition reduces multilingualism to teaching multiple languages, each in isolation and all vying for space in the curriculum. These practices in turn communicate that the standardized form of the language spoken by majority groups is both necessary and sufficient for enjoying the benefits of membership in the nation served by a school. They value select languages rather than all.

But there are also examples where more collaborative practices are beginning to take hold. In Chapters 3 to 5, the Principles for Collaboration presented in Figure 1 are illustrated and developed through examples of school systems and classrooms where they are taking hold to create new ideologies around language.

Multilingualism exists in societies because societies around the world are comprised of individuals with diverse heritages and life goals. The virtual and physical mobility of people coinciding with globalization means that this diversity is increasing. If societies are to remain cohesive, individuals must feel that their individual needs are supported by society. Educational policy must recognize and seek to balance these dynamic needs. Doing so will require a holistic definition of language use as a system at both the individual and societal levels. Whereas previous understandings of language prioritized the characteristics of individual languages, this new understanding must give importance to the ability to go between languages strategically. When education systems acknowledge and holistically support the dynamic language needs of a community, they communicate a different message: respect for difference and opportunity for all.

These Principles are predicated on the belief that social harmony is achievable without linguistic homogenization. Globalization does not have to entail the loss of identity or uniqueness. One of the challenges in developing policies that promote multilingualism is how we avoid policies that simply promote everyone's knowing the same set of languages. The rich linguistic diversity that increasingly characterizes communities everywhere should be fostered as a source for creativity, bringing together different ways of seeing and understanding as a source for new ideas and values. This is an admittedly utopian perspective, but that is always the nature of educational outcomes. If they are not difficult to achieve, then the bar has been set too low.

Four chapters follow. Chapter 2 focuses on the world today, the globalized contexts—both social and individual– that shape, and are shaped by, educational language policy. It makes the case for why change is needed and concludes with a set of goals based on the Principles for Collaboration for how educational systems should seek to impact their societies. Chapter 3 explores how we can design educational systems to better promote multilingualism following the Principles for Collaboration identified in Figure 1. Chapter 4 shifts the context from educational systems to classrooms. It examines multilingual pedagogies as well as the role of individual classroom actors in shaping language policy. The final chapter offers suggestions for overcoming the certain challenges for implementation: What should we expect if the principles for collaboration are to become practices from which new ideologies emerge?

CHAPTER TWO

MULTILINGUALISM IN CONTEXT

The ideology of competition rests on an understanding of languages as bounded phenomena. From this perspective, languages correspond to places: geographic regions, class periods in schools, areas of the brain. Because language use can be mapped, the goal of language education is to fill a space as completely as possible. A fully filled space is represented by a cohesive society where everyone speaks the same language with the competency of a "native speaker." When multiple languages enter a space because of migration, exposure to global media, or instruction, they often end up fighting for dominance, hence the connection with an ideology of competition. When we see languages as competing, we are compelled to base educational policy on neoliberal notions of value. This report argues for a new, more holistic base for educational policy, one that seeks to cultivate and value all of the language resources present in an individual and society.

The chapter is organized around the three perspectives on multilingualism identified in Figure 1: how it exists in societies, how we define language, and what we value as a result of our understandings of its existence and properties. It begins with a more detailed discussion of the phenomenon of multilingualism both as people perceive it to exist and as linguists show it to exist. It then moves to considering our definitions of multilingual competency, again contrasting public perceptions with research-based understandings. In both cases, public perceptions seem to be driven by bounded metaphors for language that in turn lead to policies that places languages in competition. The connection between language knowledge and competitiveness emerges most clearly in the third section, which explores why educational programs value some languages more than others. The chapter concludes by showing how the principles for collaboration can be developed into action-oriented goals for educational policy.

2.1 MULTILINGUALISM IN SOCIETY

2.1.1 The Role of Schools in Linking Language to Place

The Incheon Declaration for Education 2030 is arguably one of the most important contemporary guides for educational policy. It was ratified by representatives from 160 countries under the auspices of UNESCO in May 2015 at the World Education Forum in Korea, and seeks to provide a framework for implementing the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4):

Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.

The Declaration clearly recognizes the importance of choices about language use in schools. It talks about language as both a vehicle for accessing content and a skill with economic value:

In multilingual contexts, where possible and taking into account differing national and subnational realities, capacities and policies, teaching and learning in the first or home language should be encouraged. Given the increased global social, environmental and economic interdependence, it is also recommended that at least one foreign language is offered as a subject. (UNESCO, 2016a, p. 37)

The first recommendation stems directly from the UNESCO report referenced in Chapter 1 estimating that up to 40 percent of the global population does not have access to education in a language they fully understand (UNESCO, 2016b). Increased instruction through home languages should lift educational outcomes worldwide. Similarly, the call for inclusion of "foreign language" in the curriculum directly supports the understanding of education presented early in the Declaration:

as crucial in promoting democracy and human rights and enhancing global citizenship, tolerance and civic engagement as well

as sustainable development. Education facilitates intercultural dialogue and fosters respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, which are vital for achieving social cohesion and justice. (UNESCO, 2016a, p. 26)

Thus, the Incheon Declaration makes a clear case for the stakes associated with language education policies.

The Declaration also implicitly reveals the way in which schools contribute to the ideology of languages as bound to places, however. The wording of the report suggests that there are two types of contexts in the world: multilingual and monolingual. In monolingual contexts, it is important to teach "foreign" languages, languages of other places, as a vehicle for economic opportunity. The problem for multilingual contexts is that many of them are pretending to be monolingual. They are ignoring the linguistic diversity in their communities and as a result limiting students' ability to access content. As recommendations for improving education worldwide, the benefits of improved access and opportunity are clear. At the same time, the Declaration reveals the prevalence of an ideology that sees the world as divided into spaces that are 1) monolingual, 2) multilingual pretending to be monolingual, and 3) potentially accepting of their multilingualism.

The Declaration leaves open the question of why so many schools might treat their context as if it were, or should be, monolingual. Sociolinguists Joseph Park and Lionel Wee argue that many countries promote a narrative that they are inhabited by a "single ethnic and cultural population . . . often assumed to speak a single language, which serves as the national language, official or otherwise, of the nation state" (2017, p. 48). They argue that this national language is "commonly considered to be the carrier of the ethnic/national culture, transmitting historical memories, collective values, and the inherited wisdom of ancestors to current and future generations, as well as serving as the basis for unified government of the state" (2017, p. 48).

The power of this narrative is attested by such commonplaces as "in Qatar, they speak Arabic," "in China, they speak Chinese," and "in Canada, they speak English and French." The destructive power of the narrative is attested by its impact on the 40 percent of students who are not fluent in their school's language (UNESCO, 2016b; Walter & Benson, 2012),by examples of violence against migrants based on their use of a non-dominant language (e.g., Hedgpeth, 2018), and by the "endangered" status of "at least 43 % of the estimated 6000 languages spoken in the world" (Mosley, 2010). As a narrative, we must also question its validity.

2.1.2 Are only some contexts multilingual?

As shown in Figure 1, the Principles for Collaboration begin with a recognition of multilingualism as a dynamic phenomenon existing in the world both of individuals and societies. An oft-noted paradox related to globalization is that while the world is more connected today than ever before, when we look at the lived lives of individual people in relation to their society, we find more disjuncture than ever before. Anthropologist Steven Vertovec (2007) argues that we live in a period where communities are characterized by "super-diversity," not just in terms of traditional demographics like ethnicities but also in the kinds of work different people are likely to engage in, the range of legal statuses, the likely length of time people plan on staying in a place, the gender and age of people who come from other places, and even preferred living arrangements—all factors that influence the linguistic resources individuals possess and need. In short, who interacts with whom to do what on a regular basis is more dynamic and complex.

To be certain, people with different backgrounds speaking different languages have always had to interact, but sociolinguists Larissa Aronin and David Singleton argue that the scale, locations, and nature of these interactions are different today. They believe that "current multilingualism should . . . be treated as a new linguistic dispensation," a new structuring principle for society (2008, p. 12). They cite three motivating forces for this new dispensation: a worldwide expansion in the use of English as a lingua franca, a concomitant effort to revitalize many of the world's approximately 6000 local languages, and increasing levels of worldwide migration.

The expansion of English as a *lingua franca* is a phenomenon largely associated with globalization and the fostering of supra-national businesses, agencies, and associations within a neoliberal economic model. Linguists such as Barbara Seidlhofer (2011) and Jennifer Jenkins (2007) have argued that these new patterns of societal organization are leading to the emergence of a new form of communication embedded in the interactions of people who do not share a common first language. These new interactions use vocabulary, grammatical structures, and textual forms historically associated with English, but not in ways that can be considered identical to historical usages, hence the designation English as *lingua franca*. These new communication patterns are being driven in part by multi-national workplaces and governmental bodies (Berthoud, Grin, & Lüdi, 2013), the internationalization of English-medium higher education (Jenkins, 2017), and the growth of tourism (Guido, 2016). Language demographer David Graddol notes, however, that "as global English makes the transition from 'foreign language' to basic skill, it seems to generate an even greater need for other languages"(2006, p. 118). Because knowledge of some English facilitates interactions, it makes it more likely that people with different linguistic repertoires will need to communicate.

Worldwide efforts to revitalize indigenous languages are occurring because very few nations, if any, can actually be characterized as monolingual despite the narratives cited by Park and Wee. There are around 6000 languages in the world but fewer than 200 countries. Kosonen (2013) notes that in Cambodia, for example, Khmer is associated with the largest ethnic group in the country and serves as the official language for government functions and most education settings; nevertheless, there are 22 recognized languages. In Thailand, Standard or Central Thai, which is spoken as a first language by approximately 50 percent of the population, has served as the official language for government and education for more than 100 years, but there are more than eighty languages actually spoken in Thailand. Increasingly we see a focus on the revitalization and preservation of these non-official languages as evidenced by the United Nations' designation of 2019 as the Year of Indigenous Languages.

Finally, the United Nations International Organization for Migration, estimates that more than 257 million people, 3.4 percent of the world's population, are "foreign-born residents" in 2018 (migrationdataportal.org). In 2000, the percentage was only 2.8 percent. This data does not account for second-generation immigrants, temporary travelers, people who have lived for an extended period outside their country of origin but now returned, or people working virtually across national borders, all of whom contribute to the linguistic diversification of locales around the world.

Aronin and Singleton (2008) point out that while multilingualism used to be the norm primarily for border communities and contact zones (as well as for specific social classes, occupations, and social functions such as religious rituals), contemporary multilingualism cuts across geography, social strata, and function.

Hurst further challenges us to realize that the migration flows from rural to urban areas within countries, as well as between countries of the developing South, are as responsible for increasing multilingualism as more studied forms of South-North migration (2017).

As communities become more complex and the myth of monolingual states becomes more apparent, a common concern is the loss of ethnic and cultural identity. Sentiments such as the following online news story from the Arabian Gulf begin to surface:

Arabic is no better than the third most-spoken language in the United Arab Emirates, behind English and Hindi. This is hardly surprising in a country where foreign workers make up more than 80 percent of the population. Emiratis live as a privileged minority in their oil-rich country, but their language — and with it, their sense of national identity — is in danger of being swamped by a relentless tide of Western-style consumerism. (Hundley, 2010)

Ethnographic research in communities around the world, however, suggests that the diversification of communities does not always mean the erasure of previous identities; rather, we often find a rich appropriation of identity-linked resources by new users for new purposes (Blommaert, 2010; Rampton, 2011). The multilingual societies that students graduate into today still associate languages with heritages, nationalities, and economic opportunities, but what is different is the increasing ability of individuals to construct complex identities through the appropriation and mastery of a wide range of language resources.

Historically, language knowledge and Use has been seen as an accident of circumstance, shaped by the society, family, and location into which we were born. The language we used revealed innate characteristics: our ethnicity, nationality, social class, gender, educational and occupational opportunity; it located us in time and space. The indexing of language forms to social categories is possible when there are identifiable patterns of language use that vary in predictable ways from setting to setting.

Documenting what these patterns reveal about social stratification and structure has been a primary interest of sociolinguists for many years. In a classic 1966 study, for example, sociolinguist William Labov (1986) found that New York department store employees in a store serving wealthy clientele were more likely to pronounce the r-sound in directions to the "fourth floor" than employees in a store with lower social prestige. Sociolinguists today are increasingly documenting a new phenomenon, however: the decoupling of language from time and space (Collins, Slembrouck, & Baynham, 2009).

The inferences we make about individuals based on their language use no longer carry the same certainty

that they once did. Language use can no longer be seen simply as a window on social stratification because we are increasingly realizing the ability of individuals to adopt and appropriate language. In call centers across Asia, employees learn to sound as if they were calling from Aimes, Iowa or Southampton, England; they are hired and promoted based on their ability to sound as if they were from somewhere else (cf., Heller, 2010a; Rahman, 2009).

In the south Midlands of England, sociolinguist Ben Rampton describes how urban youth from a range of ethnicities appropriate language characteristic of other ethnicities and create stylized forms of communication; he finds "the use of English-based Creole among youngsters of Anglo and Asian descent, the use of Punjabi by Anglos and Caribbeans, and the stylisation of Asian English by all three" (2011, p. 277).

In Singapore, English is used as a primary language in all schools while Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil are taught as second languages for Malaysian, Chinese, and Indian families respectively. Because of the large number of recognized languages in India, Indian families may petition for their children to study Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati, or Urdu instead of Tamil. However, Ritu Jain and Lionel Wee (2018) report that many Bengali and Gujarati families are petitioning for their children to learn Hindi rather than the family language because they see Hindi as offering greater mobility and economic opportunity.

Finally, the Globalization and Localization Association estimates that by 2021 "the global market for outsourced language services and technology" will be $56.18 billion (USD) ("Translation and Localization Industry Facts and Data," n.d.). In short, patterns of language use are much more today than reflections of inherited or socially imposed identity. People today increasingly appropriate new language forms as a tool for social bonding and economic advantage.

2.1.3 What are the social and individual needs served by multilingualism?

The sociolinguistic literature on the use of languages in society thus squarely challenges the notion that there are any geographic contexts where only one language matters. Table 1 presents a framework for understanding the social factors that contribute to multilingual societies, as well as why societies care about the languages schools promote. The framework is illustrated with examples from four countries: Vietnam, Spain, the United States, and Qatar.

The first social function served by language is a connection to identity and heritage. Whether the student is an indigenous minority in Vietnam or an African immigrant to Spain, the language used in the classroom may foster —or obscure— the student's relation to their community, personal history, and desired identity. The increasing diversity of societies today makes this one of the most difficult functions for schools to address.

The second function is the creation of national cohesion. The myth of monolingual contexts draws on the supposition that this language will be the same as the identity and heritage language for the majority of the population, but that is not always the case. In Qatar for example, Snoj (2017) estimates that in 2016 only 12.1 percent of the population were Qatari citizens while 25 percent of the population came from India. Moreover, the Khaleeji Arabic spoken by Qatari families at home, like all forms of colloquial Arabic, differs significantly from the more standardized Arabic taught in schools and used for governmental functions.

Table 1: Social Drivers of Multilingualism

Functions	Vietnam	Spain	United States	Qatar
Identity and Heritage	Vietnamese ~100 ethnic languages	Castilian Spanish Basque Catalan Galician Immigrant languages	English Native American languages Spanish Immigrant languages	Hindi Malayalam Urdu Khaleeji Egyptian English . . .
National Cohesion	Vietnamese	Castilian Spanish	English	Arabic
Wider Communication and Opportunity	English Russian, Chinese, French	English French	Spanish French, German, Arabic, Mandarin	English French, Japanese, Korean

Finally, language learning opens opportunities for wider communication. Spurred by increased ease in mobility and technological connectedness, globalization makes this function increasingly important and a priority for many school systems. As shown in the table, the language of wider communication is most likely to be English in contexts where English is not the language of national cohesion. According to the European Community's Eurostat service, 94 percent of upper secondary students in Europe study English today ("Foreign language learning statistics," 2018). In the United States, however, the most common additional language studied is Spanish (American Councils for International Education, 2017). Spanish is a heritage language for many U.S. residents, but it is also an opportunity language.

Many of the problems associated with language in education occur when these social functions compete for space in the school curriculum. The reference to home languages in the Incheon Declaration is necessary because many systems around the world prioritize national cohesion and wider communication over a connection to heritage. There are also examples, however, where regional governments such as Spain's Catalonia have legislated the use of a heritage language for the region as the primary language of schools, which may in turn disadvantage immigrants from other regions and countries (Reyes & Carrasco, 2018). The super-diverse reality of contexts around the world suggests that the question for educational policy should not be which function to prioritize, but rather how to foster societies around the Principles for Collaboration where people are empowered by their heritage, connected to fellow citizens, and able to take advantage of global technologies and opportunities.

2.2 DEFINITIONS OF INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGE COMPETENCY

2.2.1 Public perceptions

In September 2018, Pablo Casado Blanco, the leader of the Spanish opposition political party, tweeted:

Queremos un sistema público educativo bilingüe, con los mejores profesores nativos, para alcanzar el mejor nivel de competitividad de nuestros alumnos.

[Author's translation: We want a bilingual public education system, with the best native teachers to reach the best level of competitiveness by our students.]

(pablocasado [Pablo Casado Blanco], 2018).

As happens with political discourse, the tweet received a number of critical responses. One of the most liked responses came from a professor of English who wrote:

Como profesora de inglés me ofende ver mi trabajo continuamente cuestionado porque mi pasaporte ponga España en vez de UK. Hay muchos profesionales en la enseñanza con nivel C2 que son perfectamente válidos para el bilingüismo que son españoles.

[Author's translation: As a professor of English it offends me to see my work continually questioned because my passport says Spain instead of UK. There are many teaching professionals with a C2 level who are perfectly qualified for bilingual education who are Spanish.]

(Alba_McDonald [Alba McDonald], 2018).

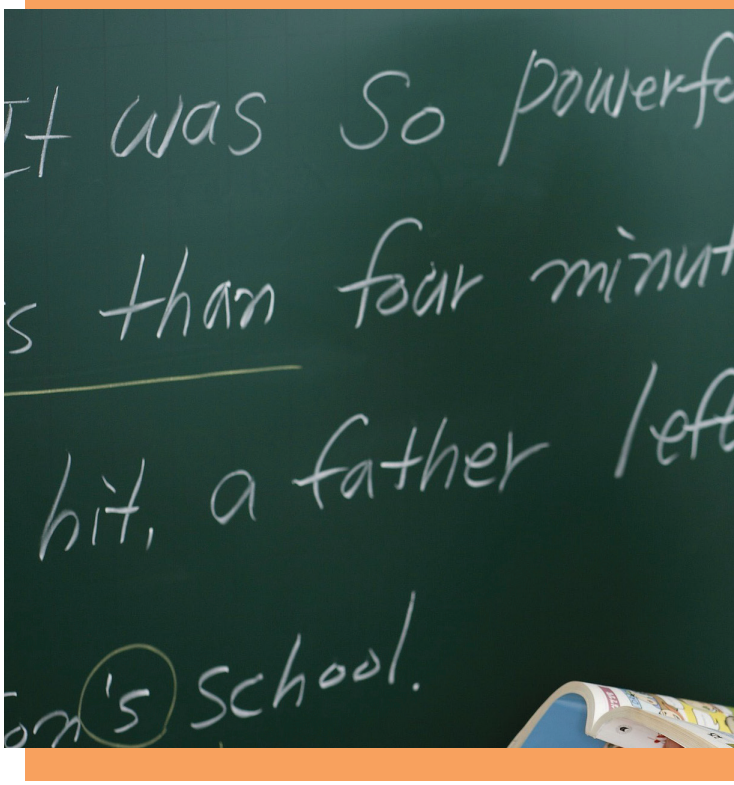
A Spanish teacher of German, offered a similar defense of professional knowledge as distinct from linguistic knowledge, writing:

Soy profe de alemán, me han propuesto dar clade [sic] de español y he dicho que no. Sé dar clase de alemán, no de español por mucho que sea nativa. Esto a la gente le cuesta entenderlo, al parecer.

[Author's translation: I am a German teach, they have proposed giving me a Spanish class and I have said no. I know how to give a German class, not a Spanish even though I am a native. This is difficult for people to understand it seems.]

(len_Marina [Lena Marina], 2018)

Another respondent, a literary translator, focused on the "correctness" of different nationalities' knowledge of language:



He tenido profesores y compañeros que hablan un inglés más correcto que cualquier persona con una formación media-avanzada del Reino Unido. También conozco extranjeros que hablan español mejor que todos los miembros de su partido juntos. Ser nativo no es una garantía profesional.

[Author's translation: I have had teachers and colleagues who speak a more correct English than any person with an average advanced education from the United Kingdom. I also know foreigners who speak Spanish better than all the members of your party together. To be native is not a professional guarantee.

(VctrAnma [Víctor Anguita], 2018)

There were also responses that focused on the proposal for bilingual education made by Casado's tweet. This one came from an "EFL Teacher" [English as a Foreign Language]:

Si ya les cuesta trabajo entender nuevos conceptos, más trabajo les cuesta hacerlo en una lengua que no es la suya. Aprenden terminología específica en una lengua extranjera y no en la suya.

Educación bilingüe es para zonas en las que la L2 también se habla fuera del colegio [Author's translation: If it is already hard for them to understand new concepts, it will be even harder to do it in a language that is not theirs. They are learning specific terminology in a foreign language and not their own. Bilingual education is for areas in which the L2 also is spoken outside of the school.]

(migrod123 [Miguel A. Rodríguez], 2018)

Much of the controversy created by the initial tweet relates to Casado's claim that "native speakers" make the best teachers. English professor MacDonald responds that there are Spaniards with sufficient proficiency in English to teach in a bilingual program. The professor of German challenges Casado's claim by distinguishing between ability to speak a language and knowledge of how to teach it. Finally, the literary translator suggests that foreigners can speak a language "more correctly" than a native speaker can. Implicit in all of these views is what applied linguist Vivian Cook refers to as a "monolingual perspective." A monolingual perspective .

Sees second language (L2) users from the point of view of the monolingual first language (L1) user. In this case the second language is added on to the speaker's first language, something extra; the L2 user's proficiency in the second language is measured against the sole language of the monolingual; ideally the L2 user would speak the second language just like a native speaker. (2016, p. 1)

Casado's detractors argue that knowledge of teaching is as important as knowledge of language and that it is possible for Spanish speakers to speak as well or better than English native speakers; nevertheless, they all seem to accept the premise that Spanish speakers of English should be compared to English native speakers in order to prove their worthiness as teachers. In accepting this premise, they provide another example of an ideology in which language is spatially bounded—this time in the mind.

When a second language is seen as being "added to" a first language, the second language becomes a competitor for cognitive space and a mental burden. Thus, when a speaker of a second language produces an utterance that differs from how a monolingual would likely express that meaning, the "mistake" is often explained as an example either of "interference" or of missing knowledge. Either way the implication is that there is territory the second language has yet to fill. As the EFL Teacher Rodriguez tweets, learning concepts in a "foreign" language "les cuesta mas," literally "costs them more," presumably because it requires additional layers of knowledge. This bounded view coincides with an understanding of a language as a monolithic set of rules, where the rules of the first language are presumably complete and the rules of the second language are incomplete. Moreover, because language is viewed as rules, we can make categorical judgments about "correctness."

2.2.2 Research-based perspectives on language competency

The second Principle for Collaboration in Figure 1 argues that we must define multilingualism as a holistic phenomenon. Specialists in language development challenge both the compartmentalized view of competency and the essentialization of language as a set of cognitive rules. Vivian Cook proposes that instead of the "monolingual perspective," we adopt a "multi-competence perspective" which focuses on "the overall system of a mind or a community that uses more than one language" (2016, p. 3). This single-system perspective of competency allows for language-independent components, such as inferencing strategies or ways to break words into parts, alongside language-specific components, such as vocabulary.

It also makes it easier to see why psycholinguists have increasingly noted cognitive benefits for multilingualism beyond just the ability to communicate. In a meta-analysis of 63 studies examining correlations between bilingualism and cognition, for example, Olusola Adesope and colleagues report positive correlations with "increased attentional control, working memory, metalinguistic awareness, and abstract and symbolic representation" (Adesope, Lavin, Thompson, & Ungerleider, 2010, p. 207). Multilingual minds have a greater range of resources to coordinate and select from. They also have rich comparative data that pushes them to understand language as a symbolic system.

By linking the competency of an individual with patterns of usage in a community, Cook's definition depicts competency as something that emerges through interaction and changes in relation to changes in a community. Language is not fixed, but fluid, a constantly changing constellation. At any given time, as well as across time, what each person knows will differ. For many linguists, this is a new view of language.

Sociolinguist Thomas Ricento notes that the linguistic theories of Noam Chomsky, for example, were attempts to represent the rules that allow an "ideal native speaker" to generate utterances. Rules could be rejected if a native speaker would consider the resulting utterance "ungrammatical." As appealing as the notion of fixed structures is for anyone writing curriculum, Ricento points out that it simply does not match reality. He cites linguist Paul Hopper, who wrote:

> *there is no natural fixed structure to language. Rather, speakers borrow heavily from their previous experiences of communication in similar circumstances, on similar topics, and with similar interlocutors. Systematicity, in this view, is an illusion produced by the partial settling or sedimentation of frequently used forms into temporary subsystems.* (1998, pp. 157–158 as cited by Ricento, 2017, p. 16)

If what we know as language emerges through our experiences using language, then we have to accept that many experiences are not monolingual. Many children learn language in homes where parents speak to them in more than one language, often in the course of a single conversation. Because these children also hear monolingual usage, they learn to associate the different elements of the conversation with different sets of resources and respond appropriately. But the conversation is not just contributing to what they know about two independent sets of resources, it is teaching them to have a multilingual conversation.

In 2016, an influential group of 15 applied linguists, calling themselves "The Douglas Fir Group," published "A transdisciplinary framework for SLA [second language acquisition] in a multilingual world." In it, they describe the varied forms of multilingual communication that must be accounted for by any understanding of competency:

> *Multilingual speakers will deploy their semiotic resources by choosing across their languages and/or varieties and registers in response to local demands for social action.*
>
> *Multilinguals are well documented as handling this rich semiotic repertoire flexibly, sometimes keeping the languages separate, at other times alternating them, mixing them, or meshing them. The competence of multilingual speakers is the holistic sum of their multiple-language capacities.* (2016, p. 26)

This new understanding of language competency sees little difference between the individual who uses English slang with friends, Southern United States pronunciations with family, and standardized academic English at work and the individual who speaks Urdu with friends, Punjabi with family, and English at school. The names given to varieties of a language as well as the names given to languages do not correlate with independent competencies; rather they represent sets of resources that co-exist within an individual's repertoire for making meaning.

2.2.3 Implications of single-system competency for language education

Recognition of the variability in multilingual knowledge and performance has significant implications for language education. First, individual languages have been historically isolated within the curriculum from other languages, and often, other content areas. This design principle can only be explained as an attempt to reduce competition and emulate the conditions of monolingual language development. Monolingual production is not the only form of communication needed by multilinguals, however, as emphasized by the Douglas Fir Group.

We must think more carefully therefore about how current curricular divisions work against inclusion of multilingual tasks. We must also take seriously the broader cognitive benefits of working with resources from multiple languages at the same time and how this can be incorporated in tasks across content areas (cf., Canagarajah, 2013; Conteh & Meier, 2014; Jaspers, 2015; Lorente, 2017; Piller & Takahashi, 2011).

Secondly, as illustrated by Casado's tweet, many people believe that native-speakers make the best language teachers. Many of his respondents in turn argued for the greater importance of pedagogical ability. Clearly, language teachers must model, explain, and encourage the use of language. If we apply Cook's multi-competence perspective to understandings of language teacher competency, the best teachers will be those who can model, explain, and encourage the use of more than one language (cf., TESOL International Association, 2018). This does not mean, however, that the language resources teachers bring must align perfectly with the resources their students are developing. Today's super-diversity makes it highly unlikely that any one teacher will know all the home languages of their students. Nevertheless, competent language teachers should be able to model and talk about using more than one language to accomplish a task. They should be able to empathize with their students, make strategies explicit, and identify ways to self-assess success.

2.3 THE "VALUE" OF LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE?

2.3.1 To learn or not to learn?

The third Principle for Collaboration in Figure 1 moves from perceptions of society and language to values; what societies value ultimately determines which languages to teach whom and surely influences which languages people will want to learn. At first glance, however, societies seem to hold conflicting values.

The myth of monolingual places means that migrants to those places are frequently told that the language of their new country is more valuable than the languages they have previously used. According to journalist Austin Davis, in Germany, migrant and refugee students older than seven must spend one to two years studying only German language and culture in "welcome classes" before beginning a regular curriculum. He reports:

Students with an immigrant background in Germany performed 50 percent worse than their German peers in subjects like math and science, even after socioeconomic status was taken into account, according to a 2015 OECD study.

Difficulty in mastering the German language is usually blamed as the chief culprit behind the disparities, and some advocates say that supports the welcome classes' philosophy of teaching refugee students German for a year at the expense of other subjects. (2017)

The migrants may have learned calculus, chemistry, and geography in their home language, but that learning is of little value now because they cannot talk about it in German. Forcing students to delay further studies until they have sufficient ability in German communicates a clear message: German is valuable; other languages are not.

In a review of refugee education in Europe published by the Education International association of teacher unions, sociologist Nihad Bunar criticizes the prioritization in Germany and other countries of national language before other content areas:

It appears that internal pedagogical discourses have been reduced almost entirely to the question of how to make sure newly-arrived students quickly develop deep language structures in German, Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Swedish. This is an almost intuitive reflex emanating from teachers' bewilderment once faced with a seemingly insurmountable task: How to teach a child without a language? This is a flawed premise, since all newly-arrived children already have one or several languages with them. For some reason, the language –or languages– of the newly-arrived children are not acknowledged and valued. (2018, p. 9)

This public devaluing of multilingualism contrasts sharply with another popular narrative: multilingualism creates economic opportunity. Sophie Hardach begins a February 2018 blogpost for the World Economic Forum:

Multilingualism is good for the economy, researchers have found. Countries that actively nurture different languages reap a range of rewards, from more successful exports to a more innovative workforce. (2018)

The extent of this narrative is seen in a May 2017 human-interest story about Pakistanis learning Chinese as part of an initiative supported by the Chinese government that appeared on news sites in multiples countries. An instructor at Pakistan's National University of Modern Languages states in a version on Pakistan's DAWN site:

"The number of students is increasing with the passage of time because of Chinese job opportunities... There were two sections of the certification [in the past], now there are 10" (Bacha, 2017).

A story on the United States' National Public Radio (NPR) site attributes the increase even more directly to increased economic ties between China and Pakistan:

> *The mix of investment, loans and Chinese expertise is transforming Pakistan with new roads, metros, a port and power plants. Tens of thousands of Chinese have come to work on these projects. Officials say there's a demand for translators, lawyers and supervisors. But they need to speak Mandarin.* (Hadid, 2018)

Anthropologist Monica Heller argues that in the current neoliberal world order, the ability to use language in specific ways has taken on increased economic value: "How one speaks and writes is one basis for deciding one's worth as a scholar, an employee, or a potential marriage partner" (2010b, p. 102). Heller attributes this "commodification of language" to four characteristics of late capitalism: 1) a need to manage communication between commercial and regulatory entities who use different languages; 2) the new language and literacy skills demanded by computerized workplaces; 3) the need for language skills as part of a growing service sector; and 4) the development of markets associated with tourism and specialty goods where language forms add economic value (2010b, p. 104)

Ironically, the arguments for educational policies that promote monolingual migrants and multilingual natives both draw on notions of economic competitiveness for justification. Migrants who learn German will have an easier time and learn more than migrants who do not. Natives who learn an additional language will be able to find work easier than natives who do not. What these arguments do not do, however, is challenge the status quo division of society into natives with power and migrants without.

2.3.2 Critical perspectives on the economic value of multilingualism

In an empirical approach to this clash of narratives, economists Barry Chiswick and Paul Miller investigate whether bilingual males born in the United States have an earnings advantage over English monolinguals. They posit that learning and speaking languages other than English may on the positive side "expand job opportunities," or on the negative side "[detract] from the individual's full potential in English," "serve as a basis for negative discrimination" if associated with an accent or other signals of ethnicity, and correlate with living in a geographic location segregated from the economic mainstream (2018, p. 566).

They find that individuals who speak certain Western European and East Asian languages as well as Hebrew in addition to English earn significantly more than monolingual English peers, conforming to the general belief that multilingualism brings economic benefit. Speakers of Spanish and Native American languages, on the other hand, earn less than monolinguals even when levels of education are controlled.

Chiswick and Miller's findings lend support to the conclusion that it is good for Pakistanis to learn Chinese but bad for migrants to Germany to learn anything other than German. The positive value of languages as a commodity is not absolute or universal in a world dominated by an ideology that puts languages in competition; value depends on which languages an individual knows vis-à-vis their social context. The Principles for Collaboration put forth in Figure 1 call for building a more positive understanding of all languages as offering resources.

The emphasis on economic value as a guide for educational policy has led many countries to emphasize instruction in languages for wider communication and opportunity, referenced in Table 1. Sociolinguist Beatriz Lorente argues that in many places English has become a "basic skill," which means "that if there is bilingual or foreign language education in countries, the chances are that the L2 or first foreign language that is being learned is English" (2017, p. 493). Next in line as part of a multilingual repertoire are likely to be languages that Stephen Walter and Carol Benson refer to as "international languages," which "are distinguished by (a) their long history of use as a written language, (b) their status as national or official language of multiple countries, and (c) their use as international vehicles of business, education, scholarship and diplomacy." They cite Modern Standard Arabic, French, Spanish, German, and Portuguese as examples (2012, p. 280). Least likely to be formally taught or supported are the languages introduced into a society by immigrants, languages linked in Table 1 to identity and heritage. Extra notes that in Europe immigrants' languages are "only marginally covered by EU language promotion programs and – so far – are mainly considered in the context of provisions for learning the national languages of the 'migrants' countries of residence" (2017, p. 2).

Taking a critical stance towards this situation, applied linguist Nelson Flores cautions that advocating for multilingualism.

> *Could be seen as both reinforcing English linguistic imperialism (with the assumption being that a plurilingual subject should have English as part of their linguistic repertoire) while simultaneously limiting multilingual competences to those that benefit transnational corporations (through the commodification of language that ignores relations of power produced by neoliberalism).* (2013, p. 515)

This critique is echoed by a reader responding to the DAWN article about Pakistanis learning Chinese:

> *People are only reacting to the times and opprtunities [sic]. With a knowledge of chinese they will get better jobs. As china expands into Pakistan they will need people to do their work. It was the same with the British, indians and pakistanis are the same we are eager to sacrifice our language and culture to adopt the foreign ruler's language and culture for the sake of a job. Within 10 years chinese would be an official language in Pakistan.*
>
> NJINDIAN (Bacha, 2017)

Too often, the multilingual resources of immigrants and indigenous ethnic minorities are viewed as a threat to social cohesion (Extra, 2017), or more benignly, of limited value (Kubota, 2016; Ricento, 2017). Competency in the national language is used as a proxy for patriotic attachment, employability, and academic achievement (King & Bigelow, 2018; May, 2017; Ricento, 2014). If language resources are a commodity, it is inevitable that marketplaces will attach different values to different resources. The challenge for education policymakers therefore is to consider the hidden "costs" associated with overvaluing resources such as English as a ***lingua franca*** while undervaluing the resources of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

PRINCIPLES FOR COLLABORATION		INFLUENCING SOCIAL CONTEXTS
Accommodate dynamic needs of individuals and societies for language resources	EXISTENCE →	Treat diverse students equitably and their needs for individual identity, social cohesion, and wider opportunity equally
View multilingualism holistically	DEFINITION →	Develop multi-competence in individuals and society, rather than individual language proficiencies
Foster respect for difference	VALUE →	Ensure that language learning in schools truly adds to the competencies and potentials of individuals and societies, and never requires language loss

Figure 2: How Schools Can Influence Social Contexts

2.4 GOALS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Figure 2 returns to the Principles for Collaboration as a basis for establishing goals and considering how schools can promote new understandings and roles for multilingualism in globalized contexts. This chapter began with the premise that schools are too often used to reinforce the myth of monolingual places and nations. When additional languages are introduced in the curriculum, they are perceived as "foreign" languages connected with "other" places. The diverse linguistic resources that students may bring from their homes and encounter in their communities are in turn devalued. This bounded compartmentalization of languages in society is in turn reflected in the isolation of languages within the curriculum and the classroom, the assumption that native speakers make the best teachers, and the requirement that students attain competency in the mono-language of school before being able to learn content in other areas. The Principles for Collaboration, however, call for accommodating the dynamism of actual language use in societies across today's globalized contexts, accepting the dynamic nature and full range of students' needs for language resources. This suggests that as schools consider their role and responsibilities, they must

- Treat diverse students equitably and their needs for individual identity, social cohesion, and wider opportunity equally.

From a psychological perspective, the development of multi-linguistic competence, regardless of the specific mix of languages, offers the individual cognitive advantages over monolingual competence. Learning to navigate difference enhances everything from the speed of mental processing to creativity. From a sociological perspective, we also see exposure to the linguistic patterns of multiple communities as offering individuals connections to their heritage as well as new identity choices. When multilingualism is considered holistically, it becomes a resource for being. The world has taken a "multilingual turn" that education should not only follow but support (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014). We must, therefore,

- Develop multi-competence in individuals and society, rather than individual language proficiencies

Finally, in considering the need for new and revised language policies, it is important to realize that the need is driven not only by the imperative of increasing access to education in languages students know best but also the likelihood that students will be confronted with linguistic difference on a daily basis. We must foster respect for this difference. Because we live in a world where language skill and repertoire can confer economic advantage—and disadvantage, we must

- Ensure that language learning in schools truly adds to the competencies and potentials of individuals and societies, and never requires language loss

The next chapter considers how these three goals can be translated into designs for educational systems. Chapter 4 then brings them to the classroom.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY: SHAPING THE FUTURE

The goals presented in Figure 2 challenge us to consider how we can design educational systems that a) help each student connect in a holistic manner the language resources they already use with new resources b) in ways that do not promote language loss c) but rather foster personal identity, social cohesion, and wider opportunity. Educational systems are typically designed around the principle that students of a certain age have similar cognitive abilities and knowledge of the world. When it comes to language resources, however, we cannot assume that students of any age are similar, especially in today's globalized contexts.

Too often systems ignore this diversity. They treat all students as if they shared the resources of a dominant social group, even when that dominant group comprises a small segment of the population or resides only in specific areas. As a result, minoritized children begin, or very quickly transition into, studying math in a language that they have never used for games. Migrants delay studying geography so that they can focus solely on the language of their new school but then still fail at showing what they know about the places of the world because they have not developed the language needed to pass a test. Then, if these students study a "second" language at school, they often cannot use it to make their grandparents laugh. Decisions about languages to teach, and teach in, are decisions with the power to shape the future of societies as well as individuals.

This chapter considers the practical decisions that systems must make about which resources to foster for whom, when, and how. System-level decisions about language education represent a form of what the academic literature refers to as language planning and policy (LPP). LPP has historically focused on questions related to nation building, minority rights, and language revitalization (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), often in what were perceived to be "multilingual nations" (Hornberger, 1994). As noted in the first chapter, current world migration patterns and the rise of super-diversity mean that every nation today is a multilingual nation. Whereas the historical challenge involved negotiating the needs of indigenous minorities vis-à-vis a majority group, the challenge has now expanded to include migrant populations as well as the rise of locally-constructed identities that draw resources from multiple social groups (May, 2017).

Questions about language addressed in South Africa in the wake of apartheid and in New Zealand when the rights of indigenous Māori and Pasifika peoples began to be recognized, are now also faced by cities like Ottawa, where 22 percent of the respondents to the 2016 Canadian census reported a language other than English or French as their "mother tongue" (Statistics Canada, 2017). But the dynamics between majority languages, indigenous languages, and the languages of immigrant minorities vary across contexts. Systems that work in one context may not in another. The approach taken in this chapter therefore is to identify questions that educational systems need to ask as part of planning processes. Examples of how educational systems around the world answer such questions are presented, not as universal answers but rather as insight into the process for answering.

3.1 ORIENTATION TO NEED

3.1.1 Responses to Diversity

Given the extent of language diversity in most contexts today, the first question systems must address is how they will view this diversity, what is the need that exists in the community and which they must seek to meet. In an early LPP framework, Richard Ruíz (1984) noted an historical evolution in the orientation to need taken by planners and decision makers. He argued that in the early days of the field, planners focused on language differences as a "problem" to overcome in order to promote national and social cohesion, often in post-colonial contexts, but also as part of efforts to integrate disadvantaged minorities into larger society.

A prominent example of this orientation within educational systems is what

are known as "transitional bilingual programs" (Baker, 2017). Transitional programs recognize the "problems" associated with learning content such as science or history through a language that is not spoken at home and, for older students, has not been used in previous schooling. When students enter a transitional program, therefore, they find that at least half of instruction will be in a language they command. Over time, often a period ranging from one to three years, they transition into spending the majority of instructional time in the new language. Because such programs encourage students to stop relying on the language they used when entering the program, Baker labels such programs as a "subtractive" form of bilingual education.

A second orientation identified by Ruiz "advocate[s] consideration of language as a basic human right" (Ruíz, 1984, p. 22). This orientation draws theoretical and moral support from the Civil Rights movement in the United States as well as various international human rights declarations, evidence of this orientation in educational systems include programs labeled as "heritage" or "community" language programs as well as efforts to maintain and revitalize indigenous languages such as Welsh in Wales or Navajo in the United States. These programs recognize that the minoritized status of an indigenous or migrant population puts the language that connects them with their historical community at risk. Students typically elect to participate in such programs and spend more than half their time learning through the minority language. Because such programs aim to build competence in a heritage language as well as the majority language, Baker (2017) labels them as an "additive" form of language education.

Although based in principles of human equality and justice, Ruíz notes that the orientation toward language as a human right often puts languages in competition with each other, a central problem noted in the first chapter of this report. Competition results when minoritized groups must fight, often through the courts, for these programs. It results when systems must decide which minoritized groups in a diverse community merit targeted programs. It results from the creation of different programs for different segments of the population.Ruíz argues that what is needed instead is a broader, additive orientation to all languages as "resources," resources that should be conserved when endangered but also developed for economic and social opportunity.

3.1.2 Meeting Language Needs in Ottawa, Canada

The 2016 Canadian census reported 923,375 residents living in the city of Ottawa. Table 2 reveals the complexity of even trying to describe the multilingual resources these residents possess. Census respondents were asked about their knowledge of Canada's "official languages" English and French, the language they speak most often, and their mother tongue. Almost all residents have knowledge of English and almost 40 percent report knowledge of both official languages. These numbers indicate on one hand the dominance of English in the city but also the prevalence of multilingualism in society.

With respect to the languages that people use most frequently, 81 percent report speaking English, while only 15 percent identify French, again confirming the dominance of English in the city. Interestingly, the percentage of residents who report French as their mother tongue (14 percent) is almost the same as those who speak it most often, suggesting that a segment of the population maintains a strong identity with the language of their childhood and uses its official status to carve a role for it outside the home.

When asked about mother tongue, however, only 61 percent identified English, and 22 percent reported another language. With 81 percent reporting that the language they speak most often being English, those who grew up speaking another language seem mostly to have now shifted to speaking English.

Table 2: Language Responses for Ottawa in 2016 Canadian Census

Response	Knowledge of Official Languages	First Spoken	Mother tongue
English only	59%	81%	61%
French only	1%	15%	14%
English and French	38%	2%	1%
Neither English nor	1%	1%	
French			
Other			22%
English + Other			2%
French + Other			0.4%
English +French + Other			0.3%

(Data source: Statistics Canada, 2017)

The complex language dynamics shown in Table 2 illustrate why it is essential to consider the nature of the need that exists as the first step in designing an educational approach for a community. In Ottawa, it would be easy to view the 40 percent of the population for whom English is not a mother tongue as a "problem" for social cohesion, following Ruiz's "language-as-problem" orientation. If there is societal consensus that both official languages should be promoted, then the language problem is even greater because 62 percent of residents report not having knowledge of both languages.

On the other hand, if language is perceived as a right, following Ruiz's second orientation, then there is a clear need to serve the 14 percent of the population who identify French as a mother tongue. But what about the hundreds of languages identified by the 22 percent reporting mother tongues other than English and French? The problem with both of these orientations to the Ottawa data is that they place the need for individual languages above the need for multiple languages. The response in Ottawa has been to encourage learning multiple languages, in line with Ruiz's "language-as-resource" orientation. System planners have worried less about who needs which language and more about how they can make multiple languages available for everyone to learn.

Students in Ottawa may enroll in one of four school systems, governed by separate, tax-funded school boards. The two largest systems use English as the primary language for instruction. According to enrollment figures reported on the boards' websites, the Ottawa Carleton District School Board (www.ocdsb.ca) enrolls approximately 47 percent of the students attending one of the four systems, and the Ottawa Catholic School Board (ocsb.ca) 27 percent. The other two systems use French as the primary language of instruction. The Conseil des écoles publiques de l'Est de l'Ontario (cepeo.on.ca) enrolls ten percent of the students in the four systems, and the Conseil des écoles catholiques du Centre-Est (www.ecolecatholique.ca) 15 percent.

The English systems are open to any student. Students with a French-speaking parent may automatically enroll in a French school, whereas students from households where French is not a mother tongue must apply. All systems follow curriculum guidelines and policies established by the Ontario Ministry of Education (edu.gov.on.ca/eng/teachers/curriculum.html). The 25 percent of students enrolling in French systems is higher than the 14 percent of the population reporting French as a mother tongue on the census, suggesting that many families see the French systems as an opportunity to expand language resources.

Each of the systems adopts a primary language for instruction and operation and provides support in the form of second-language instruction and newcomer programs for students who are new to that language. They also require students to take at least "core" language courses in the other official language. In the French systems, all students take core English courses in Grades 4 through 8, with additional courses required at the secondary level. In the English systems, the core French courses are positioned as a minimum expectation. Both English systems describe their kindergarten programs as 50 percent English and 50 percent French. For Grades 1 through 8, students may then choose a core pathway (French language course only), an extended option (approximately 25 percent instruction in French), or an immersion option (at least 50 percent in French). The details of the extended and immersion options vary between the systems, but they both involve students studying not only French as a language but also studying content areas such as science or social studies through French. Both English systems provide options for students to continue studying multiple subject areas in French at the secondary level.

In addition to support for Canada's official languages, the Ontario Ministry of Education also mandates that school boards support learning of what are referred to as "native" or "indigenous" as well as "international" languages,

specifying that a program must be established for any language requested in writing by the families of 23 or more students (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2016). At the elementary level, these programs are largely delivered through 2.5-hour weekend classes during the school year with more intensive summer school options. This format is continued at the secondary level where classes are opened up to adults in the community. The classes are free for students enrolled in the school system and supported by funding from the ministry. Teachers are often recruited from the local community. A teaching license is not required, but school boards are responsible for providing professional development (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2012).

Offered at the request of, and in collaboration with the community, these programs are comparable to programs referred to as community or complementary schools in other countries (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006).

In addition to these community programs, the school systems offer regular courses in "classical studies and international languages" as part of the secondary curriculum. In 2018-19, the public English system advertised on their website community courses in more than 30 languages at the elementary level and more than 20 at the secondary as well as regular credit-bearing secondary courses in Arabic, Cantonese, German, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, and Somali.

Supporting the large number of mother tongues brought to the city by migrants as part of tax-funded education, in addition to English and French, clearly evidences Ottawa's orientation to languages in general as resources. Together the four systems accommodate students with a range of previous language experiences. The English systems serve students from English dominant backgrounds; the French systems serve French-speaking households; and all systems offer second language instructional programs for students whose previous experience has been dominated by other languages.

Recognizing the dominance of English outside of schools, curricula are designed to increase exposure to French. In the English systems, this means an early emphasis on French with options to continue through secondary school. The French systems, on the other hand, operate solely in French initially, delaying the introduction of English until Grade 4.

Finally, all systems respond to community requests for additional languages with either small-scale or regular, credit-bearing courses that serve needs for both identity and wider communication. The approach exemplified in Ottawa makes affordances for varied language experiences at home and outside of school as well as a range of individual goals; at the same time, it encourages the cultivation of resources in multiple languages for all students.

3.2 A FRAMEWORK FOR MAKING DECISIONS AT THE SYSTEM LEVEL

Ruiz's three orientations to language provide a useful way for seeing how different understandings of the goal influence design. When it comes to identifying the actual design decisions, the LPP literature has historically focused on three areas: status, acquisition, and corpus planning (Cooper, 1989; Kloss, 1969).

Status refers to decisions about which languages will be used for which purposes. For schools, this might mean choosing a general language of instruction or the languages that would be used to teach specific subjects. If a status is seen as an endpoint, then *acquisition* plans focus on how to get speakers to that point. This may entail decisions about when to introduce new languages as part of the curriculum or what the relative exposure to different languages should be in a classroom. Finally, *corpus* planning historically has focused on efforts to introduce new resources into a language, to expand or shape vocabulary and grammatical conventions to accommodate a greater range of purposes or more standardized communication. While schools rarely attempt to influence the compendium of resources in a language, there is a need to plan for and create classroom resources that support language development.

In 1994, educational linguist Nancy Hornberger proposed a unifying framework that focused on the nexus of planning with policy. The framework maintains the categorization of plan according to status, acquisition, and corpus, while arguing that policies tend to focus on either forms or functions. When the focus is on forms, plans materialize as *policy* dictates, macro-level decisions that put structures in place. When the focus is on the functions of language, plans emerge as more of a vision to be cultivated through micro-level actions.

Figure 3 applies the category labels from Hornberger's framework to specific questions related to system design. The policy questions can be answered by identifying languages, users, and resources; the *cultivation* questions, on the other hand, prompt consideration of strategies for meeting needs, accommodating individuals equitably, and valuing resources. The three-way distinction between the needs that will be met, the way in which they will be met for different individuals, and the resources that will be used to meet them represent respectively types of status, acquisition, and corpus planning. Within each cell, the questions offer a general starting point for decision making. How they should be answered will depend on context.

Discussions of educational systems in Europe, Singapore, and New Zealand follow as examples of ways the questions in Figure 3 have been answered. Although each discussion focuses on one area of planning, questions about purposes for language use, strategies for promoting development, and resources needed to support language learning had to be answered in all three cases. Because these are examples of decisions that have already been taken, they are examples of decisions that bestowed power on certain groups and languages, while lessening the power of other groups (McCarty, 2011). The purpose in sharing these examples is not to show what should be, but rather to reveal the agency that educators have. As Hornberger and Ellen Skilton-Sylvester argue in a subsequent work: "the very nature and definition of what is powerful biliteracy is open to transformation through what actors – educators, researchers, community members and policymakers – do in their everyday practices" (2000, p. 99).

	Policy (Forms) Macro	Cultivation (Functions) Micro
Status	**Language Used**	**To Meet Need**
	• What languages should be studied as part of the curriculum? • What languages should be used for instruction? • What levels should be achieved? • What purposes should be accomplishable?	• How can language learning foster positive identities for students? • How will language learning promote social cohesion? • How will language learning create economic opportunity?
Acquisition	**Users of Language**	**To Accommodate Equitably**
	• What pathways are needed for different groups of students? • What length of time or amount of exposure will students need for desired proficiencies?	• How can the impact of minoritized status on language learning be addressed? • How can super-diversity be accommodated?
Corpus	**Language**	**To Value**
	• What language resources should be taught and learned? • What should the linguistic landscape of schools be?	• How are language resources students bring valued? • How are language resources students desire valued?

Figure 3: Design Questions for Educational Systems

3.2.1 Status Policies in European Schools

The European Schools comprise a network of 13 schools in six European countries with the stated goal of providing "children with a multilingual and multicultural education at nursery, primary and secondary levels" (www.eursc.eu/en/). Governed by the member countries of the European Union, they are intended primarily for children of EU employees working in administrative centers around Europe. In fall 2018, they enrolled approximately 27,000 students, comprising speakers of 22 first languages from 28 EU member countries as well as non-European nationalities (Board of Governors of the European Schools, 2018). To achieve the vision of a multilingual education, students study three languages with the option of studying up to five. Target proficiency levels for each language are identified based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

In order for students from such a range of first languages to achieve this goal, the schools have a highly structured response to the status questions identified in Figure 3. Their plan includes which students study which languages when, as well as which languages will be used as the medium of instruction for different subjects.

Upon acceptance, all students are placed in a "language section" that serves as their designated first language. The number of language sections in schools ranges from three to eight, with all schools having sections for English, French, and the language used in the country where the school is located. Students receive the majority of instruction in primary Grades 1 through 5 in the language of their "language section." In Grades 1 and 2, 2.5 hours a week is devoted to studying a second language, with 3.75 hours devoted in Grades 3 through 5. The third language is then introduced in the first year of secondary school (Grade 6). In Grade 8, students begin using their second language as a medium of instruction for science, history, geography, economics, and religion or ethics, which results in as much as 50 to 70 percent of instruction time being spent in the second language (Housen, 2002).

If a school offers a first language section in a student's home language, the student is assigned to that section. If there is not a language corresponding to the student's home language, the student is assigned to an English, French, or German language section. For students whose home language corresponds to the language of their language section, the second language will be either English, French, or German. For European students whose home language is not served by a language section, their "second" language in primary grades will be their home language, which results in schools providing instruction in up to 18 different languages beyond English, French, and German according to annual report data (Board of Governors of the European Schools, 2018). In secondary school, these students study the second language content areas in English, French, or German, however.

As an example of status planning, the European Schools might be characterized as a template approach. They establish a general framework for what students will study when in first, second, and third languages, and specify targeted proficiencies for each language. At the same time, they allow for flexibility in what the first, second, and third languages may be in order to meet differential needs with respect to students' home languages, the language of the country where the school operates, and the language(s) the student and their family will see as offering opportunity.

As a system, they have developed syllabi along with attainment descriptors for individual first languages, usually drawing on national curricula from countries where the language is used. For the second and third language curricula, however, they have developed generic syllabi focused on language abilities rather than the nuances of a particular language.

While they track students according to their designated first languages, they also offer courses such as the European Hour in primary grades and then art, music, ICT, and physical education at the secondary level where students from different first languages study and interact together, possibly in a second or third language. In doing so, they make explicit within the curriculum the need to communicate in both monolingual and multilingual contexts.

3.2.2 Acquisition Policy in Singapore

The decision in Ottawa to introduce French early in English schools while delaying English in French schools until Grade 4 is an example of a policy directed at acquisition. Recognizing the minoritized status of French –and its speakers– within the community, the policy provides preferential learning conditions for French in all systems as a way of promoting use of both languages in the community as a whole, including by speakers of other mother tongues.

Like Canada, Singapore is a multi-ethnic nation, which provides official recognition to Chinese, Malay, and Indian communities and recognizes Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, and English in its constitution as official languages. Since its founding in 1965, Singapore has promoted English as a ***lingua franca*** for all citizens along with knowledge of a mother tongue related to one's ethnic identity. A booklet from the Singapore Ministry of Education for parents of primary school students explains the policy this way:

> *Your child will learn English as a first language in primary school. English is the lingua franca of international business, science and technology. Therefore, a strong foundation in the English Language remains an essential skill to develop in our young. Your child will learn his Mother Tongue Language (Chinese Language, Malay Language or Tamil Language) as a second language. Bilingualism, a cornerstone of our education system, has been a valuable asset to our students, enabling them to tap the opportunities that can be found in the global environment.* (Ministry of Education Singapore, 2018, p. 5)

The reference to mother tongue courses as "second language" courses references that they are studied as school subjects with both on-level and advanced options. The medium of instruction for all other subjects is English. Students take required subject examinations in English language and their mother tongue at the end of primary and secondary schooling.

The Singapore policy is noteworthy as an attempt to build resources that connect residents with an ethnic identity while encouraging a single language both as a vehicle for national cohesion and wider communication. It is also a controversial policy (Jain & Wee, 2015, 2018). Singapore's 2015 General Household Survey reports both ethnic group and language spoken at home. With respect to ethnicity, 75 percent of residents over five years of age are identified as Chinese, 13 percent as Malays, nine percent as Indian, and three percent as Other. Mandarin, however, is only spoken at home by 35 percent of the residents, Malay by 11 percent, and Tamil by three percent (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2016).

In other words, the languages being taught as "mother tongues" are only spoken at home by approximately 49 percent of the resident population. The rest of the population speaks English (37 percent), a Chinese language other than Mandarin (12 percent), or an Indian language other than Tamil (one percent). The prevalence of English probably reflects its use since the 1960s as the primary medium for school instruction while the use of other Chinese and Indian languages reflects the multilingual nature of both groups.

By requiring all students to sit for examinations in both English language and a mother tongue as part of primary and secondary schooling, Singapore's policy clearly targets bilingual acquisition in the population as a whole. It is noteworthy that over 73 percent of the respondents to the 2015 survey reported they could read in two or more languages. The use of English at home by a significant

proportion of the population, however, questions the degree to which the policy is achieving its intent, especially since the 37 percent using English at home in 2015 represented a 4.5 percent increase over responses collected just five years earlier (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2016). The policy's attempt to map specific languages to specific ethnic groups is further subverted by the linguistic complexity of Chinese and Indian ethnicities. Thus, the Singapore example reveals both the benefits of emphasizing instruction in multiple languages within the curriculum but also ways in which top-down policy and rhetoric can be undermined.

3.2.3 Corpus Planning in New Zealand

In New Zealand, corpus planning in the form of building resources for learning languages other than English has been an integral part of attempts to reduce inequities in educational outcomes. In the 2013 New Zealand Census (nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz), approximately 65 percent of the 4.2 million respondents reported their ethnic heritage as European, seven percent as Māori, six percent as mixed European and Māori, 11 percent as Asian, and five percent as Pacific.

When asked how many languages they speak,approximately 80 percent of respondents answered "one."

Within the population as a whole, knowledge of English was high (90 percent). Among people who responded that they had Māori heritage, knowledge of the indigenous language te reo Māori was only 21 percent, however. Similarly, among people identifying as Pacific Islanders, knowledge of Samoan was 27 percent, Tongan 11 percent, and other languages eight percent. Among Asians, knowledge of Hindi was 14 percent, northern Chinese 11 percent, and other languages 27 percent. Thus, while New Zealanders comprise a multi-ethnic population, knowledge of languages other than English among non-European, minoritized groups appears quite low. This has been a significant concern for many, especially with respect to the indigenous Māori people and successive generations of Pasifika immigrants.

Beginning in the l990s and accelerating in the early 2000s New Zealand began developing specific strategies for improving educational outcomes for both Māori and Pasifika students ("Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013–2017," 2019; "Pasifika Education

Plan 2013-2017," 2018). Key to both strategies has been the need to value identity, language, and culture as essential for educational achievement.

For Māori students, this entailed developing a language-focused plan: ***Tau Mai Te Reo – The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013-2017*** ("Tau Mai Te Reo – The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013-2017," 2018). The plan identifies strategies for both increasing the number of students participating in Māori-medium only education and better supporting students studying Māori as part of English-medium instruction. As an example of corpus planning, it highlights the need for support from students' extended family and community and targets increased participation by the community in language programs as strategies for creating an environment where students will hear and see Māori being used. It also identifies the need for more research on Māori language and language learning and in particular the need for more trained language educators.

Supporting Pasifika students presents a different challenge. Pasifika refers to a family of languages spoken across a number of Pacific islands including Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook Islands. Moreover, the total number of Pasifika in New Zealand is smaller, making the use of the home-language as a school-wide medium for instruction more difficult than with Māori.

The focus of the educational strategy therefore has been to support students' bilingual development as part of English-medium instruction. A web-based resource, ***Language Enhancing the Achievement of Pasifika (LEAP,),*** was developed by a team of education researchers at the University of Waikato led by Professor Stephen May.

LEAP integrates research on bilingualism and multilingual pedagogy with inquiry activities for teachers and pedagogical applications.

The LEAP resource aims to bring together all the factors that can support bilingual Pasifika students' learning, especially those that relate to students' Pasifika languages and English. It suggests ways in which teachers can explore, in practical ways, language teaching and learning principles that can help them work more effectively with bilingual Pasifika students. (http://pasifika.tki.org.nz/LEAP)

The Māori and Pasifika education strategies both support a more multilingual New Zealand through an enhanced presence and valuing of languages other than English in schools along with improved language teacher education. Although they target specific languages, the strategies explicitly adopt the principle of adding language resources to what students already know.

The adoption of a strategy for promoting language learning aligns more with acquisition than corpus planning. Because the strategies target the creation of classroom resources and environments where languages can be learned, however, they also can be seen as recognizing the role played by exposure to a corpus of language as part of language learning. Interestingly, the documents themselves also serve as models for how Māori and Pasifika can be used as part of multilingual texts. The strategy documents continuously blend Māori and Pasifika words and concepts into English discussions of outcomes, resources, and processes as in this opening statement from the Māori language in education plan:

The vision for Tau Mai Te Reo is 'Kia tau te reo', a state in which the language thrives and cloaks the land and people. It can be read as the outcome statement sought for the Māori language. ("Tau Mai Te Reo – The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013-2017," 2018, p. 2)

By modeling how Māori and Pasifika can be used to create multilingual texts, New Zealand's strategy documents embody more traditional understandings of corpus planning that focus on the expansion of a language's capacity for communication. Thus

in content and form, the Māori and Pasifika education strategies suggest the need to be more intentional about creating an environment of supportive multilingualism where teaching and learning can be effective.

3.3 ISSUES OF SCALE IN SYSTEM DESIGN

For the most part, the example programs discussed thus far represent attempts by central authorities to establish outcomes, pathways, and contexts for all students in their system, or at least all members of specific ethnic groups. The "international languages" programs in Ottawa, however, illustrate a different approach: optional programs supported by a school system for students who want to expand their language resources. This localized option approach characterizes additional language instruction in many parts of the world. It is important to realize therefore that the status, acquisition, and corpus questions raised in Figure 3 apply regardless of the scale of the system, whether the system comprises an entire country, a single school, or a weekend morning program.

In the United States, language policies emerge through a combination of national, state, local, and sometimes school-level planning. Additional language instruction in the United States is typically categorized as either second or world language learning. Both migrants and indigenous peoples study English as a second language. English-dominant students, on the other hand, study "foreign" or "world" languages, often Spanish, French, or German but increasingly Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic (American Councils for International Education, 2017).

For learners of English, federal-level policies mandate that all students have equal opportunities to participate in education. All schools must therefore provide additional support for students who are not proficient in the language of instruction. Approaches for meeting this requirement vary widely, however. Within the federal guidelines, schools may place learners in dedicated "pull-out" courses focused solely on language proficiency, provide embedded English support as part of non-language courses, or create programs where instructional time is divided between English and a language where the student has more resources. This last type may be subtractive, transitional programs that move students into English-only instruction over time or additive, resource-oriented programs that develop student competencies in both languages through *dual-language* instruction.

There is also variation in programming for English-dominant students learning additional languages. Curriculum and graduation standards are typically established at the state-level with local school systems developing curricular options for meeting the standards in all system schools. While many states encourage students to study world languages, only seven of the fifty states require all students to study a language other than English for graduation from secondary school, and the highest requirement is two years ("Standard High School Graduation Requirements (50-state)," 2018). Thus, while learning English as an additional language is largely dictated through a combination of federal, state, and local policies, learning a language other than English in the United States is largely driven by cultivation of student and family choices.

Within this complex process for policymaking, one school-level design model has emerged as an option for both English learners and English-dominant students who want to expand their language resources: dual language programs. These programs typically offer at least 50 percent of instruction in a language that is not considered as dominant for students.

The Center for Applied Linguistics describes them as "any program that provides literacy and content instruction to all students through two languages and that promotes bilingualism and biliteracy, grade-level academic achievement, and sociocultural competence —a term encompassing identity development, cross-cultural competence, and multicultural appreciation— for all students (Howard et al., 2018, p. 3).

Dual language programs that primarily serve English learners are often referred to as "one-way dual language," and programs that primarily serve learners of languages other than English as "foreign or world language immersion." In some instances these two types are merged in a "two-way immersion" program where approximately half of the students are adding English while the other half add the home language of the first group, often Spanish (Howard et al., 2018). Two-way immersion programs are considered particularly advantageous where demographically possible because they allow students to be peer resources for each other.

3.3.1 World Language Immersion in Georgia, United States

The Georgia Department of Education provides support and regulation for over 2200 schools, which are directly administered by 181 school districts ("Schools and Districts," n.d.). According to its website, 54 dual language programs exist in the state ("Dual Language Immersion Programs in Georgia," n.d.). Many of these programs are newly established as indicated by the number currently serving only kindergarten or the first years of primary schooling, presumably with the intent of adding additional levels in the future. Only seven programs serve all primary grades (K-5), while an additional three serve primary and middle school (K-8). One middle and two secondary school programs are also listed.

The webpage devoted to dual language programs is maintained by the department's World Languages and Global Workforce Initiatives Program Specialist and frames dual language instruction as both a "state-approved ESOL [English for Speakers of Other Languages] delivery model" and a way to prepare students "for the global community and job markets in the 21st century." This suggests that the dual language programs in Georgia are either one-way or world language immersion programs, but not two-way programs.

The International Charter School of Atlanta (www.icsatlanta.org) is an example of a world language immersion program serving both primary and middle grades. According to state demographic data (gosa.georgia.gov/student-and-school-demographics), only one percent of ICSAtlanta's students were "economically disadvantaged" in 2017-18 and fewer than nine percent could be considered "limited English proficient."

The school opened in fall 2015 after a group of citizens petitioned the state of Georgia for a "charter" to operate "an independent, free, public K-12th grade charter school with high academic achievement, multilingual and internationally-minded students, and exceptional culturally-diverse and caring teachers" ("Charter Petition," 2014, p. 4). Charter schools in the United States are granted maximum flexibility with respect to state and/or local regulations as long as they comply with accountability measures specified in their charter ("Fast Facts: Charter Schools," 2018). ICSAtlanta's charter petition argued that it needed "flexibility to create and support a schedule that enables teacher collaboration" ("Charter Petition," 2014, p. 4). The school is also an International Baccalaureate® Primary Years Candidate School.

On its website, the school explains how it answers the status and acquisition policy questions shown in Figure 3. Upon enrollment, students are placed in a French, German, Mandarin, or Spanish track. They may request a particular track, but assignment is at the discretion of the school in order to balance enrollments. For kindergarten and first grade, 80 percent of instruction is provided in the target language; from second through fifth grade instruction is 50 percent in the target language and 50 percent in English; and in Grades 6 to 8 students take one or two classes focusing on the target language unless they have already achieved high proficiency in which case they can switch to a third language.

Like all students in public funded schools, students are regularly assessed in English language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies, with the school's website reporting that students "continue to outperform Georgia students on the GA Milestones [assessments] while learning additional languages." This replicates a common finding for school-age students studying in this type of immersion program (Cummins, 2009).

The school's enrollment policy allows them to target different proficiency levels at each grade-level in the primary school. In kindergarten, first, and sixth grades, students may enroll regardless of proficiency level in a school language. For other grades, however, new students must demonstrate proficiency comparable to enrolled students at that grade level. For continuing grade 6 middle school students, they offer intermediate and advanced language classes. For students who enter new in Grade 6 or who are switching to a third language, they offer beginning level classes.

While the status and acquisition questions shown in Figure 3 are answered under headings such as "Admissions" and "About Us," how the school answers corpus questions emerge through the "Classroom Blogs" maintained by the two teachers for each class.On the blog for a second grade English/French faculty team, for example, the teachers provide links for websites with both English and French resources as well as a schedule of school events such as Mardi Gras, for which French Track students are encouraged to dress in costume, and Dr. Seuss Day, when all students can dress as book characters. The blog also lists content such as "Economics" and "Arrays" to be covered in French and "Jackie Robinson" and "Martin Luther King, Jr." to be covered in English. The fact that the two teachers work together to create these blogs suggests that each is knowledgeable of what the other is covering and that connections between languages as well as cultural artifacts are encouraged.

Returning to the issue of scale and how needs for an entire community are met, the impact of a single school serving an already advantaged group of students in a large metropolitan area like Atlanta is questionable. Moreover, charter schools are controversial in the United States because they reduce the tax base for larger school systems serving more students. At the same time, many view charter schools as an important vehicle for piloting and modeling educational reforms (Finnigan et al., 2004).

Dual language programs in Georgia seem to be relatively new and rapidly expanding. Catering to students who enter the school with no required resources in the new language, ICSAtlanta provides an example of one way to leverage wider opportunities for a local community.

It does not serve the needs of all community members, but it is a strategic initiative by a group of concerned citizens. As the school proponents wrote in their charter petition:

Considering the significant change in demographics in the state of Georgia and shift in the global business community; a dual language immersion educational program is essential to our community's future. The future leaders of the state of Georgia need to be internationally minded, bilingual, and committed to global improvement.

("Charter Petition," 2014, p. 4)

3.4 COLLABORATIVE APPROACHES TO RESOURCE BUILDING

The previous chapter concluded by showing how the Principles for Collaboration could be developed into goals for influencing social contexts. This chapter has focused on how to design systems that will achieve those goals. Figure 4 brings together the discussions in this chapter to show how a system-level vision articulated around the Principles for Collaboration will influence social contexts in desirable ways.

As conveyed in the first row, serving the multiple needs of diverse individuals for languages entails creating a system that communicates the value of all language resources. Next, if we are to reflect truly how multilinguals use their language resources, then systems must incorporate opportunities for not only using different languages at different times, but also multiple languages at the same time. Finally, if we are to address the devaluing of indigenous and migrant minorities' multilingual language resources, then we must make room for a range of multilingualisms across schools, not just those endorsed by political states. As suggested by Hornberger (1994), systems can approach these goals in two ways: through dictating policies and creating conditions that cultivate achievement. The last two column illustrates both approaches with examples drawn from the programs discussed in this chapter.

Today's super-diverse contexts present a difficult challenge for educational systems as shown in the first row of Figure 4: how to design an approach to language education that values all language resources while at the same time making choices about which languages to teach and teach in. The example programs discussed in this chapter all value multilingualism. They employ policies that require students to study and study in, with the exception of Singapore, a minimum of two languages. They also offer choices with respect to additional languages, creating school communities where multiple languages co-exist in the learning of individual students studying different combinations of languages. Particularly noteworthy in this regard are the international languages programs in Ottawa, which allow the community input on which additional languages to offer.

At the same time that programs value multilingualism, they also value specific languages through allocations of instructional time. They may prescribe 50 percent instruction in one language and 50 percent in another or dictate that one language will be used for the first years of schooling, with a second gradually introduced in later years. They also specify which subjects will be taught in which languages. Such policies are designed to ensure students receive sufficient exposure for learning a language. Matching subjects and languages, however, also reinforces the tendency to view languages as competing for geographic and cognitive space and the perception that people speak only one language at a time.

The previous chapter argued that this practice presents an inaccurate view of how multilinguals use language. As shown in the second row of the figure, it is important for systems therefore to be explicit about not only the use of multiple languages within the curriculum, but also the use of multiple languages at the same time. The European Schools provide a promising example of an alternative in this regard. During their European Hour, students from different language tracks can engage in multilingual discourse while collaborating on project-based activities. Similarly, the LEAP resources created for teachers working with Pasifika students in New Zealand offer a way of cultivating understanding of multilingual language practices.

The final row of Figure 4 addresses the need to counteract language-based inequities. For the most part, the programs described in this chapter reinforce associations of particular languages with national cohesion and power: English and French in Canada, European languages in Europe,

English and one of three mother tongues in Singapore, English and te reo Māori in New Zealand. Strong versions of these associations often serve as a justification for discriminating against migrants and smaller minoritized groups who do not control the dominant language or languages.

Educational systems are agents of the state, and usually most promote dominant national language(s) across all their schools. The flexibility for meeting educational mandates allowed by the U.S. state of Georgia, however, allows ICSAtlanta to value languages other than English and serve community needs for identity and wider opportunity. The European Schools further show how a system can create a template for language education that allows for different combinations of languages in different schools.

Every community is different. They differ with respect to the number of dominant languages, the mix of indigenous and migrant minoritized languages, the visibility of multilingualism in the community, and their acceptance of flexible policies that allow for a range of educational experiences. This diversity provides the backdrop against which design decisions must be interpreted, both for the values they communicate and the impact they are likely to have.

PRINCIPLES FOR COLLABORATION	INFULENCING SOCIAL CONTEXTS	SYSTEM-DESIGN GOALS	APPROACHES
Accommodate dynamic needs of individuals and societies for language resources.	Treat diverse students equitably and their needs for individual identity, social cohesion, and wider opportunity equally	Value language resources over individual languages	**Policy** • Require all students to study (in) at least two languages • Create mechanisms for community groups to petition for language instructional programs **Cultivation** • Model multilingual communities through opportunities to learn three or multiple languages in every school • Incorporate study of connections between identity, language, and culture into curricula
View multilingualism holistically	Develop multi-competence in individuals and society, rather than individual language proficiencies	Incorporate multilingual discourse, not just monolingual discourses	**Policy** • Incorporate expectations for multilingual discourse into curriculum guidelines **Cultivation** • Professional development for teachers focused on how multilinguals use language
Foster respect for difference	Ensure that language learning in schools truly adds to the competencies and potentials of individuals and societies, and never requires language loss	Value other multilingualisms, beyond state-endorsed languages	**Policy** • Mandate curriculum templates for multiple language instruction rather than dictating specific languages **Cultivation** • Through curriculum guidelines require investigations of language resources in the community

Figure 4: Approaches for Achieving System-Design Goals

CHAPTER FOUR

The intersection of histories, migrations, and technologies associated with globalization have engendered a mixing of languages in minds and communities, as shown in Chapter 2, that force rethinking of policies created for the learning of individual languages. Chapter 3 focused on how educational systems can create policies that negotiate individual and community needs in the context of globalization. As shown, educational systems must figure out how to provide for and value, through curricular structures, the increasingly heterogeneous mix of languages inside and outside schools. This chapter turns to the implications of heterogeneity for the classroom.

In globalized classrooms language policy is an emergent phenomenon. It manifests in decisions teachers make about how to group students for a project, what to describe as acceptable language forms, and which of their students' language resources to build on. These decisions must — and can only— be taken with a deep understanding of the students, the available forms, and their desires for resources. Language policy expert Joseph Lo Bianco argues:

Language teaching [is] more than simply teachers enacting or implementing in a functional way decisions taken by curriculum authorities or education ministries. Classroom language use [is] a site, not completely autonomous and divorced from ministry or official requirements, but sufficiently separated and distinctive to count as a factor in shaping how language develops and changes. (2010, p. 156)

The language policies of classrooms also emerge in how students themselves regulate their peers' language use, what they are willing to attend to because they perceive it as valuable for their future, and what they draw on from the language resources in their community (French, 2016; Henderson & Palmer, 2015). The focus of this chapter is how best to support reflexive and emergent policy-making at the classroom level.

The chapter begins by considering various models for multilingual classroom instruction.

These models are important because they have historically scaffolded discussions of what works. They have been presented to teachers as guides for practice, and they have been marketed to parents as assurances of educational success. But the generalizability of models is challenged by the increased heterogeneity of resources and needs in globalized contexts. They are challenged by the unpredictability of the dynamic and fluid ways in which multilinguals actually use their language resources.

The second section of the chapter introduces an alternative to structured models for multilingual instruction: a pedagogical approach known as translanguaging that accepts dynamic and emerging forms of communication as normal. Understanding communication as fluid practices rather than a set of desired knowledge and skills forces a rethinking of what we mean by classroom language policies. Instead of general arguments for the best way to learn vocabulary, policies for a translanguaging pedagogy will acknowledge the vocabulary knowledge students already have across languages as a foundation for new knowledge. Instead of prioritizing a universal set of academic genres to master, policies supporting translanguaging encourage the identification and transformation of genres relative to individual needs and aspirations.

The third section of the chapter suggests a way for formulating policies that are reflexive with the uses, users, and resources present in particular multilingual classrooms. It argues that what teachers and students need more than models to implement is a way of building their own local model for teaching and learning on the basis of principles, analytic frames, and heuristics for action.

The chapter concludes by framing the discussion of classroom policy in terms of goals that align with the system-design goals presented in Chapter 3 and the Principles for Collaboration presented in Chapter 1. Interspersed in the discussions of local models,

pedagogy, and action are a series of vignettes of multilingual instruction intended to highlight elements of enacted classroom policy.

4.1 MODELS

4.1.1 Language Use Policies in Strong Bilingual Education Models

In one of the most influential framings of education for multilingual students, Colin Baker (2017) categorizes programs in relation to students' social status (majority, minoritized), the language(s) used in the classroom (majority, minority, or both), and the desired social (assimilation, maintenance, enrichment, pluralism) and linguistic (monolingualism, bilingualism, biliteracy) outcomes. Baker notes that many models essentially transition students from minoritized to majority language speakers, with possibly limited attempts to maintain the minoritized language as a bridge to students' heritage. He describes these models as "monolingual" and "weak bilingual" forms of education (2017, p. 199). He contrasts these with "strong forms of bilingual education" that include heritage language maintenance, two-way dual language, immersion, and mainstream bilingual programs.

Bilingualism and often bi-literacy is the explicit goal for all strong programs in which students study content through two languages over a sustained period. In heritage maintenance programs, such as Māori education in New Zealand, the social goal is preservation of a language linked to students' need for identity. Two-way dual language programs enroll equal proportions of majority and minoritized language speakers with instructional time eventually divided equally between the two languages. Immersion programs offer majority-language speakers a chance to develop competency in an additional language of the community such as English-speaking students learning French in Quebec. Mainstream bilingual programs such as ICSAtlanta offer majority language speakers a chance to learn a second language, often English, for the purposes of wider opportunity.

Each of these models responds, through classroom policies about language use, to the way in which the languages being taught are used outside of the classroom. Because minoritized languages are not widely used outside of home environments, heritage maintenance programs often encourage almost total use of the minoritized language in the classroom for six or more years (May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004). In two-way dual language programs, language use in the classroom is usually strictly balanced as a counter to the imbalance associated with majority and minoritized status outside of the classroom.

In both immersion and mainstream bilingual programs, similar to heritage maintenance programs, the classroom is seen as providing a language environment that does not exist outside. Often students in these programs will spend from 50 to 100 percent of their time studying in the new language in lower grades with the majority language introduced later on. In upper grades, it is common to find designated courses taught in the target language using methods known as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and Content-Based Instruction (CBI). In these courses, teachers in fields ranging from art to vocational education teach the content as they normally would but also embed language instruction with the goal of making the language instruction more meaningful (Cenoz, 2015).

Inherent in each of these models therefore is a usually explicit policy dictate about what language teachers should speak and when. Proportions of instructional time devoted to one language or the other are achieved by hiring teachers who speak one language or the other, or if competent bilingual teachers are available, matching different courses or content areas to one language or the other.

4.1.2 An English school in Egypt

The author of this report began his teaching career in the mid-1980s at an Egyptian primary school located in a city of around one million residents, an hour north of Cairo by train. The school was an example of what Baker refers to as a "mainstream bilingual program" since the students were all speakers of the majority language in the community (Arabic), and most were from middle and upper class families, and it followed a clear policy with respect to the allocation of instructional time to different languages.

Each school day began with an assembly in the schoolyard. The middle grade and secondary students in the Arabic section stood on one side; the primary students in the recently created "English section" stood on the other. Following announcements, a reading from the Koran, and singing the national anthem —all in Arabic– the students marched into their classrooms.

In the English school, the nursery and kindergarten students had Egyptian teachers who spoke both English and Arabic with the students and introduced them to the alphabets of both languages as well as songs, rhymes and stories. The primary students' day was divided into four periods taught in English and two in Arabic. Language learning and literacy, grammar, science, and math were all taught in English by both North American and Egyptian teachers. The textbooks for science and math were translations of the state published versions used in other schools where instruction was in Arabic. The Arabic periods each week included four in Arabic grammar, two in social studies, one in religion and one in physical education. Written texts for these classes used Modern Standard Arabic, but the spoken language was more frequently Egyptian colloquial Arabic.

Class sizes were large and students' desks occupied most of each classroom. There was generally a small bookshelf with some English storybooks in a corner, and perhaps some poster projects created by students in English for their language and literacy or science courses. There were also posters in Arabic created by the Arabic grammar and social studies teachers. There were few examples, if any, of texts that contained both Arabic and English.

The North American teachers spoke with students almost entirely in English, perhaps occasionally mixing in a phrase like "b'il ingliizii" (in English) or "y3anii" (meaning). The Egyptian teachers were more likely to use Arabic in an English class, especially when giving directions or maintaining discipline. Because of the large class sizes, all teachers used frequent choral repetition, but they would also engage in question and answer activities where individual students raised their hands to answer. Most class periods were highly structured with little time for independent investigations or group work. To maintain student engagement, teachers often incorporated histrionics and humor as well as songs and stories. Students could learn about computers after school, but there was no technology available in the classrooms other than chalkboards.

4.2 BEYOND MODELS

4.2.1 Translanguaging

As a teacher in the school, the author never thought of his class as a form of bilingual education. He was teaching English in a school known locally as the "American school." In class, he never forbade the use of Arabic, but at the same time, he encouraged students to speak as much English as possible and only used English himself. In science and math classes, students learned only English names for concepts and processes. Meanwhile, in their social studies class, they learned only Arabic names for forms of government and cultural processes. Thus, although they were enrolled in a bilingual program, the students were learning to keep their languages functionally separate. They were experiencing what Jim Cummins describes as the "two solitudes" that characterize many programs for multilingual students (2007, p. 223).

Maite Sánchez, Ofelia García, and Cristian Solorza (2018) note that the two solitudes occur in many types of dual language education. They may happen because programs allocate one day for one language and the next for another language. They may happen because one teacher speaks one language, and a second teacher speaks another. They may happen as in the Egyptian school because different subjects are taught in different languages. Sánchez and her colleagues challenge such rigid divisions of instructional time. In line with the second Principle for Collaboration's call to take a holistic view of multilingual competency, they argue that there is a fundamental difference between "teaching students bilingually and teaching two languages" (2018, p. 39).

Cummins argues that research evidence does not support the need to exclude a first language from the classroom, avoid translation, or even try to reserve different languages for different times. He writes:

There are . . . compelling arguments to be made for creating a shared or interdependent space for the promotion of language awareness and cross-language cognitive processing. The reality is that students are making cross-linguistic connections throughout the course of their learning in a bilingual or immersion program, so why not nurture this learning strategy and help students to apply it more efficiently. (2007, p. 229)

As support for his argument, Cummins cites research from cognitive psychology on the usefulness of engaging prior knowledge, from language acquisition studies on the likelihood that knowledge of one language will transfer and support the development of a second language, and finally Vivian Cook's and other research discussed in Chapter 2 on multi-competence as the target rather than dual monolingualisms. Cummins concludes "when students' [first language] is invoked as a cognitive and linguistic resource through bilingual instructional strategies, it can function as a stepping stone to scaffold more accomplished performance in the [second language]" (2007, p. 238).

The arguments by both Cummins and Sánchez and colleagues firmly support a new approach to language education grounded in how multilinguals use language, known as "translanguaging." Translanguaging was originally used to describe a type of pedagogical activity developed in Welsh maintenance classrooms where students might read a text in English but then write about it in Welsh (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017).

Within the sociolinguistic literature, translanguaging has also come to describe the fluid way in which multilinguals can incorporate lexical, grammatical, and metaphorical resources from multiple languages in a single discourse. It has been defined as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 401), "flexible bilingualism" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 107), and "dynamic multilingual practices . . . rooted in the belief that bilinguals and multilinguals select features and co-construct or soft-assemble their language practices from a variety of relational contexts in ways that fit their communicative needs" (García, 2014, p. 95).

This sociolinguistic view has in turn informed new approaches to pedagogy. Translanguaging pedagogues rgue that restricting language use in the classroom to one language or another reinforces the stigmatization of minoritized languages. More importantly, it limits speakers' ability to make meaning. Angela Creese and Adrian Blackledge argue that translanguaging can be "used by teachers as an instructional strategy to make links for classroom participants between the social, cultural, community, and linguistic domains of their lives" (2010, p. 112).

By making it normal to draw on resources from multiple languages, translanguaging encourages creative expression as well as meta-awareness about how different languages work.

Sánchez and her colleagues argue that true "bilingual" education should involve a "translanguaging allocation policy" (2018, p. 42). They urge that time be set aside within the curriculum for students to use one language or another because there are times when multilinguals have to suppress some of their resources because of social conventions around language use. However, to truly understand what students are capable of doing with language (e.g., finding textual support for claims, constructing logical arguments, connecting concepts), it is also necessary to allocate time where students are free to use all their language resources. In addition to creating opportunities to see what students can do when translanguaging, Sánchez and colleagues also call for explicit discussions in the classroom of how translanguaging subverts mainstream discourses about students as language "learners" and "minority" speakers, a goal they refer to as the "translanguaging transformation" (2018, p. 43).

4.2.2 Early Literacy Policymakers in South Africa

With 11 languages officially recognized in its constitution, and a majority of the population's being multilingual, South Africa provides a rich opportunity to consider the possibilities of translanguaging pedagogies.

The Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) was founded in 1992 at the University of Cape Town. According to its website (www.praesa.org.za), PRAESA aims "to ensure all young children from diverse language, class and cultural backgrounds have appropriate opportunities to become imaginative and critical readers and writers." In addition to conducting research and advocacy work, PRAESA has developed storybooks in South Africa's 11 official languages for beginning and early readers as well as programs for helping teachers, parents, and community members support young emerging multilingual readers and writers. Among the many resources on their website, two videos make a strong case for various forms of translanguaging as a basis for literacy development and learning.

"Sink or Swim: Navigating Language in the Classroom," (Westcott, 2004) begins with shots of black South African children struggling to answer questions in English interspersed with shots of white South African children struggling to answer questions posed in Xhosa. For the white students, the experience was an experimental class period designed to give them a chance to experience what many black South African students experience on a regular basis. PRAESA founder Neville Alexander then explains:

We speak about learner-centered education in South Africa, and yet we insist on teaching children in a language they don't understand. If it is learner centered, you'd expect that the language of the child is the point of departure. Instead, it's the language not even of the teacher because most of the teachers are not even first language speakers of English. It's a foreign language. (Westcott, 2004, 3:08)

Alexander adds that the use of English in black majority schools has resulted because black parents have turned to English as a way of rejecting Afrikaans, which was the language of the white minority in power during the apartheid era. He agrees that English is important for all South Africans, but argues that the way to it should be through mother tongue instruction.

Because of the hegemonic position of English in the world today, because it's the key to... upward social mobility in South Africa, people understandably and justifiably want their children to learn English. What most people don't understand is that it doesn't follow therefore that they will acquire the best command of English if they are taught from day one through the medium of English. That does happen of course, but it happens only under very specific conditions, conditions which don't exist in most South African schools, certainly not in most black schools. (Westcott, 2004, 9:32)

As a counterpoint to the opening scenes of children struggling to answer questions in a language they do not fully understand, the video then switches to scenes from white and black multilingual classrooms, classrooms where translanguaging practices seem normal because teachers have allowed them to be so.

In a secondary science classroom, a white teacher introduces the procedures for an experiment first in English and then in Afrikaans. As with any science experiment where students need to comprehend what they should do and why, it is probably helpful for the instructions to be repeated twice. It is likely that individual students are stronger in one language than the other, but the repetition in the context of an immediate need should encourage them to pay more attention in the language where they are weaker. This balanced approach also means that it does not matter whether their weaker language is English or Afrikaans.

In a mixed-race primary school classroom where English is the dominant language, teacher aides are hired to provide support for children from Xhosa-speaking families. Together the teacher and aide expose all students in the classroom to a rich multilingual environment where the need to support communication through translation is a naturally occurring event. In one scene, a child responds with a narrative in Xhosa when asked what he did the day before. The teacher then asks a second child if they can tell the story in English for the children who did not understand the Xhosa. For children learning to read and write, story retelling encourages attention to the elements of a narrative. Combining retelling with translation, however, supports both language and literacy development.

A second video on PRAESA's website, "Feeling at Home with Literacy," follows the multilingual interactions that Zia, a young girl from a Xhosa-speaking family, has with print and literacy events throughout a single day. She begins her day sounding out the letters on a tube of toothpaste, watching her parents discuss articles in a Xhosa newspaper, and figuring out with her mother how "corn flakes" could be said in Xhosa since the corn flakes box only uses English and Afrikaans.

At school, her teacher primarily uses English but builds on students' knowledge of Xhosa to help them recognize the sounds represented by different symbols in Latin script since both Xhosa and English use the same script. When the teacher needs to borrow scissors from another teacher, she writes a note in Xhosa and reads it together with Zia before asking Zia to take it to the other teacher. Zia's classroom has storybooks in English and Xhosa as well as bilingual books, many of them made by the children themselves.

Collectively the PRAESA videos contrast two approaches to language policy in the classroom. In one, language boundaries are enforced by school policies and monolingual teacher speech. In the other, teachers empower students to draw on the language resources that make sense in the moment, they discuss languages by name and encourage students to connect these names with particular ways of speaking and writing. They foreground translation as a common social need and encourage students to be strategic resources for each other. All are techniques associated with translanguaging pedagogy.

4.3 CONSTRUCTING POLICY: PRINCIPLES, FRAMES AND ACTIONS

The South African examples put a face on translanguaging, and help us envision ways that translanguaging structures classrooms activities and embodies language use. If classroom teachers are to be part of translating the Principles for Collaboration into policies that promote learning, however, they need more than a sense of what translanguaging looks like. They need to be able to formulate policies that support plans and real-time decisions. The following section shows how the Principles provide a heuristic for identifying goals, analyzing classroom ecologies (Mühlhäusler, 2000), and imagining actions that will address the goals of particular classrooms.

4.3.1 Goals for Teaching and Learning

Building from the Principles for Collaboration, the general focus throughout this report has been a call to consider language uses as they actually exist, what it means to use language, and how choices that are made about language use instantiate values. In the literature on translanguaging pedagogy, we find ways of making each of these goals more concrete and a basis for action.

A. Individual and social uses for language

Applied linguists Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter (2017), have conducted extensive research in the autonomous Basque region of Spain, where language planners are seeking to revitalize the minoritized Basque language. For maintenance contexts such as the Basque region, some scholars question the use of translanguaging (King & Bigelow, 2018; May, 2017). They worry that licensing the use of multiple languages will in effect encourage students to stick to the majority language and argue instead for creating a protected space for minority languages in schools.

Cenoz and Gorter (2017) support the revitalization of Basque and agree that the concerns of other linguists are a real danger. They note, however, that few Basque-speakers are monolingual and Basque-dominant speakers are likely already to translanguage as a natural practice outside of the classroom. Because of its authenticity as a common form of communication and because speakers cannot translanguage without knowledge of Basque, they support translanguaging as a pedagogical practice inside they classroom. They suggest five general goals and strategies for instruction that align with how Basque, Spanish, and English are actually used.

First, teachers can create a time or place within the curriculum where the minoritized language is encouraged as a sole language. As argued by the Douglas Fir Group (2016), advanced multilinguals know when they should speak in one language or another but also when mixing is acceptable.

The second strategy is to create a need to translanguage in the classroom so that reliance on the majority language is not sufficient. Cenoz and Gorter cite public speeches in the Basque region where public figures draw on both Spanish and Basque as example texts that could be used for class activities. The Māori and Pasifika strategy documents discussed in relation to corpus planning in Chapter 3 provide another.

Thirdly, teachers can promote the development of linguistic awareness through activities such as the ones from Wales where students process language from one language in order to produce something in another. Fourthly, they can explicitly talk about how different languages are used in the community and the status of each. Finally, teachers can encourage through pedagogical activities the more spontaneous forms of translanguaging that advanced multilinguals engage in as part of everyday communication in the community as a way of making translanguaging seem more normal.

B. Linguistic competency

In research on translanguaging in Southeast Asian contexts, applied linguist Suresh Canagarajah emphasizes how translanguaging should promote new understandings of linguistic competency. When languages are learned in isolation, the content focus is often descriptive knowledge of the language's patterns. The patterns may be labeled grammar, communicative routines, or genres, but the focus is still meta-awareness of a structural resource. Structural knowledge is important, but translanguaging emphasizes a different dimension: the ability to negotiate difference. He argues:

> *Rather than focusing on a single language or dialect as the target of learning, teachers have to develop in students a readiness to engage with a repertoire of codes in transnational contact situations. . . . now we have to train students to shuttle between communities by negotiating the relevant codes. To this end, we have to focus more on communicative strategies rather than on form.* (2009, p. 20)

C. Values

In a textbook for educators of multilingual students, education researcher Ester De Jong (2011) emphasizes the connection between choices and values. First, she argues that every decision must be grounded in respect for ***educational equity***. This means that helping the one migrant student in a class is as important as helping a larger group of indigenous minoritized students. Second, ***affirm identities***. Key to helping both the migrant and the indigenous minoritized students is helping them realize that they have resources for communicating. They know stories. They have ways of persuading. They can identify key characteristics for a description. Third, ***add*** to their linguistic repertoire. Do not devalue the resources they bring to school in a way that encourages them to forget those resources. Finally, De Jong calls for making language education ***integral*** to the students' worlds. This can be supported by involving families and the students themselves in their learning process, and by helping them connect language use in the classroom to language use outside the classroom.

4.3.2 Analyzing the Classroom Ecology

General goals such as those offered by Cenoz and Gorter, Canagarajah, and De Jong are useful because they serve as externally-focused outcome metrics when teachers encounter choices about texts to use or students to group for an activity. They help teachers think about what students should be learning: meta-awareness and uses for language patterns, cross-connections between languages, fluency combined with strategic competency, an affirmation of their identity. Equally important in responding to such choices is a framework for analyzing agency in the classroom, an approach sometimes referred to as ecological language planning (Mühlhäusler, 2000).

The distinctions among three elements: language uses, users, and forms in Hornberger's (1994) language planning framework were used as a heuristic in Chapter 3 for designing educational systems that promote multilingualisms. They also prove useful for understanding the factors that shape learning in multilingual classrooms.

As regards ***language uses,*** chapter 2 argued that needs for identity, social cohesion, and wider opportunity drive multilingualism in communities. Teachers need to consider what languages the community identifies as important for social cohesion and wider opportunity but also what resources individual students will perceive as offering them connections with identity and wider opportunity. They will often find a tension between community and individual values as when dominant groups in communities seem to value assimilation over multiculturalism. Recognizing who may feel marginalized but also who may feel particularly motivated by an opportunity to seek help from a grandparent helps teachers frame activities and mentor individual students.

Secondly, teachers must think carefully about the ***language users*** in their

classroom, including themselves, and the resources those users offer to support learning. Do students form a relatively homogenous population as in the Egyptian primary school where the author taught, or do they comprise a more heterogeneous group where individual students share resources with some other students but not all. Teachers can use this analysis to group students in ways that promote either translanguaging or more monolingual discourse. Does the teacher share resources from multiple languages with students as with the Xhosa-speaking teacher in the English-dominant classroom? If so, the teacher can ask questions about, and model connections between, the languages. If not, a teacher can ask students to make the connections and share with the teacher and the students' peers.

Finally, teachers should consider the different levels and *forms of language* resources. At the most macro-level, languages are characterized by names. What are the names of the languages used in the classroom? Cenoz and Gorter (2017) encourage teachers to promote language awareness as part of translanguaging pedagogies, to identify specific resources as belonging to different languages but also to think more broadly about language abilities that are not tied to specific languages, abilities such as scanning a text for content or organizing a narrative.

At a more micro-level of form, teachers also need to consider whether they are focusing more on language patterns or communicative strategies, as Canagarajah (2009) points out. Similarly, are they building resources primarily in one mode such as receptive listening skills or are they encouraging students to repurpose language across various modalities as when they read a text from a minoritized-language news source and then present an oral summary for a majority-language audience accompanied by a bilingual slide presentation.

Ethnographic and observational research on multilingual classrooms suggest that system-level policies and even principles about effective teaching and learning are best understood as parameters for what actually happens in classrooms (Saxena & Martin-Jones, 2013). When teachers and students begin to analyze the uses, users, and forms of language in their classrooms, they begin to resist and transform policies, whether those policies promote monolingualism (French, 2016; Hillman, Graham, & Eslami, 2018), parallel monolingualisms (Budach, 2013; Kerfoot & Bello-Nonjengele, 2016; Plüddemann, 2015), dual language instruction (Bernstein et al., 2018; Terra, 2018), or translanguaging (Mendoza & Parba, 2018). In doing so, they transform policy from a guide for instruction to a basis for learning.

4.3.3 Imagining Actions in Multilingual Classrooms

As sites of enacted policy, classroom learning is always a dynamic and emergent phenomenon that responds to not only societal and institutional values but also the values and desires of the local participants. This therefore suggests the need not only for top down approaches to what should happen in a classroom in order to promote multilingualism, but also a need for more bottom-up indicators that multilingualism is developing.

Swiss linguist Laurent Gajo suggests that the most basic indicator of a multilingual classroom is the "integration of language contact into the didactic model" (2014, p. 121). It must seem natural as part of planned and spontaneous classroom activity for multiple languages to be used. For multilingualism to be not just a by-product, but also an outcome of a classroom, we must think about how it manifests, therefore, in both teaching and learning.

Tables 3 and 4 provide example practices of teaching and learning respectively that have been described in ethnographic studies of multilingual classrooms. An analysis of each example practice is also provided to show how it integrates with the development of multilingualism. When instructors and students bring different sets of linguistic resources into the classroom, teachers often become learners and learners become teachers (Bonacina-Pugh, 2013; Li, 2014). As illustrated in the examples, learning is often multi-directional across institutionally designated roles.

Table 3 identifies three core-teaching practices: adopting *a stance* towards what resources can be used, *modeling* through language performance and reflective dialog the learning and use of resources, and the pedagogical *design* of classroom activity.

Stance may be regulatory, as when a teacher encourages use of a particular language or generative as when a teacher establishes a climate that values different resources. Modeling provides exemplars of linguistic forms as well as the behaviors of a language user. Pedagogical design includes the intentional structuring of activity, resources, and assessment. In a multilingual classroom, each of these practices should differ from corresponding practices in a classroom that promotes a single language.

Table 4 illustrates learning practices associated with content that is both similar and different. Multilingual competency has been defined in this report as a holistic phenomenon comprised of subsets of resources associated with different languages and uses. *Connection* and *differentiation* are essential therefore for categorizing and mapping these resources. Multilingual development entails recognition of components such as word prefixes that may help in understanding new vocabulary as well as the properties that are unique to a given language. Because the set of resources held by any individual will be different from the set present in society as a whole, it is inevitable that individuals will encounter linguistic challenges.

Strategic competencies that help the *accommodation* of challenges are also important; multilinguals must learn to think about possible cognates, the use of non-verbal gestures, and asking for help. Finally, in a multilingual world, language resources become not only a marker of individuation but also an enhanced tool for establishing an affinity; engaging in language play becomes a way of trying out and creating an *identity*. The practices described in Tables 3 and 4 are not intended as *an exhaustive* list but rather as a baseline for imaging action in a multilingual classroom.

Table 3: Multilingual Teaching Practices

Teaching Practice	Analysis
Stance Vaish (2015) compares the amount of talk and types of questions about an English language story asked by early grade Malay-speaking Singaporeans in an English-only learning support class versus those in a class where the teacher uses both Malay and English. She finds that not only do students speak more in the multilingual classroom, both teachers and students ask more speculative as opposed to factual questions about the story.	*An openness to multiple languages in the classroom should create a larger pool of linguistic resources for communication and provide exposure to more complex discourse.*
Modeling Describing a math lesson in a Welsh primary school, Jones (2017) notes that teacher introduced the concept "percentage" by showing English-medium material from the internet while speaking the Welsh word for the concept. The teacher then breaks the Welsh word into morphemes for hundred and part and indicates that this should help them remember what the English word means.	*A common strategy for learning new vocabulary is to break a target words into parts. The teacher models using the Welsh word parts, which are more transparent than the English, to remember the English meaning, showing how knowledge in one language can scaffold language in another.*
Design In a U.S. elementary classroom with speakers of Spanish and Arabic developing resources in English, Pacheco (2018) describes an activity in which a teacher asks Spanish speakers how to translate English verbs that end in –ing. She writes the Spanish words beside the English counterpart and asks if students see a pattern in how the words end in both languages (-ing = -ndo). When an Arabic speaker offers to translate the words into Arabic, she notes that Arabic does not use a systematic ending.	*The activity was designed primarily to help Spanish-speaking students see regularities in progressive verbs across English and Spanish. The contribution of a counter example from the Arab student, however, contributes to the whole class's meta-awareness about languages*

Table 4: Multilingual Learning Practices

Learning Practice	Analysis
Connection Leonet, Cenoz, and Gorter (2017) describe a story writing activity in which students at a Spanish Basque region primary school were first introduced to narrative elements in their Basque language arts class and asked to write a short story, then repeated the activity in the Spanish and English language arts classes.	*Through this activity, students learn that common genres such as a story may have highly similar discourse structures across languages.*
Differentiation In a U.K. Chinese community school, Wei Li (2014) observes a teacher explaining the Mandarin word for the characters that represent a "cookie." Two Cantonese-speaking students recognize the characters and explain to the teacher that in Cantonese the characters are pronounced "kui-kei," suggesting that the characters entered the Chinese character system as a cognate.	*Through this interaction both the instructor and students learn that although Mandarin and Cantonese share the same written form, the spoken forms may have different relations with a third language, English.*
Accommodation Coyoca & Lee (2009) describe instances of "language brokering" where students in a dual language second grade California classroom ask peers to explain unknown words sometimes in exchange for conceptual knowledge	*Linguistic challenges prompt students to develop strategic competencies for overcoming them. In this case, the students are also developing an interactional competency.*
Identity In a multi-grade (4-6) South African classroom, where English is the language of instruction but teachers practice and encourage translanguaging, Kerfoot & Bello-Nonjengele (2016) observe three multilingual (isiXhosa, English, Africaans) boys engaging in friendly banter around which language's name for corn to use during a group task identifying ingredients in a bag of crisps.	*Resources from the three languages involved are invoked both as a way of staking out primary language and cultural affiliations but also as a tool establishing interpersonal connections across those boundaries.*

4.4 PRINCIPLES FOR COLLABORATION

The previous chapter argued that educational systems should be designed with an explicit goal of influencing society. In the ideal educational system, classroom activity will align with the system design to achieve this influence. Figure 5 illustrates this process, introducing classroom goals with examples of supportive teaching and learning activities that align with the system-design goals presented in the previous chapter.

As shown in the first row of the figure, the Principles for Collaboration begin with an understanding that a multilingual society does not mean that everyone speaks the same two or three languages. It means that the multilingualism of each individual is supported and encouraged and that having individuals with distinct language repertoires adds to the capabilities of that society. Classrooms provide a microcosm of society. They provide a place where students learn to interact with others, identify and enhance unique capabilities, and figure out how they will contribute to the common good. This learning is mediated by language, and classrooms are where students come to understand what language is. Traditional language curricula have focused on the structural properties of language: its components and regularities, vocabulary and grammar. The Principles for Collaboration call for an enhanced understanding of language as structures that allow us to establish relationships, effect change, and preserve past learning.

Whereas the first row focuses on how classrooms can connect language resources to individual and social uses, the second row addresses what it means to know and develop language as a multilingual. What makes a system effective is the ability of its different subsystems to work together efficiently. When classrooms take a holistic view of language, they do not ignore differences or focus on one component at the expense of others. Rather, they provide rich opportunities to see difference and variety while connecting individual components. They provide learners with opportunities to identify regularities, such as narrative structure, that cut across contexts as well as idiosyncratic patterns that must be mastered.

Finally, as shown in the third row, classrooms offer an opportunity to reframe linguistic differences as an inevitable part of the texture of society. Humans naturally perceive difference as threatening; classrooms offer a chance for equipping learners with strategies for reducing the threat. When students are given chances to show how they differ from one another in a supportive environment, negotiating difference can become routine. They learn to ask rather than assume. They learn the world is too complex to stereotype. If teachers and students are more homogenous in their resources, then materials or invitations to community members with diverse resources can be used to introduce difference. Because our uses of language show the world who we are, creating space for multilingualism in the classroom can create space for fruitful co-existence in society.

PRINCIPLES FOR COLLABORATION	SYSTEM-DESIGN GOALS	CLASSROOM GOALS	EXAMPLE APPROACHES
Accommodate dynamic needs of individuals and societies for language resources	Value language resources over individual languages	Connect language to uses as well as structural patterns	**Teaching** • Introduce schema and heuristics for talking about language use such as genres and graphic organizers **Learning** • Engage in observational, ethnographic research to discover and make note of useful language formulations
View multilingualism holistically	View multilingualism holistically Incorporate multilingual discourse, not just monolingual discourses	Connect languages through meta-analysis and modeling that highlights similarities and differences	**Teaching** • Design multi-stage activities where information must be reformulated across languages and modalities (e.g., from a research article in English to a public service video announcement in Hmong) **Learning** • On topics studied in school, search for videos and other internet resources in other languages
Foster respect for difference	Value other multilingualisms, beyond state-endorsed languages	Build communication challenges into activities and encourage negotiation	**Teaching** • Invite language informants into classroom for students to interview regarding ways of saying and doing; encourage students to formulate hypotheses about language use **Learning** • Collaborate with peers to create a multilingual resource for community newcomers; think creatively about how to cover languages your group does not know

Figure 5: Classroom Collaboration

CHAPTER FIVE

A vision for how multilingual education in classrooms and schools should reflect and foster the multilingual societies of today's globalized contexts has been laid out. This chapter now considers the more practical questions that nag any vision. What about the teachers? Can they teach this way? What will they need to know? How can we prepare them? What about assessment? How can competency in multiple languages be measured holistically? And most importantly, what about public opinion, especially if the real problem is the dominance of an ideology of competition between languages? These are not the only issues that will emerge from new policies, but they are important issues for any reform proposal.

This chapter outlines the challenges for implementing multilingual education with respect to teacher agency, assessment, and public opinion. Within the field of language education, the literature on these topics is already extensive. The focus, therefore, is not how they relate broadly to the development of language competency, but rather how they relate to education when languages are in contact in a single classroom and classrooms, systems, and society are in alignment.

As a way of suggesting how these challenges might be met, the author turns to his experiences as a participant observer in Qatar's education system since 2007. The impact of globalization on Qatar has been significant. Under the leadership of Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani (1995-2013) and his son Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani (2013-present), the government has invested heavily in both human and physical infrastructure. In order to develop social institutions and diversify the economy, the government and local citizens have collaborated with global companies, international para-governmental organizations, and transnational educational institutions such as the author's university. They have also sought to impact international policy issues through institutions such as Al-Jazeera Media Corporation and the publisher of this report, WISE.

A by-product of this activity has been a rapid increase and diversification of the population. According to unofficial estimates by a local public relations firm, in 2017 citizens made up approximately 12 percent of the estimated 2.5 million residents. Residents from other countries where Arabic is a dominant language comprised an additional 17 percent, suggesting that Arabic is a home language for no more than 30 percent of the country's residents. Other large expatriate groups are from India (25 percent), Nepal (13.5 percent), Bangladesh (10.8 percent), and the Philippines (ten percent) –all linguistically diverse themselves. Within this super-diverse context, English has emerged as *lingua franca* in public interactions (Hillman & Eibenschutz, 2018).

In 2008, the government published the Qatar National Vision 2030 with the rationale that "charting economic and social progress in modern societies depends on a clear vision and a strategy about how to get there" (General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2008, p. Foreword). The document identified "human development" as the first pillar of the vision. The key strategy for supporting the pillar is the development of a "modern world class educational system" that among other things would "promote social cohesion and respect for Qatari society's values and heritage, and will advocate for constructive interaction with other nations" (General Secretariat for Development Planning, 2008, p. 13). Thus, the explicit vision for the education system aligns closely with the three social drivers of multilingualism identified in Table 1: identity and heritage, national cohesion, and wider communication and opportunity.

The Ministry of Planning Development and Statistics (www.mdps.gov.qa) reports that roughly 300,000 students were enrolled in K-12 public and private schools in the 2016-17 school year. When the author began working in Qatar in 2007,

the country had embarked on a series of public school reforms that included the introduction of curriculum standards, standards-based assessments, and switching the language of instruction for math and science from Arabic to English (Al-Fadala, 2015; Zellman et al., 2009). To oversee the reforms a new public education authority was established.

Because the reforms were being introduced in a limited number of schools each year, many of the public schools were still teaching all content areas in Arabic, with English only as a subject, and were administered by the previous education authority. In 2009, all public schools were transitioned to the new standards-based system, and all science and math teachers were expected to begin using English in their classes instead of Arabic. Anecdotal evidence from colleagues working with these teachers suggests that many were not prepared for the change. In 2011, however, this decision was rescinded and math and science instruction for all public schools reverted to Arabic.

The *Qatar Second National Development Strategy 2018- 2022 explains the change this way:*

> *The Qatari society has been exposed to many new influences in the past two decades, due to the ever-growing number of expatriates working and living in Qatar and having diverse cultures that may affect Qatar's national identity. To address this, the teaching of Arabic language and Islamic and Qatari history has been made mandatory throughout general education up to the twelfth grade.* (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2018, p. 185)

The changes between English and Arabic as a medium of instruction illustrate the difficulties imposed on educational systems by an ideology of languages in competition, the need to make an either/or choice. Qatar sociolinguist Hadeel Alkhatib explores the ambivalence around the role of English in Qatari society through an analysis of local political cartoons on the topic.

She concludes: "Arabic native speakers in Qatar reflexively recognize discomfort with the English language. . . . A feeling of estrangement that policymakers in the country should not devalue or simplify, rather deal with to enact solutions" (2017, p. 66).

One interesting statistic that emerges following the reversion to Arabic as a medium of instruction in the public schools is a substantial increase in the number of citizens opting for private schools where English is more common as a medium of instruction. While the number of citizens in public schools increased from 59,070 in 2012 to 63,972 in 2016, the number in non-Arabic private schools increased from 21,866 to 35,974 (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, www.mdps.gov.qa).

Populations care deeply about educational policy, which is why implementation matters. One of the challenges faced by the Qatari reforms was preparation and support for teachers (Al-Fadala, 2015; Ellili-Cherif & Romanowski, 2013). A second challenge revolved around assessment results. Both the *Qatar National Development Strategy 2011-2016* and the *Qatar Second National Development Strategy* 2018-2022 identify on-going concerns about "poor performance, particularly in math, science and English language, as reflected in students' scores in international exams" (Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, 2018, p. 178).

Finally, many interpreted the changes to the reform initiatives as a direct response to public pressure. Educational systems must continuously work to ensure buy-in from stakeholders (Romanowski, Cherif, Al Ammari, & Al Attiyah, 2013).

5.1 TEACHER AGENCY

In a retrospective review written for the 100th volume of the Modern Language Journal in 2016, teacher educators Magdalena Kubanyiova and Graham Crookes argue that the acceptance of "multilingual societies as the norm" has fundamentally altered the role of language teachers from "introducing an unknown 'other' language and culture to the purportedly monolingual . . . student" to

> *promot[ing], maintain[ing], and strengthen[ing] the multicultural nature of his or her society, enabl[ing] students to navigate the complex language learning demands in their multilingual lifeworlds, and in some cases act[ing] as an advocate for minority cultures within a dominant culture and country.* (2016, p. 119)

This new role presents a challenge for teacher educators and for educational systems looking to hire well-qualified teachers. It calls for teachers who not only possess but also can operationalize much of the conceptual knowledge presented elsewhere in this report.

In contrast to the author's understanding of himself as an English teacher when he taught in the Egyptian primary school, teachers must also imagine a more ambiguous role for themselves helping students develop multilingualisms, a role where their position as model is at best partial.

5.1.1 Translanguaging in Lesson Study

In 2014, the author facilitated a six-week Lesson Study group (Reynolds, 2012; Fernandez & Yoshida, 2004; Lewis, 2002) focused on strategic reading instruction for middle school science and English teachers in Qatar's public schools (Reynolds, 2017b). The group was a pilot intervention conducted as part of a multi-year grant studying the role of reading in science learning, funded by the Qatar National Research Fund (NPRP # 4-1172-5-172). At the time the group met, Qatar's public schools had recently switched to using Arabic as the medium of instruction for science and math. One of the research hypotheses, however, was that low assessment scores in science were related to general reading practices as much as to competencies in the language of instruction and assessment. For this reason, the Lesson Study group focused on strategic reading practices and included both science teachers using Arabic as the medium for instruction and English as a subject area teachers.

The goal of the pilot intervention was to raise the teachers' understanding of reading practices and their ability to design and implement pedagogical activities with students. Strategic reading practices provide an example of a component of language knowledge that facilitates reading across multiple languages. As operationalized in the research, these practices include behaviors a reader uses before (establishing interest and purpose), while (comprehension, making inferences, applying), and after (retention, evaluation) engaging with a text, and that promote a deeper understanding of the text.

The professional development model, Lesson Study, employs cyclical learning where participants first study a topic and plan a related lesson. One member of the group then teaches the lesson in a class while the other participants observe how students respond to the lesson. The group then reconvenes and analyzes the effectiveness of the lesson for the observed students. This cycle is repeated multiple times so that all participants have a chance to both teach and observe model lessons as the group learns together.

The pilot group comprised three science and three English teachers from a boys' middle school along with the author and a research assistant. All members had language resources in both Arabic and English. The author was English dominant but could speak and read limited Arabic. The research assistant had more balanced abilities in English and Arabic. The teachers were all Arabic dominant but spoke and read English to varying degrees. The author developed materials for the topical study at the beginning of each cycle and facilitated group discussion. Materials typically included sample readings in both English and Arabic used for active learning exercises as well as resource handouts and templates for recording reflections authored in English but with key content translated into Arabic.

When he introduced the format to the participants, the author explicitly indicated that they would be using both Arabic and English since participants were teaching in both languages and the primary goal was to improve students' reading regardless of the specific language. He also indicated that a secondary goal was to help participants explore connections between learning in science and English classes. When asked if they had previously worked together, the participants responded that they worked in disciplinary teams but not across disciplines.

As he led participants through the active learning exercises and resource materials, the author intentionally spoke Arabic where he could and switched to English when he could not. The research assistant sometimes provided Arabic translations if she thought it was needed. Some teachers tended to use Arabic in group discussions and others English, but transcripts showed that all participants used both languages across all sessions.

With respect to the design and implementation of activities, think-aloud reading demonstrations stood out as having been particularly useful for many of the participants in post-program reflections. In the third week of the program, the author had demonstrated his processes for reading a simple Arabic text. By verbalizing in both Arabic and English thoughts he had while reading, he modeled the application of strategies developed reading English as tools for tackling comprehension challenges in Arabic. Examples included making inferences from illustrations, the likelihood that a bolded term would be followed by a definition, and using word parts to determine semantic gist. Many participants indicated that prior to the program their main method of teaching reading had been to ask comprehension questions. In the post reflections, they revealed new activity types that focused more on the reading process than outcomes, and several reported having done think-alouds for their students. A report on study findings thus concludes:

While it is impossible to claim that licensing translanguaging as part of the PD sessions led the participants to greater awareness about the need to teach students how to be strategic when reading, we would argue that at the very least a synergy between curricular content and form of delivery existed (Eslami, Reynolds, Sonnenburg-Winkler, & Crandall, 2016, p. 252).

As an exemplar of teacher development for multilingual education, this program makes several assumptions about what is most useful for participants. First, it assumes that teachers might resist the lack of clear divisions between Arabic and English in group membership, materials, and discourse. The teachers had themselves been educated in schools that adopted strict separations between languages as well as between disciplines. As frequently noted (e.g., Johnson, 2019), most teachers rely heavily on their experiences as students for their understandings of what teachers do. Teacher education should serve therefore to reinforce, challenge, and transform these conceptualizations. In response to this challenge, the author openly discussed the rationale for "mixing," but also asked participants to reflect on it. In a comparison of pre- and post-program reflections, many participants showed greater acceptance, for example, of the possibility that reading should be taught by science as well as language arts teachers.

Next, the program assumed that participants would have the language resources necessary to translanguage, but that they might be unaccustomed to doing so in a professional setting. The author knew there was pressure on teachers to use only the target language in the classroom and that they might feel insecure with respect to English since he was an "English professor." To create a safe environment where the teachers could try out new ways of speaking and teaching, he modeled translanguaging and encouraged its use within group meetings. Using a way of speaking for which the teachers had never seen a grammar book encouraged them to evaluate language use in new ways, to move away from notions of correct and incorrect language. Nelson Flores and Geeta Aneja argue that.

Providing nonnative English teachers with opportunities to engage in translingual projects can support them both in developing more positive conceptualizations of their identities as multilingual teachers and in developing pedagogical approaches for students that build on their home language practices in ways that challenge dominant language ideologies. (2017, p. 441).

Finally, the program adopted a sociocultural model of human learning, asking the teachers to trial, evaluate, and design multilingual activities as a mode for understanding what translanguaging pedagogy is. For many of the activities, teachers would engage in a sample activity, then reflect on what they had learned, extracting general principles before moving on to design their own activity. With each activity, they were asked to verbalize what students might learn from doing it. If it did not surface in the discussion, they were prompted to reflect on the role of translanguaging as part of the experience of doing. Materials such as this report's Principles for Collaboration or lists of classroom practices like those found in Tables 3 and 4, will not transform or internalize new pedagogies; for that, teachers must have opportunities for scaffolded and directed practice with classroom media (cf., Johnson, 2019).

5.1.2 Resources for Teacher Development

The following websites provide useful conceptual discussions, sample activities, and video exemplars of multilingual education.

- CUNY-NYS Initiative on Emergent Bilinguals (www.cuny-nysieb.org)
- European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe (www.ecml.at)
- Three Fundamental Guides, Council of Europe (www.coe.int/en/web/language-policy/three-fundamental-guides)
- Linguistic and Cultural Diversity Reinvented – LINCDIRE (www.lincdireproject.org)

5.2 ASSESSMENT

Educational systems depend on tests. They depend on them to gauge strategic initiatives, benchmark performance against other systems, and monitor equity concerns. Classrooms also depend on assessments, both as a reflection of the affordances for learning in the classroom and as a motivator for individual student achievement. Across both contexts, language is a mediating factor in how students perform. How well a student commands the language used on a test influences how well the student performs.

For many years, testing experts have documented the poor performance of learners relative to proficient speakers of the language of a test. This result is often referred to as an "achievement gap" or evidence of the "problems" faced by second language speakers (Menken, Hudson, & Leung, 2014; Shohamy, 2011). Many would argue, however, that the results are simply evidence of a mismatch between the language resources of the test taker and those required by the test.

Studies have shown that when test questions are presented in multiple languages, language learners benefit (Rea-Dickins, Khamis, & Olivero, 2013). Studies have also shown, however, that multilinguals with strong abilities in the primary testing language benefit (Heugh, Prinsloo, Makgamatha, Diedericks, & Winnaar, 2017). Providing opportunities for multilingual test takers to see how a math question is worded in multiple languages helps them understand what the question is asking.

In the context of education intended to develop multilingualism, special consideration needs to be given to the assessment of language ability. Language tester Elana Shohamy writes:

It is being realized that language testing is not occurring in homogenous, uniform, and isolated contexts but rather in diverse, multilingual, and multicultural societies, a reality that poses new challenges and questions to testers with regard to what it means to know language(s) in education and society. (2011, p. 420)

Durk Gorter and Jasone Cenoz (2017) argue that assessment of multilingualism per se is different from allowing multilingual resources to be used when measuring content knowledge such as math and also different from having multiple measures of individual language proficiency. One alternative they suggest is scoring procedures that combine results from monolingual assessments in order to create a profile, as with the Council of Europe's European Language Portfolio (www.coe.int/en/web/portfolio). They also suggest creating production tasks and grading rubrics that explicitly allow and evaluate translanguaging (cf., Shohamy, 2011; Soltero-González, Escamilla, & Hopewell, 2012). Most scholars agree, however, that much attention still needs to be paid to assessments where the use of multiple languages in the accomplishment of a task is considered both normal and necessary (Schissel, Korne, & López-Gopar, 2018).

5.2.1 Two Attempts at Multilingual Assessment of Science Reading

As part of the grant project investigating middle school science reading practices, the author faced this challenge. He needed to construct a research instrument for assessing the relation between student reading abilities and strategy use. Following test development guidelines proposed by language testers Lyle Bachman and Adrian Palmer (1996), the attempt began by identifying and characterizing an authentic reading task for a multilingual.

The selected task was searching for information about the 15 chapter topics in the eighth grade Qatar science textbook on the Qatar version of an internet search website. The topics were entered in Arabic and the majority of hits (69 percent) that appeared on the first page of search results for each topic were in Arabic. The rest of the hits were in English (29 percent) with a small number of hits leading to bilingual sites. From this experience, it was deduced that while most information texts are produced in a single language, integrating information presented via multiple languages is an authentic experience for a multilingual reader (Reynolds, 2017a).

In the first year of the project, an instrument for collecting baseline data was constructed (Reynolds, 2015, 2017a). The instrument comprised three performance tasks: read an Arabic text, read an English text, then answer six selected response items and one open response item about the texts. After each of these tasks, students completed a questionnaire asking whether they used a particular strategy while performing the task. Three of the selected response items referred to content in the Arabic text and three referred to content in the English although the questions did not explicitly indicate which text. Thus, as a measure of multilingual reading ability, the instrument allowed for comparison of performance in two languages. The follow-up questionnaires about strategy use also allowed investigation of whether students tended to use certain strategies regardless of language or differentiated their use by language. However, the instrument did not measure whether students could construct meaning by integrating information learned via multiple languages.

In the third year of the project, a second attempt was made to devise an instrument that would require more integration. In this iteration, the instrument began with an Arabic reading taken from the students' science textbook followed by an English reading on the same topic adapted from Wikipedia. Students were then presented with a gapped passage that was an integrated retelling of information from the two readings and was itself written in Arabic. There were ten gapped selected-response items: six gapped information that students should have learned from the Arabic reading and four gapped information from the English reading. Students were then asked to answer an open-ended question that required propositional content from both the Arabic and English passages.

Finally students were presented with 21 questions they might have asked before reading (n=6), while reading (n=10), and after reading (n=3), and were directed to indicate a level of agreement with whether it is a question they asked and secondly whether it would it be a good question to ask. They responded to these two items for each of the 21 questions first with respect to the Arabic passage and then with respect to the English passage.

Because of difficulties piloting the two research instruments with the test population, both instruments exhibited low reliability and validity concerns. In particular, the tests were too long for the time schools could allot. Their specifications are shared here as examples for future development efforts. Both instruments suggest that the assessment of multilingual competence may involve repetition of tasks conducted in different languages, deduction of patterns, and integration of information from multiple sources. They also call for an understanding of language ability that extends beyond the comprehension and production of sentences and single texts.

5.2.2 Resources for Assessment

The following websites describe assessment regimes that focus on what learners can do with resources more than their knowledge of resources.

- LINCDIRE LITE E-portfolio (lite.lincdireproject.org)
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages)
- WIDA (wida.wisc.edu)

5.3 POLICY STATEMENTS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Qatar does not stand alone in seeing educational policies reversed or undermined by the actions of stakeholders. Numerous authors (e.g., Heugh, 2013; Makalela, 2017; Plüddemann, 2015) have documented the failure of South Africa's post-apartheid language in education policy (LiEP). The official policy calls for students to begin learning in their "mother tongue," which could be any of the country's 11 official languages, and to then add another official language at Grade 3. Peter Plüddemann reports, however, that in practice black parents have pushed for their children to begin learning English as early as possible because they see it as useful later on when students are tested in English and for career options.

Plüddemann notes that one of the problems with the official policy is the treatment of languages as separate entities to be taught and introduced at separate points in the curriculum. There is no recognition of the kinds of language mixing seen in the PRAESA videos described in Chapter 4. Because families must choose, they push for English. Plüddemann contends that the public needs greater awareness about how languages are actually used in South African society. Leketi Makalela similarly argues for "a trifocal language in education policy that valorizes linguistic crossovers in practice . . . Departing from separation of languages as "boxed" entities, the language policy needs to address this artificial bounding of languages" (2017, p. 307).

5.3.1 Qatar Foundation Schools

The key challenge identified in the analysis of South Africa's language policy failure is the public's ideology of what language is and what it means to use language. As part of the preparation for this report, the author was invited to host a discussion about language policy for local educators. The invitation announced the theme as "From Competition to Collaboration," which seemed to resonate with the cross-section of approximately 30 educators present. Comments during the discussion surfaced themes about fears of losing touch with heritage, the hegemony of English, the disjuncture between varieties of Arabic spoken at home and the formal variety used for schooling, expatriate teachers' lack of resources in Arabic, how the many languages beyond English and Arabic in the community were ignored, and agreement that multilingual interactions as well as written texts were common in the country's linguistic landscape. Thus, the conversation went back and forth between the multiple ways that language use in the community touched lives and the often more rigid separation of languages in schools.

Following the conversation, the author was approached by professional development support specialists for the Qatar Foundation Schools (www.qf.org.qa/education/pre-university), a system of ten private primary and K-12 schools and one pre-university program under the supervision of Qatar Foundation that supports both WISE and the author's university. The specialists had been tasked with putting together a "language policy" for the system and requested input. Schools in the system serve various age groups and comprise a wide range of curricula including five schools following International Baccalaureate® programs, a STEM academy, a new school experimenting with multi-age project-based learning, a boarding school focused on male leadership, and schools for special needs populations and students diagnosed on the autism spectrum. Given this diversity, any language policy must be broad and aspirational.

The policy is still under development, but the process being followed merits discussion. The specialists recognize that the policy must transition stakeholders within the system from focusing on the uses for English and Arabic to thinking more broadly about what it means to develop as a multilingual.

Schools currently describe themselves as offering "English medium instruction," "bilingual," and "dual language" curricula. Many of the schools also specify specific languages to be used for specific subjects. Some employ different teachers for different languages, whereas some have two teachers using different languages in the classroom at the same time.

The specialists also realize that the policy cannot be perceived as a dictate but must rather be seen as emerging from the input of the stakeholders. The author attended an initial focus group discussion with school directors for which the opening activity provided each participant with a different colored or shaped notepad. Participants were asked to write each language they had learned in their life on a separate note and then to affix the notes to a wall where a timeline had been created. The picture that emerged was of a group where most people had learned multiple languages at certain common periods in life. At the same time, the profile of each individual was different. This naturally transitioned into a discussion of languages as resources and the role of schools in developing them. After securing the buy-in of school directors in this way, the specialists shared that they would be repeating the focus groups with other stakeholders including department heads and teachers. They intended then to draft a policy for open discussion.

Language policy researchers frequently argue that policies are emergent processes more than prescriptions for what to do (Lo Bianco, 2010; McCarty, Collins, & Hopson, 2011; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). The Qatar Foundation schools process is just beginning, but it is grounded in the need to address ideologies and perceptions of language first. It also establishes an open process for dialog and reflection. This seems to be a useful framework for establishing a common ideology that can guide implementation at multiple levels.

5.3.2 Resources for Language Policies

The following statements by international organizations may be used as support, or possibly more usefully as discussion starters, for the development of contextualized language policies:

- The Salzburg Statement for a Multilingual World (www.salzburgglobal.org)
- Action Agenda for the Future of the TESOL Profession (www.tesol.org/actionagenda)
- Languages in Education resources (en.unesco.org/themes/gced/languages/resources)
- International Baccalaureate® Language Policy (www.ibo.org/language-policy)

5.4 AN IDEOLOGY OF COLLABORATION

This report began by identifying three seemingly disparate and contextualized challenges:

- How to increase the proportion of children who begin their schooling in a language used at home
- How to value and develop migrants' diverse languages as part of schooling
- How to encourage majority language speakers to study additional languages

The argument has been that to meet each of these challenges requires an ideological shift from viewing languages as competing for space to languages as complementary and collaborative resources. The intermediate chapters provided both a justification for the argument and a sense of what it might look like in practice. They painted a picture of individuals, communities, and schools where languages enjoy a dynamic coexistence.

The response to this proposal may be, however, that it is nice in theory, and an educational utopia. The literature on educational reform is full of reports on failures: failure to plan for the necessary resources, failure to embed formative assessment and ensure accountability, failure to understand the context. Changing an ideology is never easy; to transform the embedded monolingual perspective of schools around the world will require not only a good idea, but also significant planning about how to address the needs for teacher agency, meaningful assessment, and participation by stakeholders.

Figure 6 imagines a different educational system, grounded not in an ideology of competing languages but an ideology of collaboration. This is a system with the potential to contribute to the attainment of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4 for Quality Education. This new system recognizes and serves the multilingual nature of society, sets as its goal the development of multilingualism, and in turn values the resources and potential of all students. As a result of a system grounded in the Ideology of Collaboration:

- All students will begin learning in languages they understand well and will sustain the development of those languages
- Speakers of majority languages will learn minoritized languages of their communities as well as languages that enable them to operate across boundaries
- Migrants will perceive economic and social value in their language resources
- Negotiating linguistic difference will be taught as a core communication skill
- Multilingual discourse will be visible in mass media and a common source for creativity.
- All students will have the opportunity and encouragement to learn and develop sustainable resources in more than one language.

PRINCIPLES FOR COLLABORATION		INFLUENCING SOCIAL CONTEXTS
Accommodate dynamic needs of individuals and societies for language resources	EXISTENCE →	Treat diverse students equitably and their needs for individual identity, social cohesion, and wider opportunity equally
View multilingualism holistically	DEFINITION →	Develop multi-competence in individuals and society, rather than individual language proficiencies
Foster respect for difference	VALUE →	Ensure that language learning in schools truly adds to the competencies and potentials of individuals and societies, and never requires language loss

Figure 6: From Principles to an Ideology of Collaboration

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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ABOUT Carnegie Mellon University in Qatar

Carnegie Mellon University Qatar

For more than a century, Carnegie Mellon University has challenged the curious and passionate to imagine and deliver work that matters. A private, top-ranked and global university, Carnegie Mellon sets its own course with programs that inspire creativity and collaboration.

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ABOUT WISE

wise
world innovation summit for education
مؤتمر القمة العالمي للابتكار في التعليم
من مبادرات مؤسسة قطر
An Initiative of Qatar Foundation

The World Innovation Summit for Education was established by Qatar Foundation in 2009 under the leadership of its Chairperson, Her Highness Sheikha Moza bint Nasser. WISE is an international, multi-sectoral platform for creative, evidence-based thinking, debate, and purposeful action toward building the future of education. Through the biennial summit, collaborative research and a range of on-going programs, WISE is a global reference in new approaches to education.

The WISE Research series, produced in collaboration with experts from around the world, addresses key education issues that are globally relevant and reflect the priorities of the Qatar National Research Strategy. Presenting the latest knowledge, these comprehensive reports examine a range of education challenges faced in diverse contexts around the globe, offering action-oriented recommendations and policy guidance for all education stakeholders. Past WISE Research publications have addressed a wide range of issues including access, quality, financing, teacher training and motivation, school systems leadership, education in conflict areas, entrepreneurship, early-childhood education, twenty-first century skills, design thinking, and apprenticeship, among others.

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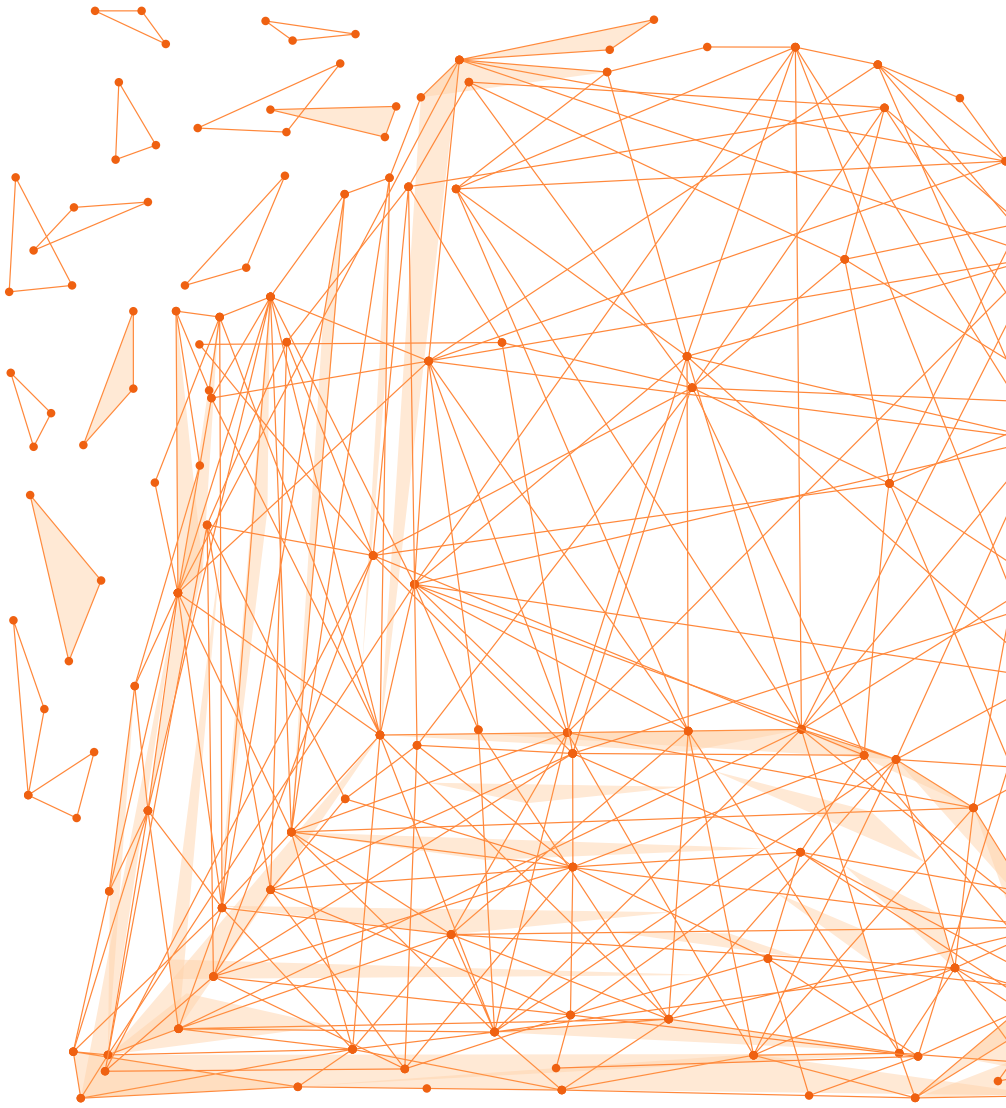

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