

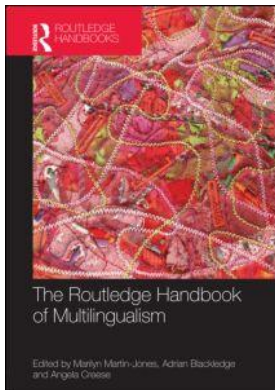
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Multilingual pedagogies¹

Ofelia García, with Nelson Flores

Introduction

How can teachers enact ways of teaching and learning in the twenty-first century that support social justice and political participation of students around the globe? The answer to this question has much to do with the topic of this chapter, for unless teachers' pedagogies include the language practices of students, and unless all students are taught in ways that support and develop their diverse language practices, there cannot be any meaningful participation in education, and thus, in society. Multilingual pedagogies are thus at the center of all education that meaningfully includes learners; that is, education that is not simply done to students, but in which students do and participate.

In order for students to do and participate, education must include, in some ways, the language practices of children. Although it is easy to understand how monolingual education is simply not enough to fulfill this criteria, it is more difficult to envision how to build on the language practices of all students, as teachers and children with different characteristics work together in various geographical and socio-educational spaces. In fact, one of the difficulties in speaking about multilingual pedagogies is that it always has to be done in the plural. These multilingual pedagogies have to adapt to the different sociopolitical conditions of school systems, and to the shifting socio-educational spaces within schools, products of different communities' and educators' beliefs and values, varying students' experiences, and multiple socio-educational goals. Thus, this chapter not only reviews the development of multilingual pedagogies across time, but also across spaces.

Developments

Multilingual pedagogies have most often been viewed in the past as adjustments to monolingual pedagogies in order to teach and develop one additional separate language. But recently, multilingual pedagogies have started to acknowledge the hybrid language practices of bilingual people and their role in the development of more competent users of academic language practices in different standards.

Types of socio-educational contexts for multilingual pedagogies

Pedagogies do not develop on their own, but are products of different socio-educational contexts. We begin by identifying four different types of situations that have resulted in different pedagogical approaches:

- Foreign language instruction;
- Second language instruction;
- Bilingual/monoglossic instruction (native language pedagogies + second language/immersion pedagogies);
- Plurilingual/heteroglossic instruction (dynamic bi-plurilingual pedagogies).

Table 13.1 summarizes for the readers the differences in pedagogies, which we develop below.

Foreign language instruction

In *foreign language* instruction, the additional language is taught explicitly with the purpose of adding a language that is to be used in another different societal and national context. Foreign language instruction is most prevalent in secondary and tertiary education where sometimes more than one foreign language is taught to students. Foreign language pedagogies have a long history, although they have not been totally successful in developing bilingualism. Many times, the emphasis is on learning to read the foreign language, but not to communicate directly with speakers of that language. The predominant language in the nation-state is privileged over this “foreign” language. A specialized language teacher most often teaches the foreign language in different class periods and classroom space. Thus, foreign language pedagogies are based on a monoglossic ideology that assumes that legitimate linguistic practices are only those enacted by monolinguals and that foreign language acquisition is linear and always sequential. That is, a foreign language should be learned after the first one is developed.

Table 13.1 Type of multilingual pedagogies and language use, orientation, views, and arrangements

<i>Type of pedagogies</i>	<i>Foreign language pedagogies</i>	<i>Second language pedagogies</i>	<i>Bilingual pedagogies (traditional)</i>	<i>Multilingual pedagogies (dynamic)</i>
<i>Language use</i>	Explicit language instruction	Explicit language instruction	Languages used as media of instruction	Languages used as media of instruction
<i>Language lens</i>	Monolingual	Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual
<i>Language orientation</i>	Monoglossic	Monoglossic	Monoglossic	Heteroglossic
<i>Language views</i>	Autonomous languages	Autonomous languages	Autonomous languages	Fluid language practices
<i>Language arrangements</i>	Diglossic	Diglossic	Diglossic	Transglossic
<i>Bilingual orientation</i>	Additive and linear (L1 + L2 = L1 + L2)	Additive and linear (L1 + L2 = L1 + L2)	Additive (L1 + L2 = L1 + L2) or subtractive (L1 + L2 - L1 = L2) and linear	Recursive or dynamic and complex (non-linear)

Second language instruction

At other times, the language being taught explicitly is to be used not across geographical space, but as a *second language* within the same space. This is the case of second language instruction. Second language pedagogies have been developed especially in the second half of the twentieth century, as people have begun to move steadily across educational spaces. Schools started paying attention to how to teach a second language, most often, the national language, to students whose language backgrounds were different. Successful second language acquisition requires that second language speakers behave in that language like a monolingual; and, as its name indicates, it also sees bilingual acquisition as linear and sequential. There are clearly first and second languages.

Most times, second language pedagogies pay little attention to the students' first language, focusing instead solely on the development of the second language. When the purpose is to educate while encouraging a shift to a majority language, it is *subtractive bilingualism* that is supported. That is, as the second language is added, the first begins to shrink, leading to language shift to the dominant language. *Subtractive bilingualism* can be rendered thus:

$$L1 + L2 - L1 = L2$$

Other times, however, the second language is added at no expense of the first language. Without effort, then, these programs aim to support what Lambert (1975) has called "additive bilingualism." That is, the second language is added to the students' repertoire and the expectation is that the student will become bilingual. *Additive bilingualism* can be rendered as follows:

$$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$$

Bilingual/monoglossic instruction

Bilingual education came into its own during the second half of the twentieth century, as second language instructional programs were also being developed. Whereas second language education focuses on just teaching a second language, bilingual education often (although not always) attempts to equalize the power differential between minoritized and majority languages, by using the two languages as a medium of instruction. Because of the different sociopolitical situations in which bilingual education has been carried out, varying language pedagogies have been developed. But regardless of context, traditional bilingual pedagogies are also based on a diglossic arrangement that sees languages as autonomous skills that need to be separately and linearly developed. For example, bilingual education programs for the elite, what I have called elsewhere (García 2009) *prestigious bilingual education programs*, usually teach in one language during one part of the day, and the other language in the other part of the day. These programs aim to support additive bilingualism. Although additive bilingualism is encouraged and expected, it is a monolingual lens and a monoglossic ideology that is adopted. Students are expected to clearly separate languages and to move towards balanced bilingualism with equal competence in the two languages in all contexts and with all interlocutors.

In Canada, where bilingual education has been widely documented since the mid-twentieth century, it was the Anglophone majority in Quebec who clamored for educational programs in which their children could become bilingual in English and French, after the Québécois party won political power. This was the beginning of *immersion bilingual education*. As a type of bilingual instruction that aimed for additive bilingualism, immersion bilingual education used

an immersion pedagogy that used the second language of the child for education, accompanied, later on, by instruction in the home language.

When the purpose of bilingual education is to ensure an education while encouraging a shift to a majority language, *subtractive bilingualism* is supported. This is the case of *transitional bilingual education* programs for immigrant language minorities in the United States. In the United States, bilingual education was initially seen as a way to teach English to Spanish speakers, while educating them, in the meantime, in the language they knew—Spanish (García and Kleifgen 2010). The pedagogy that these transitional bilingual education programs developed was not truly a bilingual pedagogy. Rather, Spanish was taught as a mother tongue, and English was taught as a second language.

Traditional bilingual pedagogies of either the immersion or prestigious type that consider the two languages to be autonomous skills and that build on diglossic classroom arrangements where the languages are carefully compartmentalized are being increasingly questioned. The greater awareness of the linguistic complexity in most countries in Africa and Asia, as well as the increased movements of people that are a result of globalization, have led to the development of bilingual/multilingual heteroglossic types of programs.

Plurilingual/heteroglossic instruction

Increasingly, all over the world, classrooms have children with different linguistic profiles and practices. It is clear that foreign language, second language, and even traditional bilingual education programs are no longer sufficient when classrooms are highly heterogeneous linguistically.

Bilingual education has become important not only as a way of equalizing power differentials between minoritized and majority languages, but also as a way of extending the plurilingual potential of students, and responding to the multilingualism of the world. At the same time, the potential of education to revitalize languages that had been oppressed has come to the forefront. In the case of language minority groups who have shifted almost totally to the language of power, students do not start out as monolinguals as when majority language speakers are taught a foreign language or are immersed in a second language, or as when minority language speakers are instructed through the medium of a dominant language or are taught a dominant language. In cases of language revitalization, the students have different degrees of bilingualism, bringing bits and pieces of their home languages as the basis from which to revitalize language practices. Thus, this bilingualism is not linear and cannot be considered purely additive. I speak of *recursive bilingualism* (García 2009) when referring to this bilingualism where ancestral language practices are reconstituted for new functions.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, for example, where the Waitangi Tribunal declared Māori to be a *taonga* (treasured possession), *immersion revitalization bilingual education programs* built on traditional Māori cultural principles came into being to revitalize a language that had mostly been lost. These *Te Kōhanga Reo* for preschoolers, and later the *Kura Kaupapa Māori* (designed by Māoris for Māoris) adapted the Canadian immersion bilingual pedagogy, infusing it with cultural values. In this case, it was their own language (and not that of another group) that was now being developed and expanded beyond the use in traditional rituals, following an immersion pedagogy. English was taught separately, sometimes even in a different building. And yet, the socio-educational space is bilingual from the beginning, since the Māori children attending these programs could be placed at different points on the bilingual Māori–English continuum.

In Wales and other places where Welsh has suffered great oppression, but where the degree of language loss had not been as great as in New Zealand, *developmental bilingual education*

programs have also come into being. These programs also use two languages in instruction, although separating them, and borrowing sometimes immersion pedagogy, other times second language pedagogy, to teach. But increasingly the children in these programs have different degrees of bilingualism, speaking more or less Welsh before starting the programs.

In some cases, educational programs have been set up precisely to build on the linguistic heterogeneity of different social contexts. This greater heterogeneity has to do with the presence in classrooms of students with different linguistic profiles (as in the case of poly-directional or two-way bilingual education programs described below), or of students who have to develop different language practices because of the multilingualism of their social context (as in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) bilingual education programs being promoted in Europe), or of students whose schooling includes the development of many languages (as in multiple multilingual education programs in Luxembourg, also described below). The bilingualism that these programs promote is more dynamic, in the sense that language practices are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act in the twenty-first century. I have called this (García 2009) *dynamic bilingualism*, going beyond the ways in which the Council of Europe defines plurilingualism as “the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experiences of several cultures” (Council of Europe 2000: 168).

In the United States, for example, in some schools language majority and language minority children are educated together in *two-way bilingual education programs* so that the language majority group develops the language of the minority and vice versa. Because of the silencing of the word “bilingual” in the United States, these two-way programs are usually referred to as “dual language programs” (Crawford 2004; García 2009; García and Kleifgen 2010). The European Schools for civil servants where children of different languages become at least trilingual are good examples of *poly-directional bilingual education programs*, with different groups being schooled, first separately in parallel sections, then increasingly together as they develop proficiency in second and third languages. But in both two-way and poly-directional bilingual education programs, the two or more languages are separated and carefully orchestrated as they are weaved in and out of the curriculum and traditional second language and immersion pedagogies are mostly used. Despite the structural separation guided by the teacher, students use their languages dynamically, as they make sense of instruction that builds mostly on collaborative learning.

The development of *CLIL bilingual education programs* in Europe also responds to the increased multilingualism of the world, and especially of the European Union. CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) is a way of using students’ second or third languages to deliver instruction. Unlike the bilingual education programs of the past that aimed to develop a balanced additive bilingualism by devoting equal or substantive time to the second language in the curriculum, CLIL usually takes up only one to two periods in the curriculum. It relies, in some ways, on what might be considered immersion pedagogy combined with second language pedagogy.

There are also societies that are built on a multilingual identity and thus they have developed *multiple multilingual education* types. One example is Luxembourg where schools first use the national language, Luxembourgish, then introduce literacy in German, and then French. By the time children are in secondary schools, they are being educated through the medium of either German or French. Although the schools’ organization is linear and the languages are carefully introduced, the pedagogies in these classrooms are closer to what we are calling heteroglossic multilingual approaches, which are treated in the next section. Both teachers and students use the languages flexibly, as they make sense of lessons.

Because of the heterogeneity of languages found in most classrooms in the twenty-first century, a new type of bilingual education program is beginning to emerge, which García and Kleifgen (2010) have termed *dynamic bilplurilingual* programs. In these programs the use of languages is not carefully controlled or planned in a top-down manner. Instead, emergent bilingual students, especially adolescents, are given the agency to negotiate their linguistic interactions, as the additional language is developed.

Multilingual pedagogical development

Grammatical approaches: foreign language pedagogies

Foreign language pedagogies have been developed over centuries, especially since Latin grammar started to be taught as an end itself. The *grammar-translation method* that was used in the past focused on translation of complex texts into the students' first language, as well as achieving grammatical accuracy. Reading and writing were emphasized, and there was no oral use of the foreign language. The grammar-translation method increasingly fell into disuse in the twentieth century, as foreign languages started to be heard over airwaves, and as air travel made contact among people speaking different languages more frequent.

Scholars such as Berlitz and de Saúze developed the *direct method* in the early twentieth century, as a reaction against the grammar-translation method. The direct method insisted that foreign language learning had to follow the same process as first language acquisition. Thus, emphasis was put on oral skills and printed language was kept away from learners. The use of the students' first language was avoided. The emphasis was on acquiring language structures from which rules were derived.

Based on a behaviorist theoretical framework that believed that language was acquired as a result of habit formation, the *audiolingual method* came into being in the 1950s. Students practiced language pattern drills and dialogues to develop particular language structures, and thus infer grammar structures.

Communicative approaches: second language and bilingual pedagogies

By the 1960s the behaviorist theoretical frameworks started to be abandoned for more constructivist approaches to teaching languages, supporting the belief that language learning occurs as students draw meaning from experience and interpersonal interaction. This shift from more grammatical approaches to more communicative approaches coincided with the growth and development of both second language and bilingual pedagogies, as language education turned from having the language explicitly taught to it being used in delivering content. Two language methodologies were developed during this time—*immersion methodology* and *integrated content-based methodology*. In both methods, language and content objectives are planned concurrently.

Immersion methodology uses language that is slow and simplified, with guarded vocabulary and short sentences, ample contextualization of language through the use of visuals and graphic organizers, and a modified grade level curriculum. Immersion methodology is used throughout the world in both immersion bilingual education programs (such as those in Canada) and immersion revitalization bilingual education programs (such as those in Aotearoa/New Zealand). It is also used in other types of bilingual education programs. Although developed as a way to teach content through a child's second language, that is, as a bilingual pedagogy, immersion methodology has been increasingly used as a strictly monolingual pedagogy. Especially in the United States, immersion methodology is being used to educate immigrant and refugee

children where the goal is to make children monolingual in the dominant language of the country. This is the case, for example, in what is called “sheltered instruction” in the United States (see, for example, Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) (Echevarria *et al.* 2004).

Integrated content-based instruction (ICB) is an adaptation of immersion methodology where the emphasis is more on the development of language and literacy in a second language, rather than the learning of content. During instruction, the key vocabulary is pre-taught and emphasis is placed on contextualizing the language of the lesson through visuals and building the background to a lesson. ICB started as a bilingual pedagogy and is most frequently used in all kinds of bilingual programs, but it has been increasingly adapted as a second language methodology in what is essentially monolingual instruction.

Cognitive approaches: second language and bilingual pedagogies

In the 1980s, language education also started to adopt the idea that children construct meanings not only by using language socially, but also by being in control over the cognitive processes that are used in learning; that is, by thinking and reasoning about language. Learning a language is seen as not only being social and interactive, but also cognitive. The focus is on developing declarative knowledge (what we know), procedural knowledge (what we know how to do), conditional knowledge (knowledge of when, why, or where to use information and skills), and in getting learners to actively control these processes as they work with academic texts and classroom discourse structures.

Cognitive Academic Language Learning (CALLA) is an example of such an approach. It develops academic language abilities, while combining teaching of content with language learning. To do so, there is explicit instruction of metacognitive learning strategies such as: learning to skim a text; attending to key words and linguistic markers; taking notes and summarizing; and asking clarifying questions. Students learn to manage their own language and content learning as they work with other students in cooperative groups to solve problems with the assistance of the teacher and peers (Chamot and O'Malley 1994).

Heteroglossic multilingual approaches: dynamic plurilingual pedagogies

Whereas both communicative and cognitive approaches and the pedagogies under both approaches are in essence monoglossic, keeping the two languages separate and observing a diglossic arrangement where language use is compartmentalized at all times, heteroglossic multilingual approaches are being developed today to respond to the more complex dynamic multilingualism found in classrooms (see, for example, Cummins 2008). These dynamic plurilingual pedagogies are being expanded as ways of going beyond traditional diglossic arrangements that compartmentalize languages and thus normalize the languages' power differentials without questioning them. Heteroglossic multilingual approaches question the notion of language itself, as “*linguaging*” or what students do with language in multilingual spaces is taken up as the defining unit.

Dynamic plurilingual pedagogies do not separate languages as if they were autonomous skills, acknowledging the complex fluid language practices of children in schools. These plurilingual pedagogies can sometimes be seen in bilingual education programs that integrate different ethnolinguistic groups or different language practices and thus rely on fluid language practices or what I have called *translanguaging*² (García 2009). These dynamic plurilingual pedagogies should not be confused with the random codeswitching that is sometimes prevalent in

bilingual classrooms. Unlike random codeswitching or what has been called concurrent translation (Jacobson and Faltis 1990) where language use is accidental and haphazard, plurilingual heteroglossic pedagogies are done with intent and are carefully planned. They represent a perspective on bilingualism that is not linear; that is, it is not simply about adding (additive bilingualism) or subtracting (subtractive bilingualism) a language, but rather about recognizing and building on the dynamic and complex language practices that are prevalent in all multilingual contexts. Thus, these dynamic plurilingual pedagogies build on a dynamic bilingualism that draws from the different interlocutors and contexts in which communication takes place. With languages no longer considered autonomous skills, but focusing on the heteroglossic language practices of the children themselves, dynamic plurilingual pedagogies support the bilingualism and plurilingualism of all children and the multilingual classroom contexts in which children come together. We consider these further under “Curricular arrangements: flexible multiplicity.”

Key issues in multilingual pedagogies

Curricular arrangements

One of the key issues in thinking about multilingual pedagogies has to do with the curricular arrangements of the different language practices. Curricular arrangements are usually of three kinds:

- Strict separation;
- Flexible convergence;
- Flexible multiplicity.

Strict separation

As we have said before, because most of the methodologies that have been developed throughout the twentieth century have been developed following a monoglossic ideology, they rely on language separation of one kind or another. Most of the time, in both foreign language and second language classrooms, a teacher who is a language specialist is used. That teacher is often bilingual, but uses mostly the target language (the language which is being taught) in instruction. Sometimes, that teacher also has a different classroom, reflecting a territorial-based diglossia, where one classroom space is reserved for the specific target language.

Bilingual classrooms have more complex decisions to make regarding curricular arrangements. Most of the time, the languages are separated as in foreign language and second language pedagogies, but the ways in which this is done varies. Many times there is only one bilingual teacher in charge of the curriculum. That teacher then decides when one language or the other is used.

Most of the time, the arrangement that bilingual teachers make is *time-determined*, meaning that one language or the other is used at certain times. For example, some teachers teach in one language in the morning and another one in the afternoon. Other teachers teach in one language one day, and in another one the alternate day. Yet other teachers teach in one language one week, and in another language the following week.

Another way of separating the languages in bilingual instruction is by deciding which subject is going to be taught in which language. This is called a *subject-determined* arrangement. There is also *place-determined separation*, where a specific instructional space is dedicated to the use of only one language or the other.

Other times there are two teachers, each speaking a different language. This arrangement is called *teacher-determined*. Most of the time this means that there are two teachers in two different classrooms with what is often called a “side-by-side” model of instruction. But sometimes there are two teachers in one classroom. In this bilingual arrangement, languages are still separated, although they overlap, as different languages come in and out of the teacher’s discourse.

Flexible convergence

Bilingual education pedagogies have been often used not to promote bilingualism, but to suppress it. When these pedagogies are used in subtractive bilingual programs with a goal of having the children shift to a dominant language, the curricular arrangement is always flexible with regards to language practices but without any intent of stabilizing practices. Without intent and consciousness, the *random codeswitching* that often characterizes the curricular language arrangements in these classrooms leads to language shift. Eventually, the teacher increasingly uses the more powerful language. The students get the message that this is the only valid language, as shift to the dominant language is supported.

Flexible multiplicity

When the intent is to build on the bits and pieces of language practices or the languaging in which children with different linguistic backgrounds engage, the curricular arrangement has to build on a flexible multiplicity. Flexible multiple bilingual arrangements in the classroom are not in themselves bad. Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996) have established that it is not necessarily codeswitching that is bad, but rather how language is used, and by whom, that shapes the students’ perceived value of the two languages in a bilingual classroom. Views about the use of codeswitching in the classroom, which has traditionally been seen as always bad, are beginning to be questioned (Ferguson 2003; Gajo 2007; Heller and Martin-Jones 2001; Lewis 2008; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996; Li and Wu 2009). Gutiérrez and her colleagues (1999: 289) have suggested that the “co-mingling of and contradictions among different linguistic codes and registers” offer significant resources for learning.

Bilingual education programs that have monolingualism as a goal encourage language mixing in ways that lead to language shift. But bilingual education programs that develop bilingualism not as the two balanced wheels of a bicycle but as an all-terrain vehicle adjusting to the ridges and craters of multilingual communication, build on translanguaging practices that ensure the functional inter-relationship of language practices (García 2009). Abilities such as translation, language switching, and designing information bilingually will be increasingly important in the twenty-first century, abilities that are supported by the community’s translanguaging.

It is possible to alternate and blend language practices for effective learning to take place and to normalize bilingualism without functional separation. The ways in which this can be accomplished differs. Sometimes the many languages are presented together; sometimes one is used for one medium or function, the other for another; sometimes both languages are put alongside each other for comparisons.

Co-languaging refers to the strategy of presenting many languages side-by-side so students with different linguistic profiles can make meaning. Co-languaging is a prevalent methodology when there are many language groups in a single classroom. Sometimes, for example, PowerPoint presentations are presented in more than one language, whereas the instruction takes place in one or many. The students are free to choose the language through which they make sense of

the lesson, and to compare and contrast the ways in which the languages are written and concepts are expressed. Many bilingual books offer examples of co-linguaging, as students decide which language to read the text in, or to read in both, or to go from one to the other, making their own comparisons.

Cen Williams (as described by Baker 2001; Lewis 2008) has developed a kind of bilingual instructional strategy that he refers to as *trawsieithu* (*translanguaging*). It involves the hearing, signing, or reading of lessons in one language, and the development of the work (the oral discussion, the writing of passages, the development of projects and experiments) in another language or vice versa. That is, the input and output are deliberately in different languages.

Another instructional strategy that responds to this flexible multiple arrangement is what is known as *preview-view-review*. Through this strategy, both languages are used sequentially, with different languages being given different functions, depending on the instructional needs of the teachers and the communicative needs of the students. Sometimes the language that students know best is used to build the background knowledge in a preview, whereas the lesson is taught in the students' second language. Other times, the opposite is done, with students hearing both a preview and a review in their second language, and the lesson in their home language.

It is imperative that education programs provide space for bringing the two or more languages together for contrastive analysis. In this way, vocabulary, structures and discourse patterns can be contrasted, while multilingual awareness is developed (Cummins 2008). At other times, there is instructional space for bilingual children to do cross-linguistic work, which allows them to translanguage, using both languages flexibly, in much the same way as experienced bilingual authors and bilingual communities often do.

Biliteracy models

In many ways, pedagogies of biliteracy, that is, “instances in which communication occurs in two or more languages in or around writing” (Hornberger 1990: 213), also reflect the types of programs and curricular arrangements described above. In foreign and second language programs, often the students' language and literacy abilities in their own home languages are used to make sense of the foreign language text.

Bilingual programs of different kinds use different models of biliteracy to develop different languaging abilities. Thus, subtractive bilingual education programs such as transitional ones often use a *convergent monoliterate model* where the two languages are used in oral communication to transact with a text written in only the dominant language. Other times, transitional bilingual education programs actually use the two languages in their literacy practices, but the literacy pedagogy in the minoritized language is often “calqued” on that of the dominant language. Thus, for example, in many Spanish/English transitional bilingual education programs in the United States, a phonics approach is used to teach initial Spanish reading, whereas when Spanish literacy is developed on its own right, a syllabic approach, much more sense-making for the Spanish language, is initially used. But the purpose of using a phonics approach in teaching initial decoding in Spanish has nothing to do with Spanish literacy development, and much to do with what many believe is the best way to teach initial English reading. The rationale is that students will be able to use the phonics skills learned in Spanish to decode English words. I refer to this kind of biliteracy model as *convergent biliterate*.

Bilingual programs that seek to develop an additive balanced bilingualism often use a *separation biliterate model*. As such, one language or the other is used to transact with a text written in one language or the other according to its own sociocultural and discourse norms.

The languages are kept separate and teachers and children match the language in which they are communicating around writing to the language of the written text. Students are encouraged to speak and think in the language in which they are reading and writing. Immersion bilingual education programs and many other prestigious bilingual education programs use this type of biliteracy model.

But as we said before, to develop the all-terrain vehicle that is needed for the linguistic complexity of the twenty-first century, a model of biliteracy has to allow for crossovers and to support translanguaging. Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) have proposed the term “multilingual literacies” to refer to the multiplicity of individual and group repertoires, and the varied communicative purposes for which groups use different spoken, signed and written languages, and the multiple ways in which people draw on, and combine codes. García *et al.* (2007) have argued for the concept of “pluriliteracy practices”, which moves away from the traditional L1/L2 pairing, emphasizing instead that multiple language and literacy practices are inter-related and flexible and can be used in convergent ways to make meaning, positing that all literacy practices have equal value, and acknowledging the agency of speakers as they communicate around writing.

In the case of the *flexible multiple model of biliteracy*, multiple language practices and media are used in literacy practices. Teachers encourage children to use all linguistic practices and modes as resources in order to engage in pluriliteracy practices. The children use all their language practices to build background, to question the text, to think about strategies; and they draw not only from print to make sense of texts, but rely also on images, videos, music, and other technology-enriched signs.

Multilingual pedagogical principles and pedagogical core

Pedagogical principles

Two principles are important to keep in mind in developing multilingual pedagogies—(1) attention to social justice; and (2) attention to social practice. Because languages are spoken by groups of people who are situated differently socially, attention to social justice in developing multilingual pedagogies is paramount. That is, in some ways multilingual pedagogies should always be “critical” in the sense that they should aim to develop students’ critical consciousness in order to transform the conditions that perpetuate human injustice and inequity (McLaren 1988). Attention to *social justice* involves the following:

- Providing *equity* for the students, their languages, their cultures and their communities by guaranteeing equal participation in a democratic classroom and school context. To do this, educators create democratic classrooms where everyone has an equal opportunity to participate;
- Building on the students’ *linguistic and cultural strengths* and developing students’ *multilingual awareness and tolerance*. To do this, educators plan carefully the ways in which all the students’ home languages and their language practices are acknowledged, included and used in the classroom. Educators also focus on helping students understand the social, political, and economic struggles surrounding different language practices;
- Having *high expectations* and promoting *academic rigor*. Teachers encourage all students, regardless of abilities, to achieve by working hard and taking risks. They also focus on complex ideas that can generate future learning;
- Becoming *advocates of children* (Cummins 1986, 2000) and supporting *valid assessments*. Educators observe, engage students in conferencing, and construct equitable and valid formative assessments to improve students’ learning. At the same time, they prepare students

for summative assessments, as they raise questions about the validity of assessments that have been standardized on a monolingual population.

Multilingual pedagogies also rely on *social practice*; that is, collaborative social practices in which students try out ideas and actions (Lave and Wenger 1991) and socially construct their learning (Vygotsky 1978). The *social practice* principle of multilingual pedagogies involves the following:

- Supporting *quality interactions*. To do this, educators support the sharing of ideas and focused dialogue that is generative and that encourages further understanding regardless of the language practices used;
- Focusing on the practice of *disciplinary and academic language*. Explicit language instruction in combination with language used in content has proven to be most effective in expanding bilingual competence (Baetens Beardsmore 1993). Educators should focus on syntactic structures, lexicon, vocabulary and types of discourses that promote the ways in which different disciplines use language to express key concepts and processes. Teachers engage students in discussion of how specific written and spoken texts are structured and how they work;
- Building *collaborative grouping and cooperative learning*. To do this, educators develop ways of using homogeneous groupings to practice particular language structures, and heterogeneous groupings for greater linguistic support. Collaborative grouping has been shown to increase students' opportunities to hear more language directed to them, as well as to participate and interact (Gibbon 2002). It also impacts positively on self-esteem;
- Focusing on *high relevance* of lessons and students' *maximum identity investment*. To do this, educators relate curriculum content to students' experiences as they analyze broader social issues relevant to their lives (Cummins 2001).

Pedagogical core

If the two principles of multilingual pedagogies can be reduced to that of social justice and social practices, the core of multilingual pedagogies is the strategy of *scaffolding*. Cummins (2000: 71) says that "language and content will be acquired most successfully when students are challenged cognitively but provided with the contextual and linguistic supports or scaffolds required for successful task completion."

Scaffolding is a combination of the constrain of structure with its release through the teacher's imagination and abilities as a result of innovation, exploration and improvisation (van Lier 2006). A plurilingual scaffolding strategy adapts the five scaffolding structures so as to incorporate the dynamic languaging of plurilingual students and teachers:

- *Routines*, with the teacher establishing contextual and spatial instructional routines and language patterns. The languages of the routines can be varied and respond to students' interests and motivation, as well as the context of the lesson. Teachers' language use and children's language use in routines can be varied;
- *Contextualization* through the teacher's use of the students' home language practices, as well as other paralinguistic strategies such as: body language and gestures, visuals, manipulatives, realia, technologically enriched practices, graphic organizers, charts, diagrams and maps. Paralinguistic cues can also point to different language and cultural contexts;
- *Modeling* of all routines and language use, as well as verbalizing the actions and processes of the lesson through think-alouds. Again, these think-alouds can make use of all the language practices of the children;

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- *Bridging and schema building* by having teachers build on prior knowledge by previewing the material to be taught. This can be done in a language other than that of the lesson, so as to build on the multilingualism of the classroom;
- *Multiple entry points*, with teachers allowing students to demonstrate their understanding in different ways and differentiating instruction, including different ways of languaging.

For scaffolding to be meaningful to bilingual children, the scaffolding strategies must build on the dynamic plurilingualism of the children in interaction with the teacher.

New research directions and summary

Multilingual pedagogies have been developed in the last fifty years, especially as bilingual education programs have grown throughout the world. In the twentieth century, the bilingual pedagogies that were developed matched the bilingual education programs that were often for just one linguistic group and which aimed at either subtractive bilingualism or additive bilingualism. Thus, these bilingual pedagogies kept the two languages separate—what Cummins (2008) calls “two solitudes”—and immersion methodology grew in importance.

In the last few decades, as the movement of people, ideas, and goods has increased as a result of globalization, the linguistic heterogeneity of classrooms has grown. The models of bilingualism developed for the twentieth century are no longer applicable in a more complex bilingual world. Bilingualism is now understood for its recursivity in the case of language revitalization situations and for its dynamism in the case of the plurilingual development needed for the twenty-first century. For these more complex situations in which we cannot recognize a first or a second language, but where complex and incomplete bits and pieces of diverse language practices make up the linguistic repertoire of most speakers, traditional foreign language, second language and bilingual pedagogies are no longer relevant.

Education and language pedagogy in the twenty-first century cannot solely be monolingual. But a traditional bilingual pedagogy no longer suffices either. We must experiment and innovate with dynamic plurilingual pedagogies that respond to the more complex bilingualism of students and to the more linguistically heterogeneous classrooms of the twenty-first century. New research must validate and expand these plurilingual pedagogies that are based on flexible multiplicity curricular arrangements, so as to build on the translanguaging of the multilingual students that populate our classrooms and that we must develop through educational programs to meet the language demands of the twenty-first century.

Related topics

Indigenous education; multilingualism in education in post-colonial contexts; discourses about linguistic diversity; rethinking discourses around the “English-cosmopolitan” correlation; language rights; multilingualism and social exclusion, codeswitching; heteroglossia; multilingual literacies.

Notes

- 1 We wish to acknowledge the help of Laura Ascenzi-Moreno in discussing these ideas.
- 2 We borrow this term from Cen Williams (Baker 2001) who used it to refer to a specific type of pedagogy that he called *trawsieithu*. We extend the definition of the term.

Further reading

- Baker, C. (2001) *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. (A thorough treatment of bilingual education and bilingualism written in concise style.)
- Blackledge, A. and Creese, A. (2010) *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*. London: Continuum. (A detailed ethnographic account of language ideologies, communicative practices and multilingual pedagogies in complementary schools in the UK.)
- Cummins, J. (2000) *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. (A seminal work that provides an overview of Cummins' major theories in second language acquisition and bilingual pedagogy.)
- Edwards, V. (2009) *Learning to be Literate: Multilingual Perspectives*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. (Brings research together on literacy and multilingualism from a variety of settings with a global perspective.)
- García, O. (2009) *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*, Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. (Lays out in greater detail many of the points made in this chapter with regards to practices and policies in bilingual education.)
- Martin-Jones, M. and Jones, K. (eds) (2000) *Multilingual Literacies: Reading and Writing Different Worlds*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (Integrates theoretical and methodological insights from the field of bilingualism and the field of literacy to reconceptualize literacy practices in multilingual environments.)

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